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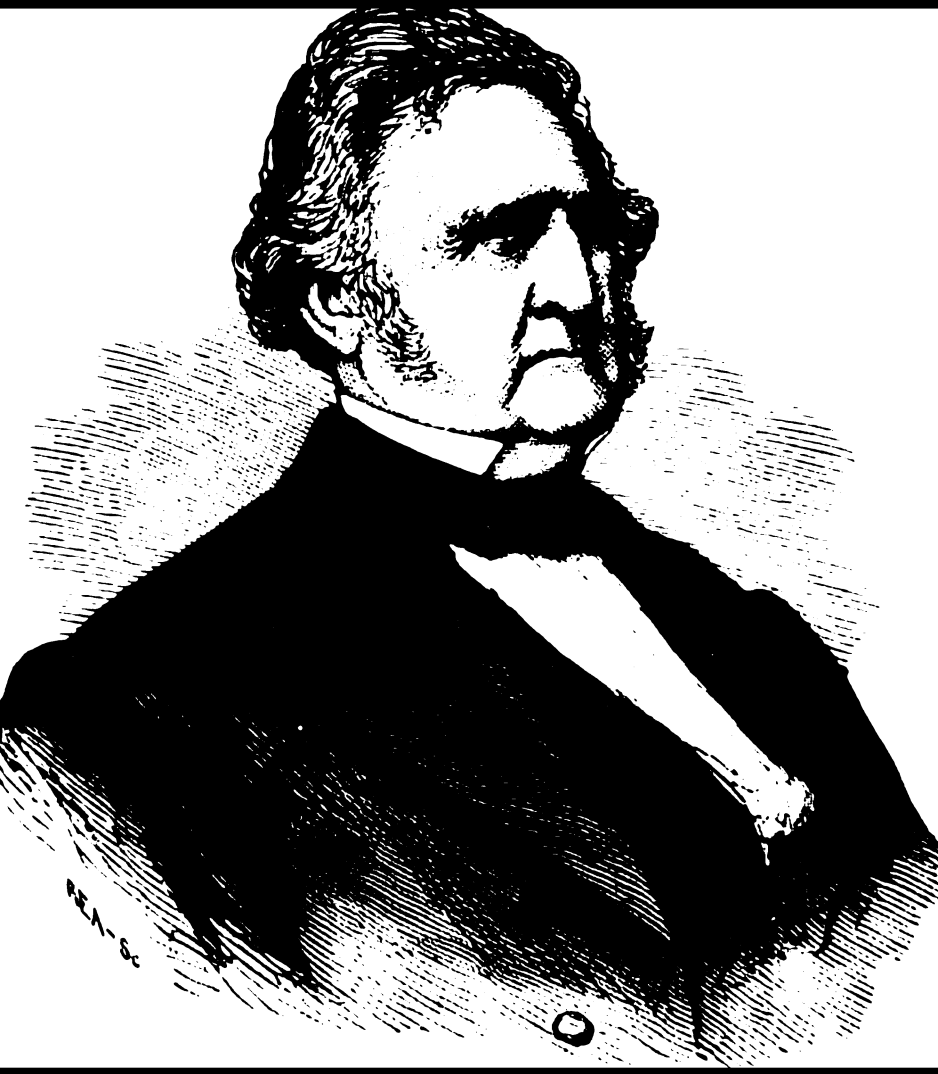

Military and civil life of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant ...

James Penny Boyd

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MILITARY AND CIVIL LIFE

OF

GEN. ULYSSES S. GRANT

LEADING SOLDIER OF THE AGE; PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; LOVED AND HONORED AMERICAN CITIZEN; THE WORLD'S MOST DISTINGUISHED MAN.

"Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with eternal God for power;
Who let the turbid streams of rumor flow
Through either babbling world of high or low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life;
Who never spoke against a foe."

—*Tennyson.*

BY

JAMES P. BOYD, A. M.,

Author of "BUILDING AND RULING THE REPUBLIC," &c.

ILLUSTRATED.

J. C. McCURDY & CO.,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.; CHICAGO, ILL.; AND ST. LOUIS, MO.

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PREFACE.

NO one need explain why he writes about a person whom all admire and love.

As to men, none occupy the place of General Grant in the affections of the people. His name is honorably connected with the highest office in the gift of the American voter. As President he was true to law and order, mindful of great and arduous duties, careful of the momentous trust reposed in him. To know of him as Chief Executive of the Nation will be esteemed a privilege and pleasure by the passing generations.

But the real character, as well as glory, of this illustrious man was military. Had he overshadowed all other Presidents in profound statesmanship, wise diplomacy, and political acumen, the fame thus acquired would have been as Neptune to the Sun in comparison with that which sprang from his military career.

Justly reckoned as the first soldier of the age, if not of the world, the nation is not more moved by admiration of his splendid military qualities than by gratitude for the timeliness of his victories and their saving results. He was a man of God raised up for an emergency. His genius brought victory, and with victory, peace. The noblest tribute that can be paid mortal man is his by universal acclamation. "He made his foes his friends."

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Greatness here grows into grandness. War loses much of its grim visage. Victory hath its charm and value. Appomattox was not a vindictive triumph. The armies, despite differences, were brothers. Grant knew what war meant. It was not child's play, but earnest. He knew also what victory meant. If peace, reconciliation, mutual happiness and contentment, did not follow, victory was vain. Return to the flag, the common brotherhood, was the supreme object. This he achieved along with his grand victory. His conditions of surrender took the sting out of defeat and sent his foes away to their homes rejoicing in the magnanimity of their victor, and even surprised at their alienation from the "Stars and Stripes" and the common Union of States.

As no other General ever made victory so sure, so none ever made it so complete. Smaller men had lost over and over again in the game of battle. Smaller men, in the hour of triumph, would have narrowed conditions, and postponed reconciliation. He made war a terribly earnest thing, and victory as real and substantial. The terms of Alexander, Hannibal, Wallenstein, Napoleon and Von Moltke were never generous. They always involved the selfishness of superiority and conquest, never the humanitarian spirit of unity and brotherhood. Herein Grant was greater than any historic hero, brighter than any preceding military star. He handled cohorts that they might win, yet never won for the sake of glorying in victory but of confirming peace.

Possibly no man ever ended a triumphant military career amid more universal admiration. He shared alike the respect of friend and foe. A grateful nation showered on him its

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highest political honors. He was not forgotten amid final retiracy, though too modest to be obtrusive and too well satisfied to be ambitious. Admirers strove to place him beyond want. In grave political emergency his name spontaneously came to the fore. Wherever he appeared, the public clamored to show their respect. Whatever he said—and it was all too little—was weighed as the words of a seer. Amid financial wreck, through no fault of his own, he had the most unbounded sympathy. In his last hours, when confronting the foe to whom all heroes must strike their colors, amid the pain of a horrible malady, the inner heart of the nation was instinctively drawn to him, and regrets over his suffering and prospective loss were general and profound.

And now that he is dead there is universal mourning. Our greatest and noblest has been taken. Let us learn of him and teach our children. Another, others, might have done so, but he saved us as a people, a government, a solidified nation. He gave us order and law, peace and happiness. Though a larger and more perilous work than that of Washington, it was not unlike his. And as of him, an admiring, loving and grateful people will say: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

My thanks are due to Badeau, Humphreys, Dana, Wilson, Swinton, Young, and the various other army officers and civilians who are recognized as authorities upon the war and the times in which General Grant figured, and whose literary works I have consulted freely.

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16 LIEUTENANT GRANT, AGED TWENTY-THREE YEARS.

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CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE—BIRTH—EDUCATION.

THE Grant name is associated with the Scottish clans, though it is probably of Norman origin. The clan was powerful in the early days of the Scotch monarchy. John Grant commanded the right wing of the Scotch army at Halidown Hill, in 1333. During the Jacobite troubles the Grants held large possessions in the Strathspey country, and were Protestants and Whigs. Lieutenant-General Francis Grant was buried in Hampshire, England, Dec. 2d, 1781, and his monument bears a burning crest with the motto "Steadfast." In "Fairbain's Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland" are twenty-one different crests of the Grant family. One of them represents a burning hill, with four peaks each surmounted by a flame with the motto "Stand Sure! Stand Fast! Craig Ellachie!" Another Grant had as a crest an oak sprouting and sun shining, with the motto "Wise and Harmless." Others still bore as mottoes "Stabit," "Stand Sure!" "I'll Stand Sure," "Immobile," "Stand Fast Craig Ellachie." These mottoes of the sturdy Grant clansmen are strikingly descriptive of the dominant traits in the character of their illustrious descendant, the subject of this volume.

Matthew Grant came to America in 1630, and settled first in Massachusetts, then at Windsor, Connecticut. In the fifth generation from Matthew was Capt. Noah Grant, the General's Great-grandfather, who fought in the French and Indian wars.

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His son, Noah Grant, Jr., was a lieutenant of militia in the battle of Lexington, and subsequently fought throughout the Revolutionary War. He removed to Westmoreland county, Pa., where his son, Jesse Root Grant, was born, January 23d, 1794.

Jesse R. Grant, whose father moved to the then Northwest in April, 1799, lost his mother when he was eleven

FATHER OF GENERAL GRANT.

years old. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed as a tanner to a half brother in Maysville, Ky. After serving his time he began the tanning business for himself in Ravenna, Portage county, O. Though deprived of early schooling, he was

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a man of large information. Blessed with a strong constitution, robust body, shrewd and comprehensive judgment, and being honest, frugal, industrious and persevering, he became prosperous and gradually extended his business to various cities and towns in the West. He was a man of strict integrity, a ready speaker and pleasing writer.

At the age of sixty he gave up his business, having ac-

MOTHER OF GENERAL GRANT.

quired a fortune, to his sons Orville and Simpson. He subsequently divided his property equally among his children, reserving enough to support himself and wife. His son Ulysses declined to receive any part of his father's fortune,

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modestly asserting that he had done nothing toward its accumulation.

Jesse R. Grant was married at Point Pleasant, Ohio, in June, 1821, to Hannah Simpson, daughter of John Simpson, a farmer of Montgomery county, Pa. She was also of Scotch extraction, and was noted for her great steadiness, firmness and strength of character. She was a consistent member of the Methodist Church from girlhood, a faithful and devoted wife, a careful and painstaking mother, and at all times and in all troubles the chief stay and comfort of her family.

It is not strange that the offspring of such parents should be sturdy, virtuous, honest and truthful, and that with opportunity they should develop all the qualities which fit men for the highest places of trust in politics, war or business.

Hiram Ulysses Grant was born on April 27th, 1822, at Point Pleasant, in Clermont county, O. His father relates that soon after his birth a family discussion arose about naming him. His mother proposed Albert, after Albert Gallatin. An aunt proposed Theodore. The grandfather suggested Hiram. The step-grandmother, a student of history, proposed Ulysses. The result was he was christened Hiram Ulysses, and passed his childhood under this name.

The year after, 1823, his father moved to Georgetown, within forty miles of Cincinnati. Here he passed his boyhood, and it was that of one growing up in a comparatively new country. At an early age he began to manifest an independent, self-reliant and venturesome disposition. He was fond of riding and breaking horses, driving teams, and helping at whatever work he was able to do. At six he was a fearless horseman, and at twelve had broken many colts, some of which he used to ride at full speed, standing on their backs like a circus man. His quiet, gentle disposition, yet remarkable firmness, gave him wonderful control of horses.

He was in demand among his neighbors as a trainer of

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BIRTHPLACE OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

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young animals, but he could never be engaged for money. A neighbor had a fine colt which he could not teach to pace. He wanted young Grant to try his hand at teaching him, and was willing to pay handsomely. The boy would not hire himself. So he was engaged to carry a letter to a town some distance away, the colt to be ridden. After he was mounted and had started, the neighbor called out to him, "Please teach that colt to pace." He returned the horse at night a perfect pacer, but having found out that the letter was simply a sham, he could never afterward be persuaded to teach a horse to pace.

The coolness, judgment and signal readiness in an emergency which afterward characterized his career as a soldier and general, was displayed at the age of twelve, in crossing the swollen waters of White Oak creek. He was driving a light wagon and pair of horses. In the wagon were two young ladies. The horses got beyond their depth and the alarmed ladies began to scream.

"Keep quiet! Keep quiet!" shouted the perfectly self-possessed boy, "I'll take you safely through."

At this time his father had taken a contract to build a jail for the county. It was to be of timbers, and the boy undertook to haul the logs. His father consented, not thinking the task possible without help. To his surprise the big logs began to come faster even than the workman needed them. On going to the woods to inspect matters he found the boy using the horses to load with. He had erected an ingenious slide or gangway, one end on the ground, the other as high as the wagon, and by means of chains was making the horses roll the heavy logs up to their place on the wagon. The father saw that the boy was quite equal to the emergency.

Though fond of games and all boyhood sports, he was modest and retiring. Yet his even temper and resolute spirit gained him the respect and confidence of his companions and

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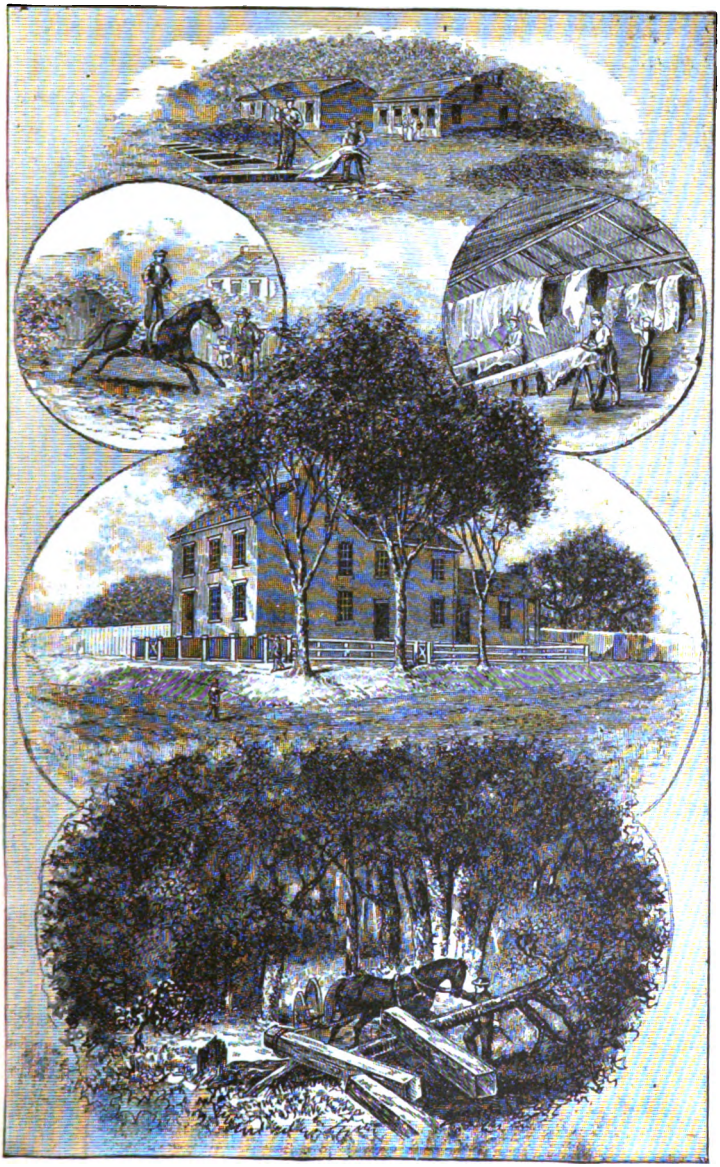

SCENES IN GRANT'S BOYHOOD, GEORGETOWN, OHIO. 21

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made him a natural leader among them. His modesty amounted to shrinking when in the company of older persons. This amiable, patient, cheerful, modest, light-hearted boy, was no laggard in his classes. Though opportunity for schooling was limited, he learned easily and well, and was quite apt in mathematics.

Though peaceful, he never permitted himself to be imposed upon. Many instances are given to prove the fullness of his courage, his good sense and self-reliance. His innate sense of justice always inclined him to the weaker side in schoolboy controversies, and he fought his cause through on the line chosen at every hazard.

However great the provocation, or however intense his anger, his father says he never knew him to utter a harsher phrase than "Confound it!" This was sufficient for his quiet, suppressed wrath, yet it meant far more than the roystering expletives of the Hectors of the village school or even of the larger school of life.

Industrious as he was, he did not like the business of tanning. He would learn the trade, but not to follow it. He inclined to trade in the Southern States. His father suggested West Point. This was something new, and he assented to it. The last official act of Hon. Thomas L. Hamer was to nominate to the Secretary of War Ulysses S. Grant, as a suitable person to receive the appointment of cadet at the United States Military Academy.

And here came the confusion of Christian names, probably through the inadvertence of the member of Congress, who omitted Hiram and, knowing the mother's maiden name to be Simpson, ran its initial in with that of Ulysses. The cadet warrant was made out in the name of Ulysses S. Grant. Trusting to getting the matter fixed in the near future, the young man entered the academy and began his military education. But it was one of those things that would not fix very

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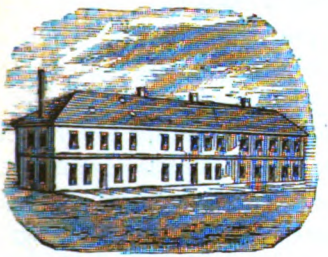

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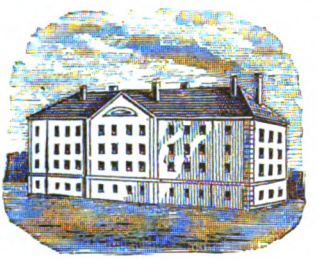
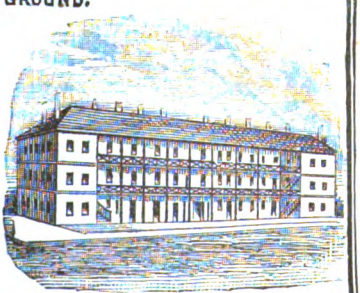


NORTH BARRACKS.

PARADE GROUND.

ACADEMY BUILDING.



BARRACKS.

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easily. The "U. S." was too suggestive for his comrades to lose sight of. He was nick-named Uncle Sam, and the familiar appellation has been ringing among army comrades ever since. He never regarded the "S" as any legal part of his name.

He entered West Point, July 1st, 1839, at the age of seventeen. Though his previous education had been limited, he passed the examination readily. He never rose to a high position in his class, except in mathematics, engineering and military science. But he excelled in all military exercises, horsemanship and cavalry drill.

He was a quietly good-humored, patient, determined student, not given to boisterous pranks, nor to bad habits. He never tasted liquor, and, strange as it may seem in view of his after smoking propensity, he neither smoked nor chewed when at the Academy. He respected all discipline and was never guilty of wanton violation of rules and regulations.

He had as classmates Franklin, Ingalls, Reynolds, Augur, Ripley and Gardner, and as cotemporaries Sherman, Thomas, Meade, Humphreys, Smith and others who afterward became illustrious in war. Out of his class of over one hundred, only thirty-nine succeeded in graduating. Among these thirty-nine Grant graduated with the rank of number twenty-one. His diploma and commission both bore the entering name of Ulysses S. Grant.

Prof. Coppee, of Lehigh University, who was at West Point with Grant thus speaks of the cadet: "I remember him as a plain, common sense, straightforward youth, quiet, rather of the old head on the young shoulders order, shunning notoriety; quite contented while others were grumbling; taking to his military duties in a very business-like manner; not a prominent man in the corps, but respected by all and very popular with his friends. The *sobriquet* of 'Uncle Sam' was given him there, where every good fellow has a nick-name

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from these very qualities; indeed, he was a very uncle-like sort of youth. He was then and always an excellent horseman, and his picture rises before me as I write, in the old, torn coat, obsolescent leather gig-top, loose riding-pantaloons with spurs buckled over them, going with his clanging saber to the drill-hall. He exhibited but little enthusiasm in anything. His best standing was in the mathematical branches and their application to tactics and military engineering."

Nothing is better known than that the highest stations and first honors of life are not necessarily carried by those who rank first in colleges and academies. Yet it seldom happens that boyhood and schooldays are passed by any one without evidence of the qualities which bring success and distinction. Scholarship is one thing, tenacity and purpose another. Fortune sometimes favors the former, she seldom refuses to yield to the latter. Judged by his rank in class, by the schedule of learned professors, by the grades and standards of a literary institution, young Grant was bound to be eclipsed in the race of life by those who started under the auspices of higher scholastic honors. But what was there in them to ascertain, and establish moral or manhood qualities? They only showed the power of brain acquisition, and may never have reflected for a moment the sterling force of character and truly inherent worth which shape fortune against adverse currents and hew success out of the rough logs of circumstance.

More is to be learned of the future Grant from a study of his quiet, inner life and habitude than from the roll books of West Point.

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CHAPTER II.

IN MEXICO AND ON THE FRONTIERS.

IN point of education, young Grant was equipped for military service, and presumably for the business of a lifetime. A

GEN. SCOTT.

West Point education has always been regarded as sufficiently liberal for every useful purpose. With full collegiate equipment, but with an endowment far beyond the gift of learned

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institution, the young graduate was appointed brevet second lieutenant in U. S. Army, July 1st, 1843, and assigned to temporary duty with the Fourth Regiment of Infantry. After a three months' vacation, spent at home, he reported to his regiment at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. In

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

1844, he moved with the regiment to Camp Salubrity, at Natchitoches, La. This was among the first moves made by the government in support of that policy which ended in the acquisition of Texas and the Mexican War. Here he had a life of the usual routine, and here he smoked his first cigar,

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the beginning of a habit which grew to be almost a characteristic.

The next year, 1845, his regiment became part of the army of observation, under General Taylor, at Corpus Christi. In that year, Sept. 30th, he was promoted to the full rank of second lieutenant to fill a vacancy in the Seventh Infantry, but asked the privilege of remaining with the Fourth.

This request was granted. Soon afterward, May 8th, 1846,

PALO ALTO.

he participated in the battle of *Palo Alto*, and on May 9th in that of Resaca de la Palma. The army of observation had become one of occupation, and the Mexican War was on in earnest. Palo Alto and Resaca completed the discomfiture of the Mexican army, and sent it back over the river in confusion. It brought long-sought and welcome relief to the little garrison beleagued at Fort Brown, which hailed with shouts their

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American rescuers. The young soldier had received his first baptism of fire and was fully introduced to the realities of his profession.

Taylor, the old veteran, who never looked on war as a scientific pastime, and who never let an enemy have any rest, pushed in hot haste after the Mexican forces. He found them

MONTEREY.

at the stronghold of Monterey. It was a place which for strategic reasons the Mexicans could not afford to lose. For similar reasons, as well as for the moral effect of victory, the Americans must have it. There, therefore, occurred here, on Sept. 23d, 1846, one of the most closely contested and bloodiest battles of the war, in which Lieutenant Grant behaved with

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such wonderful coolness and bravery as to invite the praise of his superiors, and secure honorable mention of his conduct in the official reports of the battle.

It is proper to observe here that in the Mexican War American officers and soldiers were on trial for the first time in very many years. However doubtful the propriety of the war,

BATTLE OF MONTEREY.

sentiment was, for the time being, hushed amid determination to uphold the honor of the flag, cost what it might. The dull, monotonous life of the standing army unused it to warfare. So the call for every man to do his duty was urgent. Then defeat must be avoided for prudential reasons. The foe was by no means humane. It was vindictive; enough so to put

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every man on his mettle, and make prominent the thought that self-preservation was truly the first law of nature. All the conditions stimulated to individual prowess, and tested to the fullest the inherent qualities of privates and officers.

For some time General Scott had been gathering a large force at the Island of Lobos, for an attack on Vera Cruz. This was a part of the grand scheme he had conceived of piercing the Mexican vitals, and marching directly to their capital, Mexico. In order to augment his force, Grant's regiment was called to join him soon after the battle of Monterey. The siege of Vera Cruz lasted for some time. During its operation the young lieutenant displayed great perseverance and activity, and won high honors in the capture of the city, which took place March 29th, 1847.

After this event he was appointed regimental quartermaster, which office he filled with credit to himself and the service until the army was withdrawn from Mexico. Though this post exonerated its holder from active service with the troops, Grant never availed himself of the privilege, but joined his regiment on the eve of every battle and fought with his comrades through it.

It was thus that he became an active and daring participant in the two days'battle of Cerro Gordo, on April 17th and 18th, and the same must be said of the capture of San Antonio, and the battle of Cherubusco, August 20th, 1847. The battle of Molino del Rey was fought on September 8th, 1847. It was one of the hottest and deadliest of that celebrated march from the sea to the Mexican capital, and perhaps the most decisive, for both armies felt that its result would settle the question of further invasion. Lieutenant Grant here came into conspicuous view as a daring, dashing officer. He moved his command so steadily and firmly on the enemy's batteries, and evinced so much courage and determination, that the rank of first lieutenant by brevet was tendered him on the spot, and particular

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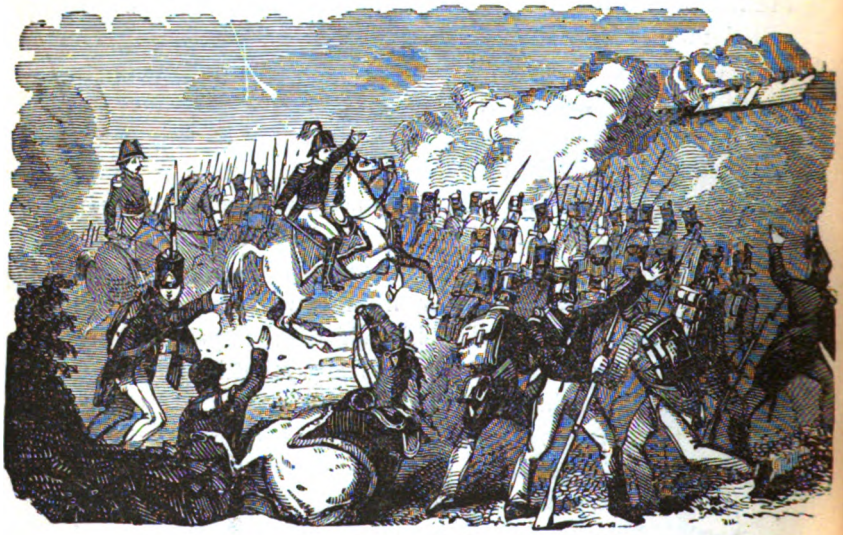
mention of his name was made in the official reports of the battle, with a call of attention to his "distinguished and meritorious services." It is said he declined the honor which came in this direction because the rank of full first lieutenant had already fallen to him through regular channels owing to a vacancy occasioned by casualty in the battle. But another account says his nomination for the honor was forwarded to Congress, which failed to act on it. If so, the neglect would



CHAPULTEPEC.

appear unaccountable to one who saw him act like a common gunner on that victorious day, and help to shove his piece amid showers of balls, up to the very breastworks of the enemy.

At the storming of Chapultepec, which occurred a few days after, Lieutenant Grant had opportunity to especially distinguish himself. Nearly half way up the steep slope to the castle walls stood a strong field-work, so flanked by ravines as

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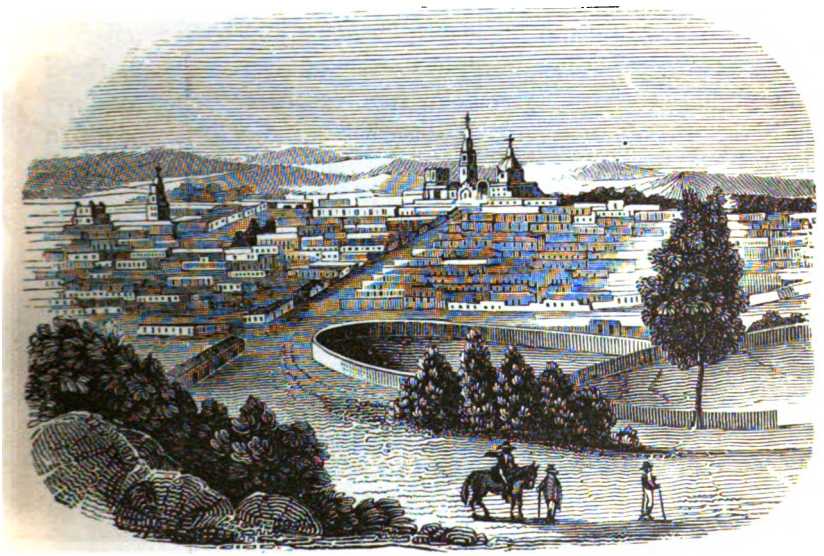
to make its capture hazardous in the extreme. But it must be carried before the storming parties, weighted with fascines and ladders, could advance to scale the walls. The battalions ordered to take it, moved forward under a fierce and withering fire. Their ranks were frightfully thinned and more than once disorganized before it could be reached. Final success became doubtful under that short range fire from the redoubt. At



CITY OF MEXICO.

this critical moment Grant rallied a detachment of his regiment, and, with Captain Brooks, who did the same with that of the Second Artillery, suddenly wheeled to the left, and enveloping the enemy's right flank, rolled it back in confusion. Other regiments quickly came up to their support. A last and desperate charge was made and the redoubt was carried.

This flank movement was a brilliant conception in the heat of battle, and on the spur of the moment, and it was carried

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out against overwhelming odds, and in the face of a raking fire. It was mentioned in various reports of the officers, and among others General Garland says: "I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, who acquitted himself most nobly in my presence on several occasions." And then there are several mentions of how he "acquitted himself most nobly," among which was his persistent and effective service of a mountain howitzer, his rallying a handful of men right under the enemy's guns, his gallantly heading a desperate charge, his boldly galloping through storms of shot and shell, like a veritable Texas ranger, to deliver orders to his superiors, hurry up ammunition, and do whatever was expected of a faithful and daring subordinate. This conduct gained for him the rank of brevet captain.

In the assault and capture of the City of Mexico his gallantry was as conspicuous as ever. The heart of the nation having been pierced, and the war being practically over, he devoted himself with fresh energy to the particular duties of quartermaster. His station was in the city, which gave him fine opportunity to study the disposition of the conquered people and the nature of their institutions. This study he prosecuted with zeal, even going so far as to organize expeditions to neighboring parts in quest of information, historical, political and military. It is hard to say what his impressions were, but it is not unlikely that they proved the groundwork of that interest in, and friendship for, the nation which he manifested in many ways during his political and civic career. At all times in his life he has been a keen observer of Mexican fortune and a well wisher of the Latin Republic.

The sieges, toilsome marches and consummate strategy which characterized this advance from Vera Cruz to the Mexican capitol, and the many battles fought in the short space of three weeks, furnished a school for young Grant, which trained him for a position he then little dreamed of. He was one of those

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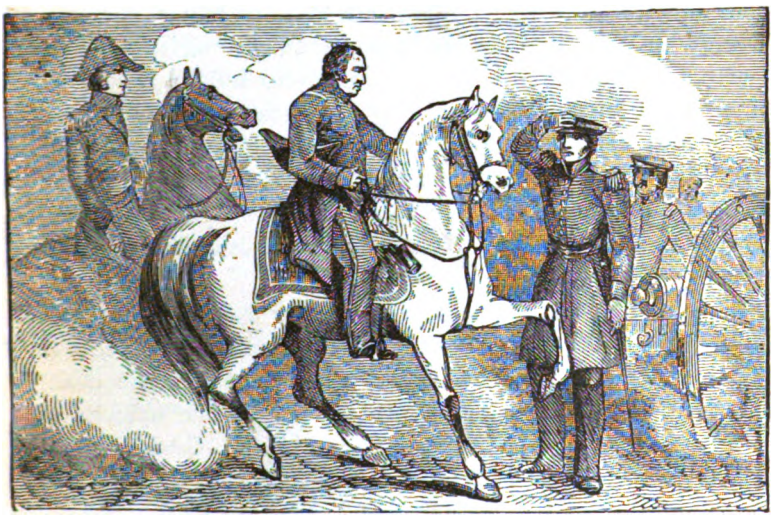
who in time of war, where action is required, and judgment is at a premium, naturally rise rapidly, if death spares them. But the proclamation of peace ended his preferment for the time, and the army was scattered through the various posts of our wide country.

At the close of the Mexican War he was but twenty-five years of age, yet he had served in the active campaigns of two years, first under the resolute Taylor from Corpus Christi to Monterey, and then under the more sagacious Scott from



GRANT COMPLIMENTED.

the Sea Coast to the Mexican capital, and in the double capacity of staff and line officer, he missed no important battle of the war except Buena Vista. As to duty and conduct, he drew praise where others of the same, or even superior rank, escaped mention. Altogether, this war, his first, proved his energy and established his bravery, while it developed that comprehensive judgment and those wonderful powers of command which fitted him for the great emergency of the Civil War.

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After peace was restored, Captain Grant came with his regiment to New York city, and to Sackett's Harbor, where it remained stationed till 1849. During a leave of absence in 1848, he married Miss Julia T. Dent, daughter of a St. Louis merchant. On his return to the regiment, he was again made its quartermaster. He continued to hold this office till 1853. In the fall of 1849, he had a taste of frontier life, by the removal of his regiment to Fort Brady, near the city of Detroit. In two years it returned to Sackett's Harbor.

The gold fever had broken out in 1849, and a stream of emigrants had been drifting toward the setting sun. These were now clamoring for protection against Indians, and to the interests of embryo states. The government felt called upon to extend its strong military arm to the enterprising, though chaotic society of the Pacific shores. In 1852, Captain Grant was ordered to Fort Columbus, in New York bay, preparatory to sailing for the coasts which are washed by the Western sea.

At this time the shortest route was by way of the Isthmus of Panama. But there was no railroad, and the trip across the isthmus was tedious and dangerous, on account of the deadly climate. During the march across, many of the officers and men succumbed to the heat and malaria. Grant bore up against climate and hardships, and was thus enabled to be of great service to his comrades of less hardy mould and less patient disposition. At Panama, the cholera broke out in the regiment, which prevented its voyage up the Pacific for a period of several weeks, during which it was encamped on one of the islands off the city.

The regiment, with greatly decimated ranks, sailed for Oregon, and Captain Grant's company was stationed at Columbia barracks, on the Columbia river. Here he had his first experience in Indian fighting. He took an active part in the expeditions fitted out for conquest and pacification, and it

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is to be supposed gained much information respecting Indian character, methods of warfare, and the resources of the new country.

In 1853, he was on duty at Fort Vancouvre, where he received the full rank of captain. Soon after this he was assigned to the command of Fort Humboldt, on the coast of Northern California. Though supreme here, his life was monotonous and by no means suited to his tastes. Though quiet, he was not lethargic. Further promotion might be postponed for years. There being nothing in the immediate future to compensate him for prolonged absence from family and friends, he resigned his commission in the army, July 31st, 1854, and came back to St. Louis to join his wife and children.

Captain Grant was now out in the world and on his own resources. Those who are specially fitted for army life are by no means the best qualified for business success; indeed they may be said to be disqualified. But Grant was bound to try. He moved, with his family, to a farm near St. Louis, which had been presented to his wife by her father. Here he threw aside his army habits as much as possible, stripped off his coat and went to work to build himself a house. This, finished and occupied, he turned resolutely to farming. It has been said that he failed as a farmer. He did not make money, for his place was small, but he made a living and improved his farm. In summer he was his own most active hand. In winter he paid great attention to stock, being very fond of fine cattle.

He devoted four years of his life to this plain, honest and laborious occupation. Finding it not quite suited to his inclinations, he leased his farm and moved to St. Louis, where he opened a real estate office in connection with a partner. This business did not develop sufficiently to support two families, and he soon drew out.

Then he accepted a position in the custom house at St.

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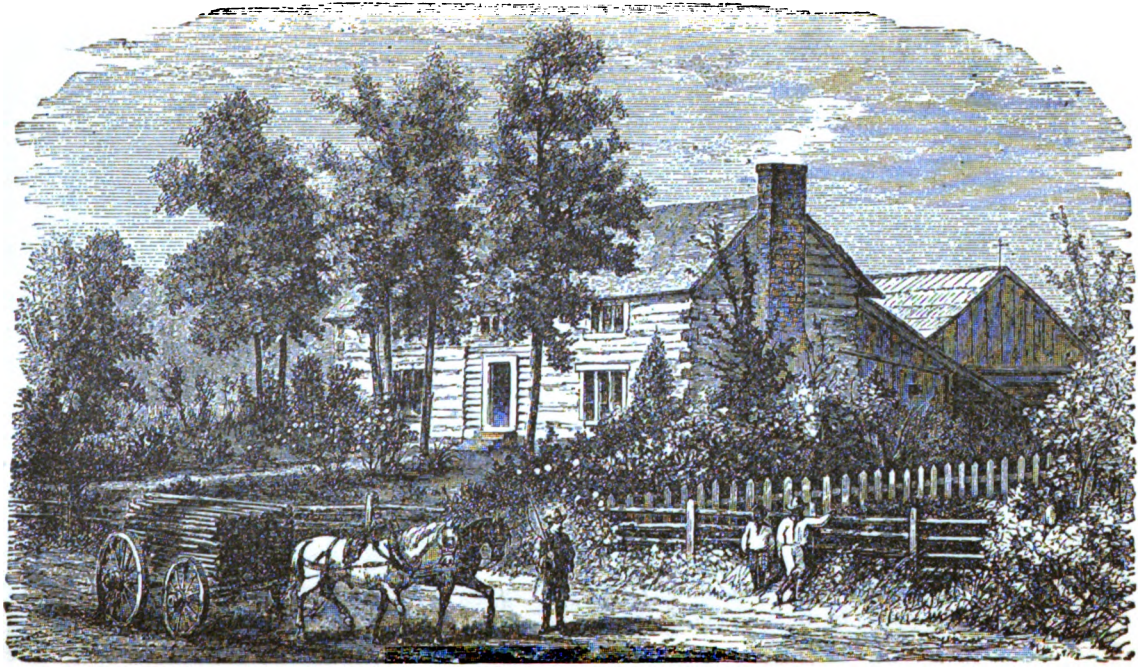

40 HOUSE BUILT BY CAPTAIN GRANT.

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Louis, but the collector who appointed him soon after died, and there arose one in his place who knew not Joseph. He was out in the world again with, as the metaphor of the ousted hath it, " his head under his arm."

After many efforts for place and many failures through lack of the influence which rewards the politician rather than him whose sole recommendation is merit, he accepted a proposition from his father to go to Galena and join his brothers in the tanning business. Though he had not in early years inclined to this business he availed himself of the offer and soon became familiar with the details from which he had formerly shrunk. While his business career in Galena was fairly successful it was undemonstrative, and as a citizen he was retired and almost obscure. Few of the citizens, outside of his immediate business circle, got to know him intimately. But these few did not fail to discover beneath his natural reserve a surprising mine of rare qualities. The more he was studied the better he was known and loved. And it was so with him throughout his whole life. The silent, staid, undemonstrative, almost immovable man was as complete a bundle of surprises to those who punctured the outer rim of his reserve as ever was found in human shape. The still tongue could be eloquent in a short sentence. The immovable face could light and play with dramatic fervor. The far-off heart could assume a nearness and warmth that gave to humanity a new interpretation and to friendship a new charm.

And once beneath that rim of reserve and among the sterling ore of quality and character, there might have been discovered, in the rough to be sure, all the elements which entered into the future successful leader of the Federal armies and the honored President of the Republic. Looking back to the inner trait, disposition and quality, one sees in the modest Galena tanner the clearly defined outline of the after man. There was the beginning of that wonderful perceptive

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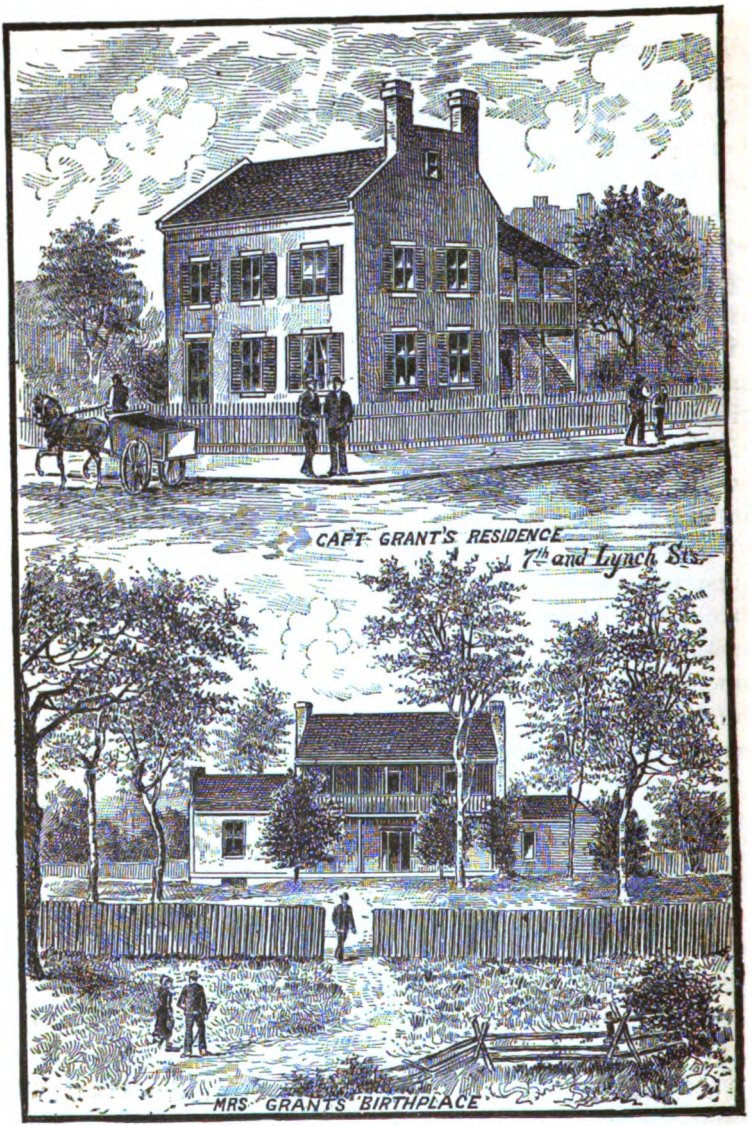

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vigor, mental scope, coolness of head, faultless judgment, unflagging energy, personal bravery, tenacious memory, mastery of detail, power of command, which in their ripeness and perfection constituted a genius unparalleled in military annals.

Here then lived, at the age of thirty-nine, a quiet contented tanner, with a well-knit frame, a stout constitution, a good temper. He was temperate, economical, industrious, unambitious. He read some, observed more, thought most, remembered everything. Politics and policies did not disturb him. His religion was general reverence of the Supreme. He had no philosophy except that of common sense—no visionary schemes, no whims, no hobbies. The goggles of prejudice were not suited to his eyes. In business speech and thought he was severely plain and direct, in manners simple, in courage steadfast, in truthfulness unqualified, in hope unbounded, in honor sterling, in friendship firm. It is the picture of one who might have ever remained a modest well-to-do citizen. Looking further into it, it becomes the picture of one startlingly full of possibilities, and needing but the brush of circumstances and the colors of emergency to make it an unfading national portrait.

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GRANT LEAVING FOR THE WAR.

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CHAPTER III.

THE REBELLION—HIS FIRST BATTLES.

IN the picture just drawn of the quiet, unpretentious Westerner we have seen the possibilities of a chieftain. So the old world might have seen them in a study of a certain sub-lieutenant in the French army toward the end of the eighteenth century. But as to probabilities, what? How dissimilar here the two eventful lives. Grant was without ambition. Exacting opportunity, grave circumstance, must draw him out. Within him there was no impelling force but duty. The future Emperor of France, and arbiter of the destinies of Europe, forced his opportunity. He was ambitious. The possible with him became the probable. His pleasure was his duty. Power was his god. He carved, and built, and ruined, at the behest of selfishness. Grant was not Grant in a personal sense. He was only Grant on a call, in the midst of a duty, a high, supreme demand. He sought not, but marched evenly with destiny. He grew with emergency, swelled and broadened under trial, till he filled every corner of expectation, and so was not great at the top, nor at the bottom, but solidly great, and the fame which followed reached from the humblest cabin to the lordliest palace.

There was a political situation for Captain Grant, or rather citizen Grant, to look upon. There had been one for some time. How he looked upon it in 1856 may be inferred from the fact that he voted for Buchanan for President. He was soon convinced that this vote was a grievous mistake. Thereafter he inclined to the views held by Crittenden, Bell and Everett.

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As to the attitude of North and South, he hoped that peaceful councils would prevail, and civil war be averted. Do not

MAJOR ANDERSON.

think he was neutral. When hope of compromise failed, his position was not doubtful. He had been educated at the

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public expense. He had sworn to defend the Constitution of the United States against its enemies. He was geographically of those whose instincts and judgments favored freedom. What could he be but a supporter of the national flag when it was attacked?

April 11th, 1861, Beauregard opened fire on Sumpter. On the 13th it fell, after a gallant defence by its garrison under command of Major Anderson. This was the resurrection of a patriotism which had hitherto been indifferent and sluggish. It was the thunderbolt which was needed to startle the torpor of the nation. It banished questioning and compromise, and evoked a spirit of determination, whose existence was not suspected. It was noisy challenge, shotted defiance. Honor, safety, solidarity, required acceptance, hostile meeting.

On the 15th of April the President called for seventy-five thousand troops for three months. What a parody on the situation! The holiday parade of a squadron was to stop the fifty year impetus of a studied, armed and desperate cause. "On this same morning," thus writes a friend in the family, "Grant laid down the paper containing an account of the bombardment, walked round the counter, and drew on his coat, saying, 'I am for the war to put down this rebellion. The Government has educated me for the army. Though I have served through one war I feel I am still a little in the nation's debt, and am ready to discharge the obligation.'"

On April 19th, four days later, Grant was drilling a company of volunteers in Galena. In another four days he was at Springfield, the capital of the State, with his company, and had offered his services to the adjutant-general of the army to serve in any capacity.

This letter was not deemed of sufficient importance to preserve, but it stated that the writer had received a military education at the public expense, and now that the country was in danger, he thought it his duty to place at the disposal

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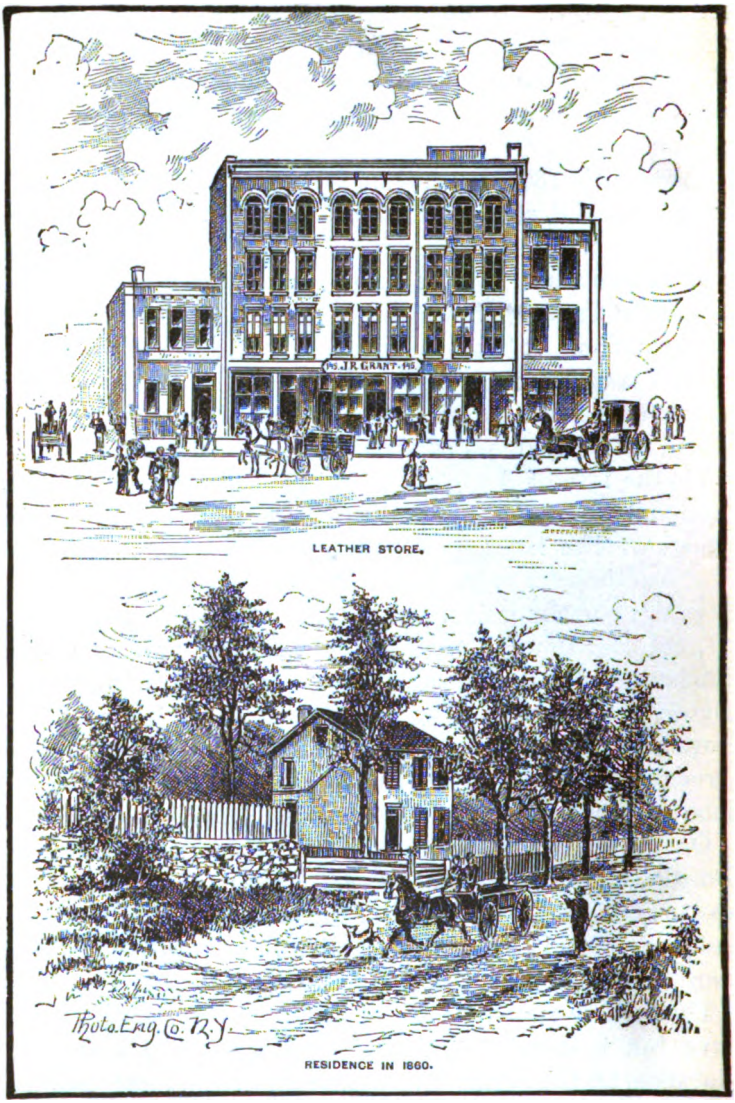

GRANT'S RESIDENCE, GALENA, ILLS.

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of the authorities whatever skill or experience he had acquired.

No reply came. He visited his father at Covington. Then

GEN. McCLELLAN.

he applied to General McClellan in command of the Ohio militia at Cincinnati. Still no employment. He went back

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to Springfield. He was useful there for five weeks, organizing the volunteers which were pouring into the city. His quiet assiduity and wonderful organizing force at length secured recognition. Governor Yates commissioned him colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry.

He assumed command June 16th, 1861. Ordered to rendezvous at Quincy, he marched his regiment thither. Before he arrived, word was received to make Ironton, Mo., his destination. He made for the river to take a steamer. This was delayed. A portion of the Sixteenth Illinois Regiment was reported as surrounded by the enemy near Palmyra, and his regiment was sent to its relief. Before it arrived the difficulty was passed, and the Twenty-first fell into duty along the line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, where it remained for two weeks.

The only activity was a vain search or two after Tom Harris, who headed a band of Confederate scouts. Thence the regiment went to Mexico, Mo., where it remained another two weeks. Orders were received to march to Ironton, Mo. In passing thither through St. Louis the papers announced his promotion to brigadier-general. It seems that Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Galena, had suggested the nomination, all unknown to the modest and unaspiring colonel. It was seconded by all the members of Congress from the State, none of whom knew him personally. The newspaper announcement was the first intimation of the promotion he had received. He turned over his command to Col. Alexander, who afterward lost his life at Chickamauga.

GENERAL FREMONT.

His commission as brigadier was dated August 7th, 1861, to

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date from May 17th. The State of Illinois, and all between the Mississippi and Rocky Mountains, comprised the Western Military Department. Maj.-General Fremont was in command. He assigned Grant to duty at Ironton, as commander of the district of South Eastern Missouri. In two weeks, his headquarters were at Jefferson City. On Sept. 1st he was called to Cairo, where he established more permanent headquarters. His district comprehended not only South Eastern Missouri, whence it took its name, but Southern Illinois, and Western Kentucky and Tennessee. The junction of four great rivers lay within it—Mississippi, Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee.

The Confederate, Polk, held Columbus, twenty miles below Cairo. Bragg was at Bowling Green, coercing Kentucky to abandon her neutrality. Thompson was in Missouri, and held the Mississippi south of the Ohio. The lines of the Tennessee and Cumberland were in Confederate hands. Those of the Ohio soon would be if Paducah were seized, which seemed likely. Grant saw the situation at a glance. He would forestall Polk, already moving on Paducah at the junction of the Tennessee and Ohio. On September 5th, he notified Fremont and the Legislature of Kentucky of his intention. The first was necessary as a matter of duty, the latter because the position of Kentucky was one of armed neutrality, so far as she was concerned. "I am getting ready to go to Paducah. Will start at six and a half o'clock," was his dispatch to Fremont. There being no answer he sent again, "I am now nearly ready for Paducah, should not telegram arrive preventing the movement."

GENERAL BRAGG.

No reply. At ten and a half o'clock he started with two regiments and a battery, using two gun-boats as transports.

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Despite an accident and delay at Mound City he arrived at Paducah at half past eight on the morning of the sixth. The town was seized without firing a gun, the Confederate Brigadier Tilghman hurrying out with his forces while Grant was getting ashore. He left a garrison and returned to Cairo, where Fremont's answer to his dispatch awaited him. It gave him permission to take Paducah, " if he felt strong enough."

Brigadier-General C. F. Smith was given command of the place, and Grant was rebuked for corresponding with a State Legislature. This seizure was much criticised at the time, but Kentucky speedily passed resolutions favoring the Union, and neutrality became a myth. The generalship of Grant was not bad statesmanship. Military circles were not happy circles then. They seldom are. The genius that could grasp so boldly, act so promptly as to save an important strategic point, and at the same time so encourage the Unionists in a State Legislature as to embolden them to wipe out a fiction called neutrality, which was hardly less demoralizing than secession, was a little too startling to be readily tolerated, especially since it was found in one almost unknown. Grant would remain at Cairo.

This was also an important centre. It was a natural gathering point for operations on the lower Mississippi. Thither clustered the forces of the North in sublime confusion. Grant's command amounted almost to personal superintendence. There was not an officer of the regular army or trained soldier there. He had to teach regimental and company officers their simplest duties. His staff was of entirely green timber. It too had to be taught. And thus as adjutant-general, quartermaster, commissary, ordnance officer, and aid-de-camp, ordering, drilling, teaching, he passed from morn till night and night till morn. The force under his command grew to 20,000 men, very like an army.

Grant wanted to take Columbus on the Mississippi, twenty

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miles below him. Fremont could not hear. That meant the fall of Belmont right opposite on the west bank. Still Fremont was deaf. Perhaps he was proving himself too good a drill master. His judgment of men brought around him an excellent staff. He was laying the foundations of an army whose force was to be felt in the West till the end of the war. After all the seeming discrimination against him had its compensation. He murmured not, but worked, and his work told, no matter into whose hands it afterwards fell.

On October 21st, a detachment of his forces under Col. Plummer met Jeff Thompson near Pilot Knob. After a two hours' fight the enemy retreated, leaving sixty killed on the field. This was the beginning of what became a general and very pretty movement. Fremont had ordered a force from Ironton to attack a strong Confederate position on St. Francis River. He ordered Grant to assist. Col. Oglesby was sent with three thousand mixed troops. This was Nov. 1st. On the 5th Fremont sent word to Grant that Polk, at Columbus, was reinforcing Price, who was then confronting Fremont, and that he should begin at once his proposed demonstration on Columbus. This was a grand chance. Grant requested Smith to move directly from Paducah on to Columbus. He strengthened Oglesby with a regiment, and ordered him to swing to the south of Belmont. He at the same time started down the river with five regiments of infantry, one section of artillery, and two squadrons of cavalry, thirty-one hundred and fourteen men, in transports. Smaller detachments were also ordered from Bird's Point and Fort Holt.

GENERAL PRICE.

On the evening of the 6th, hearing that Polk had been

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crossing forces to Belmont all day, and fearing for Oglesby's safety, he decided to turn his attention to Belmont. So on the 7th he landed at Hunter's Point, three miles above Belmont and out of the range of the guns at Columbus. A line of battle was formed. General Pillow hurriedly crossed four Confederate regiments from Columbus, reinforced Col. Tappan, and took command. By nine o'clock the engagement was on. After four hours' fighting the Confederates were driven completely back across the lagoon, losing their camp, artillery, equipage and many prisoners.

Carried away by the first flush of victory, the Federals lost their heads. Pillow had reformed his lines at the river's bank, and Polk, overlooking the scene from Columbus, had sent him reinforcements. Grant, who had had a horse shot under him, strove to reform his men. He strove in vain. To stop the tumult and plundering he ordered all the camps to be burned. The smoke proved a target for the Confederate guns at Columbus, which opened fire with demoralizing effect. The Confederate reinforcements (Southern History of the War, pp. 206–8) increased their force to twelve regiments, nearly double the Federal force. To remain was destruction.

Pillow was making good use of his reinforcements and time. Anticipating Grant's desire to get back to his boats at Hunter's Point, he intercepted him. "We are surrounded!" was the cry. In such a case surrender seemed inevitable. "We must cut our way out as we cut it in," was the reply of the imperturbable Grant.

Hesitation ended. There was solemn work to do under a determined leader. The officers and troops fell to it earnestly. The enemy disappeared a second time over the banks. The transports were reached, and embarkation took place, under comparatively fair discipline. The Federal loss was killed, wounded and missing, 485. The Confederate loss was 632 according to their own history. The Federals carried off 175

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Confederate prisoners and two guns, and spiked four others. General Grant's superintendence of the embarcation left him entirely behind his army. Anxious to see that all were safely in he lingered on a knoll, till within musket-range of a freshly-formed Confederate detachment, which was ordered to fire on him. But the transports were then the centre of attention, and so the General escaped, riding swiftly down to the last boat and boarding it just as it pushed off shore.

This first engagement of great magnitude in the Department was claimed as a substantial Federal victory. It is not always certain what makes a victory. The object was to protect Oglesby. It is certain that Polk sent no more reinforcements to harass him. He remained at Columbus, lest something worse than Belmont should happen. As to Grant, two things came about. He learned that nothing is to be gained by delay when two armies are fresh and undisciplined. His men learned that an expedition was not a holiday. The necessity for hard cohesion and stern discipline was so impressed on them that the soldiers of Belmont never failed to make their mark in subsequent struggles.

Notwithstanding Kentucky neutrality, the Confederates had formed a line from Columbus on the left to Bowling Green on the right, the former on the Mississippi, the latter at the junction of the Louisville and Nashville and Memphis and Ohio railroads. Strong armies were on both wings. In the centre, where the natural passage was by the rivers, and where the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers were but twelve miles apart, were two strong forts, Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. These were well selected, well fortified. They compacted a line whose preservation meant the salvation of Memphis, Nashville and the entire country for hundreds of miles southward. Should these forts fall, Bowling Green and Columbus, the two flanks and extremes would be turned. They would fall also, and with

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them the scene of battle would be shifted to other lines far beyond.

General Grant was looking upon this situation in early November, 1861, after the experience of Belmont. He saw these Confederate lines strengthen day by day. He knew the Confederacy was throwing into the forts, and the strong wings, its forces by the thousands, and was sending thither its best commanders. With a prescience which then seemed to be only his, he planned victory where it would tell with paralyzing effect on the enemy, and when it would electrify the country. For months there had been strain, exhaustion and gloom at home. What progress are we making? Where are our victories? When will it end? were the inquiries of the dissatisfied and despondent. Europe was nervous and peevish over the blockades. Loyalty was in the dumps. A cause seemed laggard or on the wane.

GEN. LEONIDAS POLK.

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CHAPTER IV.

FORT HENRY AND FORT DONELSON.

GENERAL FREMONT'S administration of affairs in Missouri having proved unsatisfactory he was relieved on Nov. 9th, 1861. On the same day General Halleck succeeded with both civil and military authority. The new command included Missouri, Arkansas, Western Kentucky, and all the territory over which Fremont had had civil control. At the same time that part of Kentucky and Tennessee lying east of the Cumberland river was erected into the department of the Ohio. Buell was given command of this.

GEN. HALLECK.

Halleck continued Grant, giving him the district of Cairo, which included Paducah. Here he held him for two months, organizing and disciplining the incoming troops. Early in January, 1862, McClellan, then General-in-Chief, ordered Halleck to move a force toward Mayfield and Murray in Kentucky. This order was sent to Grant, who at once sent McClernand from Cairo and Bird's Point with six thousand men, and C. F. Smith with two brigades from Paducah. The object was to threaten Columbus and the entire Confederate line, so as to prevent reinforcements being sent to Buckner at Bowling Green. This order was given on January 6th; on the 10th it was countermanded, but too late, for Grant was on his way. Though there was no

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fighting, the Confederate reinforcements were detained at Columbus. Nashville was threatened, and Brig.-Genl. Geo. H. Thomas, one of Buell's subordinates, fought and won the battle of Mill Spring, in Kentucky.

Smith on his return pronounced the capture of Ft. Henry feasible. On January 22d Grant sent this report to Halleck, and asked permission to visit him at St. Louis to talk the matter over. On the 23d he started on the visit, but Halleck would not hear to his proposition to capture the fort. Neither McClellan nor Halleck were yet ready for a move up the Tennessee.

Grant was too full of the idea to abandon it quietly. On January 28th he telegraphed Halleck, "I will take and hold Ft. Henry, on the Tennessee, and establish and hold a large camp there."

On the next day he wrote: "In view of the large force now concentrating in this district, and the present feasibility of the plan, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of subduing Ft. Henry, near the Kentucky and Tennessee line, and holding the position. If this is not done soon there is but little doubt that the defences on both the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers will be materially strengthened. From Ft. Henry it will be easy to operate either on the Cumberland (only twelve miles distant), Memphis or Columbus. It will beside have a moral effect on our troops to advance thence on the rebel States. The advantages of this move are as perceptible to the general commanding as to myself, therefore further statements are unnecessary."

On the 28th Commodore Foote, in charge of the naval force in this region, wrote to the same effect. At last Halleck yielded, and on the 30th sent detailed instructions to Cairo, which were received February 1st. On the 2d Grant started from Cairo with seventeen thousand men on transports, accompanied by seven ironclads under Foote. Two days

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afterward the land force was disembarked three miles below Ft. Henry, with a view of attacking it in the rear, while the gunboats made an attack in front.

COMMODORE FOOTE.

Ft. Henry was on the east bank of the Tennessee, and at this time was surrounded by water, owing to a flood in the

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river. On the opposite side was the unfinished Ft. Heiman. The Confederate force was under command of Brig.-Genl. Tilghman. It numbered twenty-eight hundred men. Though the heights on which Ft. Heiman were situated commanded the river and Ft. Henry, they were evacuated on the first approach of danger, owing to the unfinished condition of the fort. Ft. Henry was a strong field-work, with bastioned front, defended by seventeen heavy guns, twelve of which bore on the river. On the land side was an entrenched camp, outside of which were lines of rifle-pits. As soon as the intention of the Federals became known Tilghman ordered reinforcements from the Sandy river and Ft. Donelson.

Grant desired to capture both forts with their garrisons. C. F. Smith was sent with two brigades to invest Ft. Heiman, the fact that it had been evacuated not then being known. McClernand was sent to the rear of Ft. Henry, with orders to take and hold the straight road to Ft. Donelson. This was February 6th. The Confederates were receiving reinforcements rapidly. McClernand was admonished that success might depend on the celerity of his movements, and his troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to charge and take the fort by storm, promptly on receipt of orders. At 11 A. M. on the 6th the march began. The gun-boats moved at the same hour, and before noon attacked the water batteries at a distance of six hundred yards.

GEN. McCLERNAND.

In an hour and a half, after a severe fire, every Confederate gun was silenced, no vessel having received serious injury except the Essex. The Fort surrendered, and Genl. Tilghman and sixty men were captured.

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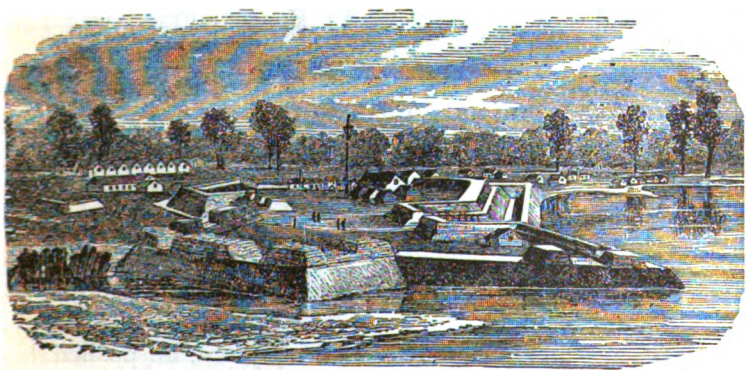
The rest of the garrison were stationed in the out-works two miles off. Before surrender these had been ordered to retreat on Ft. Donelson, which order they promptly obeyed.

The Fort had surrendered so quickly that Grant's land force had not time to reach the Ft. Donelson road and intercept the retreating foe. Pursuit was ordered, but only with the effect of capturing a few prisoners and two abandoned guns. Even had the fort not fallen quicker than either Grant or Foote supposed, the march of McClernand could hardly have been made effective, for he had to construct roads through woods and waters at great loss of time. Nor would delay of another day for purposes of investment have insured a greater capture, for Tilghman had resolved to retire his men to Ft. Donelson as quickly and safely as possible, the fight at the fort being kept up solely for that purpose. The losses were few. Foote lost



INTERIOR OF FT. HENRY.

two men killed, thirty-seven wounded, beside the nineteen lost by a casualty on the Essex. Tilghman reported five killed and sixteen wounded. Several of the gunboats were struck and pierced.

Grant at once telegraphed Halleck: "Fort Henry is ours.

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The gunboats silenced the batteries before the investment was completed. I shall take and destroy Ft. Donelson on the 8th and return to Ft. Henry."

Here was evidence of confidence and action which had greater significance than the simple movement and proposition involved. The war had thus far given no substantial victory. It had brought forth no orderly plan and no man of grasp and genius. The people were dissatisfied and despondent. They were praying for a way out of the wilderness and wondering whether such way would ever be found. Grant's capture of Ft. Henry looked like business. His proposition to move on Donelson savored of the heroic. There would soon be applause, or else a deeper midnight.

In anticipation of a movement on Donelson, the Confederate General Pillow assumed command on the 9th, and began to make herculean effort for the coming struggle. Tilghman's force had already arrived from Ft. Henry. Floyd was sent with his command from Russelville. General Johnston at Bowling Green decided to fight the battle for Nashville and Middle Tennessee at Donelson. He drew all the force he dared from in front of Buell and sent it to Donelson.

Grant was equally active. He had not even been congratulated by Halleck for his work at Ft. Henry, though the design of the enterprise was undoubtedly his. He had been ordered to strengthen and hold Ft. Henry at all hazards, and if he moved at all to move cautiously. But disdaining slight and not being out on a pick and shovel campaign, he pushed his cavalry toward Donelson to feel the situation. It was a strong place, "the strongest in that theatre of operation." Everything that military skill and engineering could do for it had been done. To repel attack, the natural position was formidable, and all the appliances of the science of war had been added.

On the 8th all the infantry and cavalry on the east bank of the Tennessee were notified to be prepared to move with two

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days' rations, and "without incumbrance." Baggage and artillery could not be moved owing to the condition of the roads. The water rose higher and locked his forces in. A delay of several days occurred. It was not lost time, for it gave reinforcements opportunity to come up. They came from Buell, and from Hunter, in Kansas. Not a word from Halleck as yet in favor of the movement, but full instructions how to fortify and hold Ft. Henry, with promise of reinforcements. Grant saw that every day lost with shovel and pick at Ft. Henry was giving the Confederates an opportunity to strengthen Ft. Donelson.

He urged Com. Foote to send a fleet of gunboats up the Cumberland river to co-operate with him in the attack. "Start as soon as you like," was the reply; "I will be ready to co-operate at any moment." On the 11th Foote started with his fleet from Cairo. Six regiments of troops were sent by the same route, which were to follow the gunboats, land below the fort and establish a base of supplies.

On the same day (11th) McClernand moved out four miles on the two roads toward Donelson. On the 12th, fifteen thousand men left Ft. Henry and marched in the same direction, leaving two thousand five hundred behind as a garrison. Only eight light batteries were taken along. Tents and baggage were left behind. There were few wagons and no rations save only those in haversacks, all supplies having been ordered direct from Cairo to the Cumberland.

The foremost brigade was ordered to move direct on Donelson by the telegraph road, and to halt within two miles of the fort. The other brigades were to move by the Dover road, Dover being two miles south of the fort on the river. There was no obstacle to the march. The distance being only twelve miles, the troops were on the ground around the fort by noon, but without orders. "The necessary orders will be given on the field," was Grant's word as to details.

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Ft. Donelson was on the west bank of the Cumberland, on a rugged and timbered ridge overlooking the river. It commanded both river and country. On the water front, in sunken batteries, were ten thirty-two pounders, one ten-inch Columbiad, and one heavy-rifled gun. On the land side were continuous main and inner lines of breastworks for over two miles, covered with abattis. Both flanks of these lines rested on creeks, the banks of which were overflowed by back-water from the Cumberland. Outside of all was a line of rifle-trenches, extending to the town of Dover. Inside the fort were twenty-six regiments of infanty, two independent battalions and Forest's cavalry, numbering in all twenty-three thousand muskets and sixty-five guns, seventeen of which were heavy, the rest field-pieces.

Pillow had succeeded Buckner on the 10th. On the 13th Floyd succeeded Pillow, though all remained to prepare for the impending conflict. On the 12th Grant's advance encountered the Confederate pickets and drove them in. His first line was formed in open field opposite the enemy's centre. He threw up no entrenchments. "I hope to avoid the necessity of doing so with the aid of the gunboats," was his language. By night his lines ran from Hickman Creek to Dover, and the investment was complete. When the siege began General C. F. Smith held the left and McClernand the right.

As yet there was no appearance of the gunboats. The 13th was spent in reconnoitering and securing better positions. There was skirmishing, but no attack by the Confederates, though many men fell, the Federal losses being estimated at three hundred killed and wounded the first two days. No gunboats yet. The night grew cold and the men suffered greatly. All were obliged to bivouac in line of battle with arms in hand. No fires could be built, on account of the number and closeness of the enemy's pickets. Provisions were scarce. By morning a driving hail and snow storm had

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set in. Many on both sides were frozen. Picket firing never ceased. The groans of the wounded between lines, freezing and athirst, filled the night with horror. Grant found his force weaker than the enemy's, and those he had left at Ft. Henry were sent for. Where was Foote with the gunboats?

Through the gray mists of Friday morning, the 14th, Commodore Foote appeared with his fleet of turtle backs, as the gunboats were called. The reinforcements from Ft. Henry were coming in. Those commanded by General Lew Wallace were at once put in line. McArthur's brigade of Smith's division was on the extreme right. In the centre were forced the reinforcements which had come up the river with the boats. These dispositions were effected by noon of the 14th.

Grant, who had received no word from Halleck except to dig and shovel at Ft. Henry, sent a dispatch dated "In the Field near Ft. Donelson." It read:—

"We will soon want ammunition for our ten and twenty-pound Parrott guns. Already require it for the twenty-four-pound howitzers. I have directed my ordnance officer to keep a constant watch upon the supply of ammunition, and to take steps in time to avoid a deficiency."

A reply came from General Cullum at Cairo: "The ammunition you want is not here, and scarcely any ordnance;" but he added, encouragingly, "You are on the great strategic line." This was the first favorable word Grant had received from headquarters or near it.

It may be asked why therefore was Grant moving? Was he not assuming responsibilities in spite of the department commander? He was moving inspirationally, yet in obedience to orders from a higher source. As early as January 27th, President Lincoln, through and at the instance of Secretary of War Stanton, had sent out word for "a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces on the 22d of February," Washington's

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birthday. This was to break the impending gloom and inspirit the nation, which had become sick with waiting and discomfiture. Grant interpreted this order as meaning that he need not wait till the 22d.

At 3 P. M. of the 14th, Foote steamed into position, and opened fire at close range on the Confederate works with six gunboats, four of which were ironclad. Their batteries replied with telling effect. Still the ironclads advanced. They came within four hundred yards, and the action was close and hot for an hour and a half. The enemy's guns being elevated and having commanding sweep, they crippled the gunboats so that they had to haul off, with a loss of fifty-four men killed and wounded, among the latter being Commodore Foote and several officers.

Where were the land forces? Skirmishing all day, except McClernand's, which had gotten into a hard fight on the right, though without orders. Grant intended to make a general attack only in case the gunboats succeeded in silencing the Confederate batteries. As this failed he wrote: "Appearances now are that we shall have a protracted siege here. . . . I fear the result of attempting to carry the place by storm with new troops. I feel great confidence, however, of ultimately reducing the place." The losses up to this time had not exceeded three hundred and fifty killed and wounded.

There was another night of intense cold and suffering. The Confederates were in spirits because they had beaten off the gunboat attack. The Federal forces were depressed, but the idea had not entered General Grant's mind that he had lost the day. In the words of Oglesby, "he had gone there to take the fort and intended to stay till he did it."

At 2 A. M. of the 15th, Commodore Foote sent for Grant. He went aboard the flag-ship, and Foote told him he was compelled to put back to Cairo for repairs. He urged Grant to keep quiet till he could return. But reinforcements were

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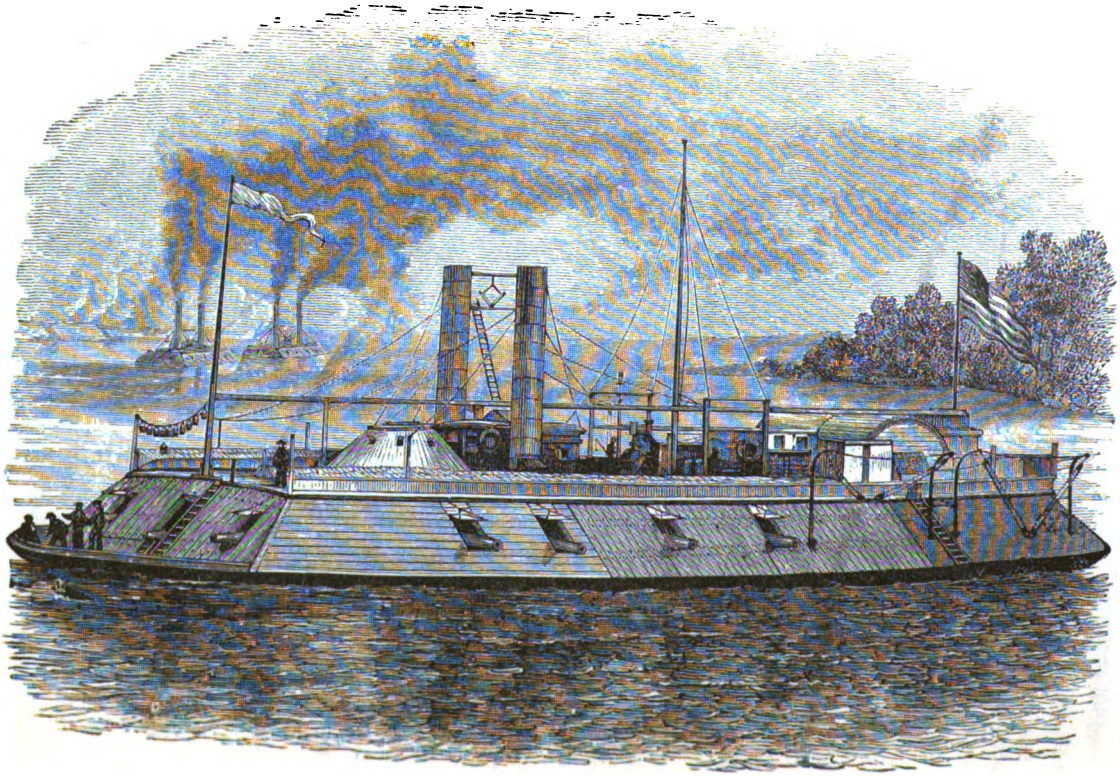

IRON CLAD RIVER GUN BOAT.

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coming in rapidly, and there were present twenty-two thousand Federals. The Confederates felt that the investment was getting closer and stronger, and they determined to break it. Their generals in council had decided that "but one course remained by which a rational hope of saving the garrison could be entertained, and that was to drive back the molesting force on the Dover side, and pass their troops into the open country in the direction of Nashville."

Therefore, on the morning of the 15th, ere it was light, they massed heavily on their left and made a fierce attack on the Federal right line where it did not quite reach the river. McArthur's brigade of Smith's division received the first blow. The attack rapidly extended to Oglesby's and W. H. L. Wallace's brigades of McClernand's division and to Cruft's brigade of Wallace's division. The Federals held on tenaciously against the solid masses and great odds of the enemy, seldom leaving their ground till ammunition was exhausted. At length McArthur, after an unequal struggle of hours, gave way, and McClernand's command showed signs of wavering. But it held till reinforced by General Lewis Wallace, when the Confederates were made to pay dearly for all they had gained. This fresh force checked the Confederate onslaught for a time, but it was soon renewed more fiercely than ever. For hours the conflict was hot and doubtful, and though the Federal right was kept intact it was pushed far back from its original position and nearly turned. General Pillow was elated, and sent the following to Johnston at Nashville: "On the honor of a soldier the day is ours."

By nine o'clock Grant came from his interview with Foote. He was met by an aid who told him of the Confederate sortie. Further on he met General C. F. Smith whom he ordered to prepare his left for an attack on the Confederate right. Then he came into contact with his broken and disordered troops. Many of his best officers, Logan, Lawler, Ransom and others

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were wounded. Many others were killed, and some of his best regiments and brigades were torn to pieces.

There was now a keen eye on the situation. It took in two things. The Confederates had not pushed their opportunity, if one really existed. Again their knapsacks were loaded with provisions. "They mean to cut their way out: they have no idea of staying here to fight us," was the conclusion Grant quickly drew. Then he said to those near him, "Whichever party first attacks now will whip, and the rebels will have to be very quick if they beat me."

Galloping to where he had left Smith, he ordered him to assault at once. Assurance was passed to the broken troops that the enemy's attack had been a desperate attempt to cut their way out and not an assault they could repeat. This was inspiring, and the men fell into place with wonderful alacrity. Word was sent to Foote to form his gunboats in line and make a feint on the water-front. "A terrible conflict," he wrote, "has ensued in my absence which has demoralized a portion of my command, and I think the enemy is much more so. If the gunboats do not appear it will re-assure the enemy and still further demoralize our troops. I must order a charge to save appearance. I do not expect the gunboats to go into action."

McClernand and Wallace were apprised of Smith's orders to assault, and directed to renew the battle in their front as soon as Smith began. McClernand should push his column clear to the river if possible. Two of the fleet ran up the river and began firing at long range.

By four o'clock in the afternoon all was ready. Smith's active column was composed of Lauman's brigade of five regiments, the Second Iowa Infantry having the lead. He told his men what had to be done. They were soon admonished by the mingled roar of artillery and musketry on the centre and right. Then the column moved, with diffi-

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culty on account of the underbrush, exposedly on account of the construction of the enemy's works, but directly and vigorously. Onward they pushed in invincible charge through brush and over abattis till they burst over the heights, carried the Confederate lines at the point of the bayonet, and got a secure hold inside the entrenchments. This was the key to Ft. Donelson.

All around those long lines it "vollied and thundered." Smith's splendid assault was ably seconded by the centre and right. Grant had, with wonderful foresight, arranged it so as to support all the points where progress appeared. Artillery and fresh troops were at the back of those who had won any decided ground. Thus every foot of advance was assured by nightfall, and the beaten and fatigued troops of the morning had recovered lost ground, lost guns, lost spirits.

"Fighting only for nightfall" was Grant's remark, as he saw that the enemy grew less desperate. One hour more of daylight would have won the great victory of the next day. The darkness found the Federal army full of hope, and determined to crown their efforts with still greater glory, when sunrise should permit. All lost ground had been regained, and every hold was firm. A day had been won after a day had been lost. Grant's appearance on the field was the beginning of order and successful "forward march." That night he slept in a negro hut. Smith's men lay on their arms. They must hold the frozen ground they had won at all hazards.

Inside the fort, Floyd called a council of war. It was a remarkable scene. He broached the propriety of surrender. A majority sentiment favored the act. Buckner said he could not hold out half an hour against Smith. Then Floyd proposed to escape in person, fearing the consequences of becoming a prisoner on account of the prejudices which his previous political career might have engendered. So he turned the command over to Pillow. But Pillow was no better off in this

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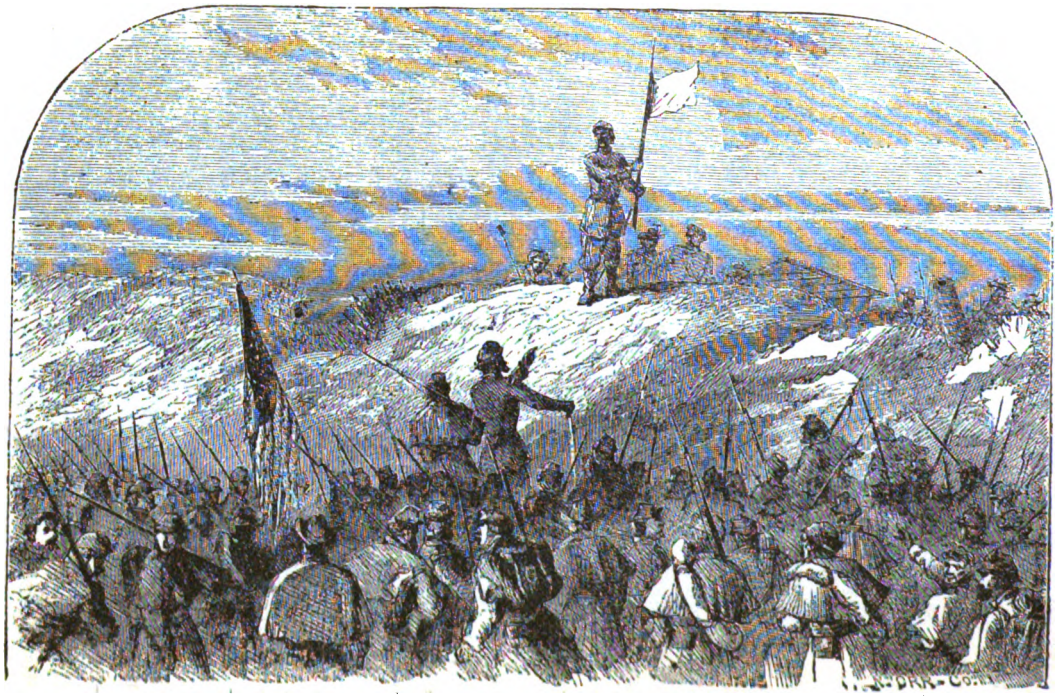

FLAG OF TRUCE ON FORT DONELSON.

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respect, he thought, than Floyd. "There are no two men," he declared, "in the Confederacy the Yankees would rather capture than themselves." He therefore hastily passed the command to Buckner. These two worthies then took possession of two steamboats, and with a small brigade of troops stole away from their comrades. Col. Forest with a regiment of cavalry made his way out by the river road.

Buckner, whose soldierly instincts did not permit him to avoid the fate reserved for his troops, called for a bugler, and wrote a note to Grant for an armistice and a commission to arrange terms of surrender. This was sent out under a flag of truce.

Before retiring for the night, Grant's orders had been passed out for an early attack. He therefore replied to him in the language which was soon to be on the lips of every friend of the Union cause, and which has ever been associated with his name. "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

This bristling answer brought a hasty reply: "The disposition of forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose."

Grant rode directly to Buckner's headquarters, where the terms of "unconditional surrender" were construed so as to allow the officers to retain their side arms and the men their personal baggage. Alluding to Grant's inferior force at the beginning of the attack Buckner said: "Had I been in command you would not have reached Ft. Donelson so easily." Grant's reply was: "If you had been in command I would have waited for reinforcements and marched from Ft. Henry in greater strength; but I knew that Pillow would not come

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out of his works to fight, though I thought he would fight behind them."

The fruits of this splendid strategy and incomparable persistency on the part of General Grant was 14,623 prisoners, 17 heavy guns, 48 field-pieces, 20,000 stand of small arms, 3000 horses and a large quantity of military stores.

As an instance of the favorable impression Grant made on his foes, when a few days afterward Buckner, with his brigade, was on board of a steamer bound for the North, he asked Grant to come aboard and look at them. The prisoners crowded around their captor. Buckner addressed them to the effect that General Grant had behaved kindly toward his foes, and that if ever the fortune of war turned they should show him and his men equal magnanimity.

On the last day of the fight Grant had twenty-seven thousand men ready for battle. He had but eight batteries of light artillery, a less number than the guns he captured. His losses were two thousand and forty-one in killed, wounded and missing. The Confederate loss, other than prisoners, was estimated at two thousand five hundred killed and wounded.

On this memorable 16th of February, 1862, the very conservative Halleck telegraphed Grant "not to be too rash," and then followed other word about precautions as to gunboats, etc. He wrote no congratulations to the victor, but three days afterward (Feb. 19th) sent word to Washington, congratulating Smith for "his bravery, which turned the tide and carried the enemy's outworks. Make him a major-general. You can't get a better one. Honor him for this victory and the whole country will applaud." In contrast with this let Smith himself speak. General Buckner congratulated him on the morning of the surrender for his gallant charge. The brave old officer said: "Yes, it was well done considering the smallness of the force that did it. No congratulations are due me. I simply obeyed orders."

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Halleck's nomination of Smith was fatal to a deserving soldier. The Secretary of War had a better appreciation of the situation. Grant was recommended for a major-generalcy of volunteers, and Lincoln nominated him the same day. The Senate confirmed the nomination instantly, and a whole country did applaud. The next day, February 20th, Secretary Stanton wrote to the country as follows:

"We may well rejoice at the recent victories, for they teach us that battles are to be won now and by us, in the same and only manner that they were won by any people or in any age since the days of Joshua—by boldly pursuing and striking the foe. What under the blessing of Providence I conceive to be the true organization of victory and military organization to end this war, was declared in a few words by General Grant's message to General Buckner: 'I propose to move immediately on your works.'"

Says Badeau: "The consequences of the capture of Donelson were greatly superior to any good fortune which had at that time befallen the national arms, and were hardly surpassed in a purely military point of view by the results of any operation of the war. The great Confederate line had been penetrated at the centre, its extremities were both turned, while the region behind was uncovered. The whole of Kentucky and Tennessee at once fell into the possession of the National forces: the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers were opened to national vessels for hundreds of miles; Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, and a place of immense strategic importance, fell; Bowling Green had become untenable as soon as Donelson was attacked, and was abandoned on Feb. 14th, while Columbus on the Mississippi was evacuated early in March, thus leaving that river free from the Confederate flag from St. Louis to Arkansas.

"The country was unacquainted with military science at this time; and as city after city fell, and stronghold after

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stronghold was abandoned—all legitimate consequences of the fall of Donelson—the national amazement and gratification knew no bounds. The effect on the spirit of the people was indeed quite equal to the purely military results. This was the first success of any importance since the beginning of the war. An inferior force had marched boldly up to a strongly fortified post, and for three days besieged an army larger than itself; then after being reinforced it had not only defeated the enemy in the open field, converting what had been nearly a disaster into brilliant victory, but compelled the unconditional surrender of one of the largest garrisons ever captured in war. These were considerations which naturally enough elated and cheered the country, and absolutely inspired the army, depressed before by long delays and defeats on many fields. The gratitude felt toward Grant was commensurate with the success. He stepped at once into a national fame."

The silent man's fame was on every tongue. "U. S." had far more significance than the "Uncle Sam" of the West Point class-room. It was woven into songs, into platform speeches, into street hurrahs and army cheers, as "United States" and "Unconditional Surrender." In a day Grant had become the hero of a war, and the occupant of a high and glorious place in the affections of his countrymen. People by the million hailed with joy the man and the movement which after so many weary months had given a victory so overwhelming and important that it became the harbinger of ultimate triumph for the republic. It was a victory of such dimensions as to attract world-wide consideration; and it settled in the American mind the fact that a new man was on the stage, and a new era had begun. Flags waved from every house; hymns were chanted in every church; guns boomed from decks and fortifications; press united with pulpit to swell the chorus. The *furore* of jubilation was never equalled

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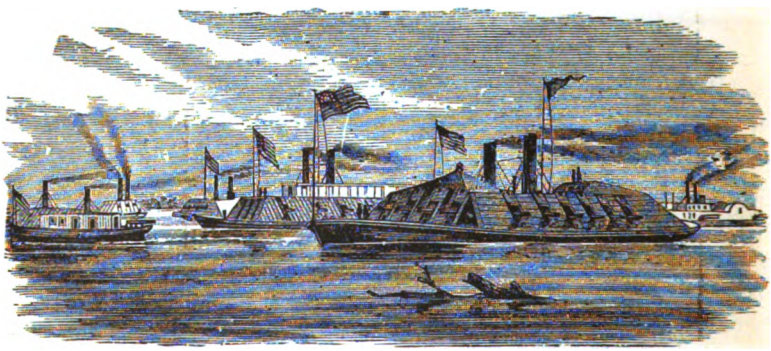
in the memory of living men. Grant paid glowing tribute to all his officers and soldiers. His address contained the words: "The men who fought that battle will live in the memory of a grateful people."



FOOTE'S FLOTILLA.

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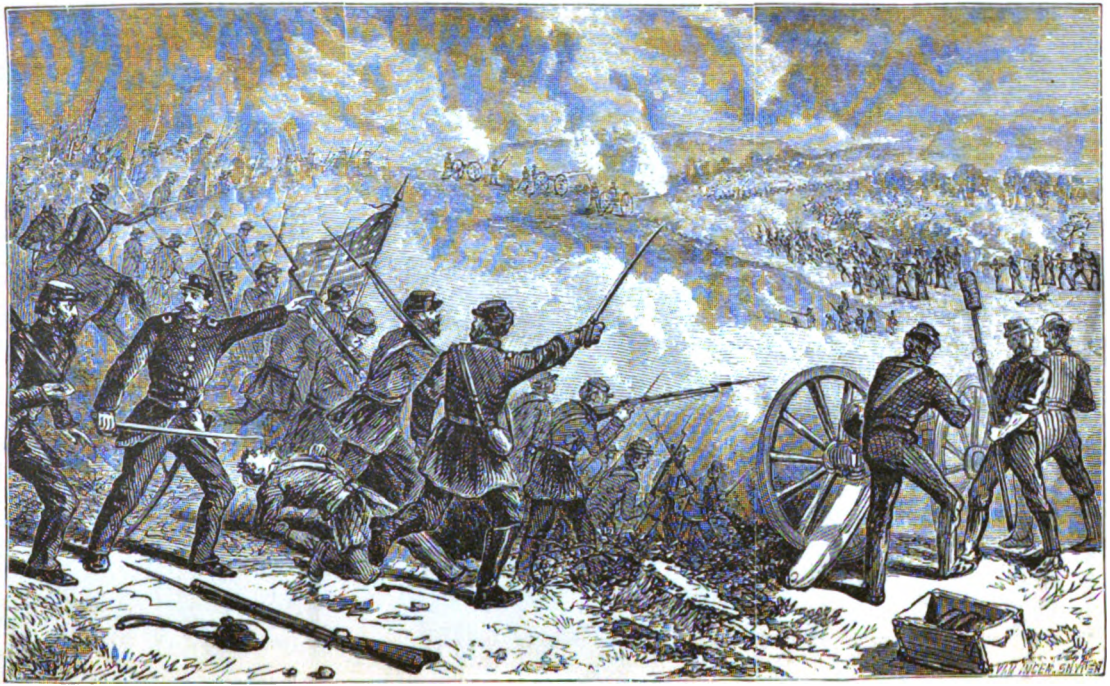

BATTLE OF SHILOH.

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CHAPTER V.

SHILOH—BEFORE AND AFTER.

THE fall of Donelson told heavily on the fortunes of the Confederacy. Said Forrest, a Southern General: "Grant landed with a petty force of fifteen thousand men in the very centre of a force of nearly forty-five thousand, having interior lines for concentration and command, by railway at that, and was able to take two heavy fortifications in detail, and place *hors de combat* nearly fifteen thousand of the enemy."

Donelson had an equal effect on foreign feeling and in shaping diplomacy abroad. Europe was compelled to forbear from wholesale depreciation of the Northern campaign, and to study the consequences of so significant a victory. Inspiring Union sentiment with unbounded cheer, staggering the enemy in council and camp, furnishing the speech of the common people with new terms that became vernacular and further earnests of victory, men began to ask, "Has the appointed deliverer come?" The reaction of public sentiment was notable, and the emergency of long discouragement was met. At Ft. Henry and Ft. Donelson Grant's guiding principle was: "Having assumed the offensive, to maintain it at all hazards." "To take every precaution possible for full support of all under command." "*Begin the fighting*," and "*Never to scare*."

Donelson was full of risk. To boldly undertake an assault on a strong natural fortification that was aided by great military preparation, with less troops than were inside for defence, was in violation of all example and advice in war. If a mis-

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take, it was a glorious one. And again, if a mistake, then, as Turenne says, "when a man has committed no mistakes in war he could only have been engaged in it a short time." The more of such blunders the better.

General Scott had said: "I don't understand this war. I never knew a war of this magnitude that did not throw to the surface some great general. We have had splendid fighting, but no damage has been done. Both armies have drawn off in good order at the close of a conflict, ready to begin the next day. Such fighting must be interminable. Somebody must be destroyed. The enemy must be spoiled, his means of warfare taken from him. I must make an exception in favor of that young man out West, He seems to know the art of damaging the enemy and crippling him."

The confederate General Johnston, realizing when it was too late that the South had received a fatal blow through his policy of dispersion, set about to concentrate his broken and scattered forces. He collected at Murfreesboro an army of possibly twenty thousand men, his object being to co-operate with Beauregard in defending the Mississippi Valley and the railroad system of the Southwest. This required the establishment and maintenance of a new defensive line, of which Island No. 10 and Murfreesboro at first, and Corinth and Chattanooga afterward, became the principal points.

If the reader will now take a map and see how far this line was south of the splendid line stretching from Columbus, on the Mississippi, to Bowling Green, Ky., which the capture of Ft. Donelson broke, he will get an idea of the wonderful extent of territory which that fort protected and which was lost by its fall.

Before the fall of Donelson (Feb. 16th) Grant was assigned to the new military district of West Tennessee, and Brigadier-General William T. Sherman succeeded him in the command of the District of Cairo. Their first official intercourse oc-

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curred during the siege of Donelson, when Sherman forwarded troops and supplies to Grant with extraordinary dispatch. Though Grant's senior, he wrote: "I will do everything in my power to hurry forward your reinforcements and supplies. And if I could be of service myself, would gladly come, without making any question of rank with you or General Smith." After the fall of Ft. Donelson, Sherman congratulated Grant on his success, and Grant replied: "I feel under many obligations to you for the kind terms of your letter, and hope that should an opportunity occur, you will earn for yourself that promotion which you are kind enough to say belongs to me. I care nothing for promotion so long as our arms are successful, and no political appointments are made." Thus began a friendship between these two great men which ever after grew warmer and assured that co-operation in great military enterprises which eventuated in the most brilliant and pronounced successes of the war.

Coincident with the fall of Donelson was that favorable movement in North Carolina by General Burnside, which resulted in the taking of Roanoke Island and the permanent lodgment of the national forces in the soil of that State. And beyond the Mississippi the tide of military affairs took a decided turn. The Confederate General Price had virtually held Missouri. On February 18th, General Curtis drove him into Arkansas. "The army of the South-West is doing its duty nobly. The flag of the Union is floating in Arkansas," were Halleck's words to the Secretary of War.

GENERAL BURNSIDE.

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On February 22d Congress ordered the illumination of the Capitol and public buildings "in honor of the recent victories of the army and navy." The Congress adjourned for the day. It was made a day of general congratulation in association with the memory of Washington and "of the triumph of the Government which his valor and wisdom had done so much to establish."

GENERAL CURTIS.

And now, where was Grant? In spite of Halleck's conservative dispatches "to move only with the greatest caution," and to do, or rather not to do, other foolish things, Grant, on February 21st, ordered Gen. C. F. Smith to take and hold Clarksville, fifty miles above Donelson. Cullum at Cairo was informed of this fact, and of his (Grant's) proposition to capture Nashville. On the 24th Smith was reported in possession of Clarksville with four regiments, and General Halleck's pleasure was asked. On the 25th Grant reported that Nelson's division of Buell's army had arrived at Nashville, and that the Confederates had fallen back to Chattanooga, instead of to Murfreesboro. "I shall go to Nashville immediately, in person, unless orders come to prevent it. I am getting anxious to know what the next move is to be." Grant was bound to be master of the strategic situation, and he knew the value of every moment of time.

He made his visit to Nashville and returned on the 28th, reporting that the enemy had fallen back on Chattanooga or Decatur, and that Buell had called Smith from Clarksville to his assistance. On the same day came a dispatch from Halleck. It read: "It will be better to retreat than to risk a general battle. Avoid any general engagement with strong forces."

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The whole command was, at Halleck's request, moved from the Cumberland back to the Tennessee, with a view to an expedition up the latter river to Eastport and even to Corinth. Grant received this word on March 2d. On March 4th his army was in motion for the Tennessee, and he himself was back at Ft. Henry.

Now comes an episode which shows what General Grant, an officer without political influence, and whose promotions and genius were eclipsing those older and politically stronger than himself, had to contend with. On March 3d, without previous explanation or intimation, Halleck sent this to Washington: "I have had no communication with General Grant for more than a week. He left his command without my authority and went to Nashville. His army seems to be as much demoralized by the victory of Donelson as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run. It is hard to censure a successful general immediately after a victory, but I think he richly deserves it. I can get no returns, no reports, no information from him. Satisfied with his victory he sits down and enjoys it, without any regard to the future. I am worn out and tired by this neglect and inefficiency. C. F. Smith is almost the only officer equal to the emergency."

On March 4th Grant received orders from Halleck to place Maj.-General Smith in command of the proposed expedition, and to remain himself at Ft. Henry. To this Grant replied: "Troops will be sent under Smith as directed. I had prepared a different plan, intending to send Smith to Paris and Humboldt, while I commanded the expedition against Eastport, Corinth and Jackson. I am not aware of ever having disobeyed any order from your headquarters. Have reported almost daily the condition of my command and every position occupied. You may rely on my carrying out your instructions in every particular to the best of my ability."

On the 6th of March Halleck dispatched: "McClellan

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directs you to report to me daily the number and position of your forces. Your neglect of repeated orders to report the strength of your command has created great dissatisfaction and seriously interfered with military plans. Your going to Nashville without authority, and when your presence with your troops was of the greatest importance, was matter of very serious complaint at Washington, so much so that I was advised to arrest you on your return."

To this Grant replied on the same date:—"I did all I could to get you returns of my strength. Every move I reported daily to your chief of staff, who must have failed to keep you properly posted. I have done my best to obey orders and carry out the interests of the service. If my course is not satisfactory, remove me at once. I do not wish in any way to impede the success of our arms. I have averaged writing more than once a day since leaving Cairo to keep you informed, and it is no fault of mine if you have not received my letters. My going to Nashville was strictly intended for the good of the service and not to gratify any desire of my own. Believing sincerely that I must have enemies between you and myself who are trying to impair my usefulness, I respectfully ask to be relieved from further duty in the department."

This was followed by another rebuke from Halleck, and another request from Grant (March 9th) "to be relieved from duty." On the 11th Grant again wrote asking "to be relieved from further duty until I can be placed right in the estimation of those higher in authority." On the 13th Halleck wrote: "You cannot be relieved from your command. There is no good reason for it. I am certain that all the authorities at Washington ask, is that you enforce discipline and punish the disorderly. Instead of relieving you, I wish you as soon as your new army is in the field to assume command and lead it on to new victories."

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What brought about this change of tone? Halleck had been asked to substantiate charges at Washington. This forced him into an examination of Grant's conduct. He found that his reports had been forwarded daily, and that his visit to Nashville was proper, since his district had no limits. He therefore wrote lengthily to Washington, stating his own change of mind toward Grant, and fully exonerating him. This was on March 15th.

This timely vindication lifted the cloud which had shadowed General Grant for a fortnight, but which had not interfered with his co-operation with General Smith. On the 9th Grant said to Smith, "Anything you may require send back transports for, and if within my power you shall have it." With the reinforcements sent to Smith on the 11th Grant sent word, "Halleck telegraphs me that when these arrive I may take general direction. It is exceedingly doubtful whether I shall accept; certainly not until the object of the expedition is accomplished." Smith replied, "I wrote you yesterday how glad I was to learn from your letter of the 11th that you were to resume your old command, from which you were so unceremoniously and, as I think, unjustly stricken down." This cordiality was striking in view of the fact that Smith had been commandant at West Point when Grant was a cadet. On mention by Grant of the delicate relationship which now existed between the two by reason of recent promotions, the chivalric Smith replied, "I am now a subordinate and I know a soldier's duty. I hope you will feel no awkwardness about our new relations." Smith was sixty years old, and as faithful and gallant an officer as ever drew sabre. The exposure he underwent at Donelson brought on an illness which proved fatal the next summer.

Halleck was extremely cautious about this expedition up the Tennessee. "Don't bring on a general engagement at Paris" he wrote to Grant. "If the enemy prove strong, fall

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back. These orders must be strictly obeyed." The operations brought no vivid results. Smith returned to Pittsburg Landing, which place he selected to hold for the purpose of

PITTSBURG LANDING.

awaiting the Confederate policy of concentration now rapidly unfolding. It is on the west side of the Tennessee river, just north of the southern boundary of the State. In itself it had no significance, and even the name has given place to Shiloh in war history, the latter spot being the scene and centre of the battle which had Pittsburg Landing for a base of operations.

Nine miles further down the river is Savannah, a small town

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on the opposite, or eastern side. To this point General Grant moved his headquarters on assuming command of the new field and the new movement. It did not take long to discover the Confederate policy. It was to form another line across the country, with the left resting on Memphis and the right on Chattanooga. This line corresponded very nearly with the southern boundary of the State of Tennessee. It was not so long as the former line from Columbus to Bowling Green had been. A railroad ran east and west its whole length, and from Iuka to Chattanooga it followed the course of the Tennessee river. It was stronger in every respect than the former, commanded the southern termini of all the railroads running northward, and effectually prevented the invasion of Mississippi and Alabama. To establish and defend this line was now a supreme object with the Confederates.

Grant assumed command of operations on March 17th, 1862, at Savannah. He chose the spot on the east side of the river in order the better to keep up communication with Buell in the direction of Nashville. He found Hurlbut and Sherman at Pittsburg Landing with the new regiments which had been sent up from Cairo. Lewis Wallace's division was at Crump's Landing, a short distance below. Smith's and McClernand's divisions, the oldest and best in the army, were at Savannah. Buell had been ordered from Nashville by way of Columbia. Grant quickly took in the situation. He saw that the very line which the Confederates sought to establish and hold was the best for Federal operations in Alabama and Mississippi. It virtually commanded the Tennessee river, and would eventually command the Mississippi

GEN. BUELL.

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river as far as Vicksburg perhaps. The railroads running from the north to Memphis, La Grange, Corinth, Eastport, Decatur, and Chattanooga, would facilitate operations if held by Federal troops. By means of them, reinforcements and supplies could be expeditiously sent. Corinth, the crossing-place of the two great railroads that traverse the South and connect the Gulf and the Mississippi with the easterly southern regions, was the grand strategic point on this line. It was the Confederate base of operations. They would fight desperately to hold it. They could attack vigorously from it. They had resolved not to repeat the mistake they had made on their Northern line, to wit, not concentrating early and formidably at Donelson and Henry. Therefore they were, and had been for some time, directing every energy to throwing a powerful army into Corinth, and were even now ready to assume the offensive.

Grant saw that his safety depended on rapid and close concentration. It would not do for him to repeat the error of the Confederates at Donelson. Ratifying the selection of Pittsburg Landing by Smith, he ordered Smith's and McClernand's divisions thither from Savannah. Lewis Wallace was considered as within supporting distance at Crump's Landing. Buell was coming, all too slowly to be sure, from Nashville with his much-needed command of forty thousand men.

Pittsburg Landing was on the side of the river next the enemy. It was therefore a dangerous place to be. But, as against this, it afforded opportunity for moving out boldly to battle, and as a unit, should it be desirable to assume the offensive. On account of the contour of the country, Owl Creek in front, and Lick and Snake Creeks on the flanks, all of which were difficult to pass when the water was high in the Tennessee river, it was a place which could be easily defended.

Buell was moving very slowly and Grant became anxious. Though his march from Nashville began on March 15th, he

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was twenty-three days in reaching the Tennessee river, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. Grant kept urging haste through Halleck at St. Louis, who held general command, but labored under all the disadvantages of conducting active and critical field operations at a distance of five hundred miles from headquarters. Perhaps Buell did not know of Grant's emergency, nor of the fact, then clear to the officers at Pittsburg Landing, that the Confederates, already in force at Corinth under Beauregard, had determined on an aggressive policy. Polk, at Island No. 10, had been ordered to send two of his strongest divisions down to Corinth; Bragg's fine corps, said to be "the best troops in the Confederacy," was brought up from Mobile and Pensacola, and Johnston's army, consisting of Hardee's corps and Breckinridge's division, was brought by rail from Murfreesboro and Chattanooga. In addition, the Governors of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia and Tennessee had been called upon for volunteers, and these were hastening to Corinth. Though Beauregard was the ruling spirit, Johnston was the senior officer in command.

GEN. HARDEE.

Buell's delay became known to the Confederates through their scouts and spies. They resolved to take advantage of this, and to move on Grant at Pittsburg Landing ere he could be reinforced. Halleck's instructions to Grant still continued positive not to risk a general engagement till Buell's arrival. It is needless to say that the situation was growing more critical every day, and that the Federal army could not help risking an engagement very soon, all orders to the contrary notwithstanding. With Grant it was not a question of an engagement, but who should make the move first. In all his dispatches to Halleck,

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he urged prompt reinforcement "for," said he, "the enemy are already from sixty thousand to eighty thousand strong, and are concentrating as rapidly as we are here."

On March 23d, he wrote to Smith, "Carry out your idea of occupying, and particularly fortifying, Pea Ridge; I do not hear one word from St. Louis. I am clearly of the opinion that the enemy are gathering strength as rapidly as we are, and the sooner we attack the easier will be the task of taking the place. If Ruggles is in command it would assuredly be a good time to attack."

There was not much time to wait. Confederate skirmishers were in front of the Federal forces on April 2d, and in considerable force. On the 4th, the enemy felt Sherman's front,

PICKETS ON DUTY.

but without effect. On the 5th, Grant rode out to Sherman's lines to consult. They agreed that it was not the enemy's design to attack immediately. But in this they were mistaken. The reconnoissance of the previous day was really the begin-

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ning of the celebrated battle of Shiloh. (Shiloh Church was just on the edge of the Federal lines, about two and one-half miles S. W. of Pittsburg Landing).

As Grant was riding back from the front to Pittsburg Landing on the very rainy night of the 4th, his horse slipped and fell on him, severely contusing him. This lamed him and gave him great pain and inconvenience for several days. It is on this circumstance that sensational newspaper reporters doubtless based their heartless story that Grant was drunk and thrown from his horse at the battle of Shiloh. Once for all as to his habits in this respect, there never has been a story respecting his drinking, no matter how persistently or fiendishly circulated, that has not been entirely exploded, and the unqualified judgment of the purest and best to-day is that he was far more abstemious than army officers in general, and never addicted to injurious use of spirits.

On the same day Lewis Wallace reported eight Confederate regiments of infantry and twelve hundred cavalry at Purdy, a short distance away, and an equal, if not larger force at Bethel, four miles beyond. Gen. W. H. L. Wallace, in command of Smith's division, was ordered to hold himself in readiness to support Lewis Wallace. Sherman was similarly notified as well as General Hurlbut. On April 5th, Nelson arrived with his column, Buell's advance, at Savannah and reported to Grant. He was ordered to a point four miles from Pittsburg Landing, on the east side of the river. The country between Snake and Lick Creeks, whose mouths are three miles apart, was thickly wooded, with here and there cultivated patches. Next to the river it was bluffy. These creeks

GEN. LEW WALLACE.

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were both full and completely protected the flanks. Owl Creek, covering part of the front, was also full. The Federal line faced mainly south and west. Any Confederate attack must be wholly in front. Sherman was on the right and near Shiloh meeting-house. His division reached from the Purdy to the Corinth road. On his left and rear was McClernand and further to the left was Prentiss. Back of them and on an inner line were Hurlbut and W. H. L. Wallace. The entire force on the field was thirty-eight thousand men.

The attack was begun by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, at daybreak on the morning of April 6th, with a force of forty-three thousand men and fifty guns. Hardee's corps led, followed by Bragg's, and then by Polk's and the reserves under Breckenridge.

GEN. A. S. JOHNSTON.

Sherman and Prentiss received the Confederate onset. As soon as Grant heard the heavy firing, he ordered Nelson to move up to a point directly opposite Pittsburg Landing. He then took a boat and left Savannah for the Landing and scene of conflict. On the way up he stopped at Crump's Landing to notify Lewis Wallace that the battle was on, and to hold himself in readiness for any orders. Arriving at Pittsburg Landing at eight o'clock, he rode at once to the front.

Both Sherman and Prentiss had thrown out double pickets the night before, and were therefore well on their guard against surprise. But they had hardly calculated on so furious and persistent an onset of the main body. As soon as it was ascertained that the movement was in earnest, word was sent to Lewis Wallace and Nelson, to hurry their commands up and to the front as fast as possible.

The engagement soon became general and the attack deter-

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mined. The Confederates threw their regiments in close order and quick succession against the Federal columns, and those of Prentiss showed signs of wavering. Those on Sherman's left, being mostly new troops, began to give ground, though the General held his right and centre, near Shiloh Church, with great tenacity. McClernand promptly came to the aid of Sherman's left. Hurlbut shoved his forces up to Prentiss' support. W. H. L. Wallace was moved over to the centre and left of the line. Lewis Wallace was directed to push up on Sherman's right, but failed to come.

The battle grew more furious. Grant's whole force, actually in line, was engaged, and against heavy odds. It is doubtful if any closer, harder and more stubborn fighting was done during the war. Sherman's left was turned, but he held his right to its place. Hurlbut's ranks were repeatedly broken, yet he reformed them and yielded only when overpowered. Prentiss clung a little too long, and was captured with two thousand one hundred men. W. H. L. Wallace was killed, and his division was pressed back on McClernand's left, throwing it into confusion.

It was going sorely with the Federal forces. Many of them were too new for such a trial. Grant was everywhere on the field ordering up stragglers, reforming and sending into line the broken and detached bodies, seeing that supplies were sent where most needed. Riding out to where Sherman was resolutely holding his own, he complimented him for the stubborn opposition he was making, and it must be said that, though repeatedly wounded, the hero of the "March to the Sea" never showed more conspicuously his qualities as a general than in this battle.

Little by little the Federal lines fell back. They were not pierced, but so turned and twisted as to present many faces to the foe. Still, if Wallace and Nelson would only come, there might be hope of retrieving the day. Messengers were again

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sent. Nelson, who had received orders to move at 7 A.M. did not start till 1 P.M. Wallace had mistaken his way, had been set right by McPherson, yet still delayed for unaccountable reasons.

In the middle of the afternoon Buell arrived on the field in person and in advance of his troops. Seeing no hope of victory, he asked Grant what preparations he had made for retreating. The reply came, "I have not despaired of whipping them yet." Nelson arrived at 5 P.M.

By 4 P.M. the Federal lines had been forced back two miles, into the angle between Lick Creek and the river, the left resting on the ridge just below the Landing, the right on the creek a mile and a half away. Two gunboats had been brought to cover the left, and also a battery of volunteer artillery of forty guns, posted there by Col. Webster of Grant's staff.

General Johnston, of the Confederate forces, had been killed. Beauregard succeeded to the command and forced the fighting hard on the receding Federal lines. But as they were last formed they resisted onset after onset. Before night closed the scene Beauregard began to see that further assault would only result in swelling the list of his killed and wounded.

Grant rode to Sherman and told of Donelson,—how the armies had fought till exhausted and how the next blow would win. He ordered Sherman to attack at dawn in the morning. General Wood was reported at Savannah with another division of Buell's army. Grant sent word: "Come up immediately. Transports will be ready to bring your troops. Leave all heavy baggage. The enemy has fought vigorously all day. They are estimated at one hundred thousand men. The appearance of fresh troops now will have a powerful effect by inspiring our men and disheartening the enemy." Lewis Wallace made his appearance at nightfall, and was moved into

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line of battle on the extreme right where he should have been long before. All the divisions were rearranged and ordered to move at daylight. Both sides slept on their arms.

Early on the morning of the 7th, the Federal troops began the battle afresh with renewed confidence and vigor. Nelson with his fresh troops first struck the enemy from Grant's left centre. The Confederate army had lost heavily—"nearly half in killed and wounded and from straggling," says Beauregard's report. It was fatigued too with the tremendous exertions of the day before. Still it held on stubbornly, and especially as the character of the attack upon it must have assured it that the Federals had been reinforced. The tactics and scenes of the day before were reversed. The Confederates were the receding foe. Ground was lost and won several times. Lines were turned and zigzagged. Federal and Confederate lay wounded, dying and dead together. Backward and still backward the resolute lines were pushed over the field of yesterday, and until every inch of lost ground had been gained. Lew Wallace's laggards fought on the right with a valor born of determination to redeem the reputation they had lost by delay. Sherman renewed the fight for Shiloh Church, and there reclaimed all the trophies won from the Federals. Buell, though at first cold toward Grant, entered fully into the spirit of the fight, and handled his forces with great ability. There was but little straggling. All were determined.

As the day wore on, the national victory was more decisive. The repulse of the enemy became general by two o'clock, and by nightfall Beauregard was five miles beyond the front which General Grant had maintained previous to the battle of the first day, and in rapid retreat. Rain was falling. The ground was wet and slippery. The men were worn out with their two days of fighting. These facts saved the Confederate retreat from becoming a rout, for Grant consented with the

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greatest reluctance to a temporary stay of his advance. As it was, he urged forward two brigades of Wood's division and a part of Sherman's to watch the enemy and press the retreat.

The central thought of the Confederates was to destroy Grant's army before Buell could reinforce it. This accounts for their terrific concentration and desperation. They based their hopes, not on grand tactics, but in superior weight of numbers and persistency of impulse. They did their best, and admit in their reports that their progress was only stayed by the determined resistance of Grant's army, aided by the gunboats.

The Confederate retreat did not cease till the army reached Corinth. Their dead were left to be buried by the Federals. Grant's entire loss was 1700 killed, 7495 wounded, 3022 missing. Beauregard reported a loss of 1728 killed, 8012 wounded, 957 missing.

This battle justly ranks as one of the fiercest fights of the war in the West. Sherman said he did not see such fighting afterward, and Grant compared Shiloh with the intensity and stubbornness of the "Wilderness." The immediate results of the battle did not amount to much. Halleck arrived on the 9th, and took sole command. He restrained any advance except behind breastworks, which at this juncture was to lose the moral effect of victory entirely and diminish its material effect.

This battle of Shiloh convinced the Federal authorities, the Union people at home, and the armies and their officers, that the Confederates were in earnest in starting and carrying on the war. It was to be no sixty or ninety day tourney, but a contest prolonged and intense beyond everything yet seen. General Grant accepted this view of it, and was ever afterward actuated by the thought that to fight to hurt was the only way to end it. It became his policy to move directly and vigorously on opposing armies with the intention of defeating them, capturing them, or breaking them up. He would master great

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strategic positions, but he preferred to make positions. The Confederates were unanimous and determined. They could not be met successfully with airy sentiments, over-nice manœuvres, highly refined deference, but only in the spirit and with the purpose they themselves made necessary. They meant war; war they should have. Donelson threw them back two hundred and fifty miles. Here they were at Shiloh stronger and more determined than ever. Their firmness and persistence must be excelled, if ever a victorious end were to come.

Deep anxiety had preceded this battle throughout the North, and the relief that followed was grateful. The President issued a proclamation to the people asking them to give thanks for the successes of the Union armies. Then the newspapers fell to wrangling about the merits of the victory. Grant was accused of having been surprised the first day. The subject got into Congress and was warmly debated. Here Hon. Elihu Washburne came to Grant's defence, and his speech made a lasting impression on the country. It ended that political malignity which had hitherto pursued those officers whose preferment was the reward of merit and not the result of favoritism.

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CAVALRY BIVOUAC.

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CHAPTER VI.

CORINTH AND IUKA.

WHEN Halleck appeared on the field and assumed command of the operations which were to succeed the battle of Shiloh, there was not good feeling among the army officers, and especially on his part toward General Grant. Generally the jealousies were bitter and rather of a political than military kind, but the feeling toward Grant seemed to be inexplicable except on the ground of sheer envy.

In his work of reorganization Halleck divided the army, now to be called the Army of the Mississippi, into three corps, commanded by Pope, Thomas and Buell, with a reserve under McClernand, while Grant's Army of the Tennessee was distributed between the right wing and the reserve, thus actually placing him under Thomas and McClernand, an act which was regarded as a direct snub, and a place which, by all the division officers, was seen to be one of demotion if not of disgrace. He had therefore the humiliation of witnessing the passage of prominent orders through his subordinates, and even of having his troops moved without his orders.

The camp was filled with unscrupulous newspaper correspondents, each with a favorite officer in his mind, whose deeds must be extolled, all in search of the sensational, and few not given to exaggeration and misrepresentation. These distorted true situations and contributed to the bickerings, heart-burnings and jealousies. Grant had to bear rounds of abuse, for

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the most part without complaint or defence. He could fight battles with sword against an open and fair foe, but could not waste precious time or afford to compromise his self-respect in idle battles of words with secret and unprincipled enemies. To one who had denounced him unsparingly he did venture to say: "Your paper is very unjust to me, but time will make it all right. I want to be judged by my acts."

In noting his disposition and demeanor amid these rivalries and daily attacks on character, another correspondent says: "When the army began to creep forward I messed at Grant's headquarters with his chief of staff, and around the evening camp-fires I saw much of the General. He rarely uttered a word on the political bearings of the war; indeed, he said little on any subject. With his eternal cigar and his head thrown to one side for hours, he would silently sit before the fire or walk back and forth with his eyes on the ground. At almost every general headquarters one heard denunciation of rival commanders. Grant was above this mischievous, foul sin of chiding. I never heard him speak unkindly of a brother officer."

Nor was Halleck's method of handling the army calculated to give a peaceful turn to affairs. The sentiment was largely abroad among both officers and men, that the fruits of the victory of Shiloh were being lost by failure to make a bold push after the retreating Confederates. To lose time was to give them opportunity to strengthen Corinth and stand boldly again in the way of Federal advance. To move promptly was to make sure of this strategic point almost without serious engagement, considering the then shattered condition of the Confederate forces.

But as open expression of this sentiment would have appeared like insubordination, there was surface acquiescence and as much rivalry in promptly executing Halleck's orders as if all had been in accord with them at heart. There was to

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be no vigorous pursuit, but an approach to Corinth only by slow steps and amid painful precautions. The ways were to be carefully chosen and fortified, the approaches fully mapped and studied. Everything was to be done on the basis of regular siege operations and in accordance with approved engineering formula. Reinforcements and materials of all kinds were hurried from the North; for, owing to misconception of the entire situation, Shiloh was for a long time regarded rather as a defeat than a splendid victory. Thus Halleck's force was soon swelled to something like one hundred and twenty thousand men, and yet he ventured nothing against a broken foe, except under cover of entrenchments and slow siege approaches to Corinth.

He consumed six weeks in digging and shoveling his way along over a space of fifteen miles, the enemy all the while failing to make a single offensive movement, but were, on the contrary, taking advantage of the time to construct defences far more elaborate and sturdy than those behind which Halleck was making his tardy advance.

Beauregard was thought to have had from fifty thousand to seventy thousand men. The Federal officers were anxious to test the superiority of their numbers without so much provoking delay. Grant broached the opinion that Beauregard was actually dividing his forces, with a view to marching the greater part away from Cornith, leaving only a remnant there to keep up appearances. All the shrewder officers coincided with this view. He ventured to suggest to Halleck that an attack on the Confederate left, where their defences appeared weakest, would turn their line, and that then a movement stretching toward his own

GEN. BEAUREGARD.

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left would enable him to sweep the field. Halleck scouted the idea, and intimated that Grant's opinion need not be given till called for. Thenceforth his mouth was sealed in front of Corinth, and he was more than ever the subject of misrepresentation. Galled by a condition of affairs as aggravating as if he had been in actual disgrace, he thought of resigning, and did ask for leave of absence that he might escape the embarrassments of his luckless position. But Sherman and others counselled him to remain, and fortunately for the country he finally concluded to do so.

On May 30th, Halleck announced that the enemy intended to attack his left that morning, and his great army was drawn up in defence. It was only a little feint, under cover of which the entire Confederate force evacuated Corinth, leaving their wooden guns and barren defences to impose as long as possible on their enemy. The trick was soon discovered, and the Federal forces marched over the harmless entrenchments into the deserted town. Beauregard had been striving to elude Halleck ever since May 9th, and had given orders for the work of evacuation to begin on May 20th. Ten days left the town empty. Soon after entering the town Grant rode out to the Confederate left, and fully satisfied himself that it was by far the weakest part of Beauregard's lines, and could have been easily broken by a determined assault, with the probable capture of a great part of the enemy's forces.

The evacuation of Corinth settled the certainty and magnitude of the victory at Shiloh, though its importance could have been greatly augmented by a brave, persistent push on the part of Halleck. The Confederates abandoned the object of their campaign—viz., holding Corinth, the central point of their new strategic line, without a fight. They had fought for and lost Corinth at Shiloh.

And now came another period of inaction, or rather profitless action. Beauregard had a fine start southward, it was

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supposed, and along the line of a railroad. The roads were good and the country well watered. There was no spirited pursuit. Pope and Buell were sent as far as Booneville and Blackland, but with numbers quite too large for expedition. By June 10th all hope of catching up with the enemy or forcing a battle was abandoned, and the splendid army at Corinth was about to be severed into parts for operation against other points which were rapidly springing into strategic importance. All this took place with Vicksburg lying within easy reach and practically defenceless, and with Chattanooga, at the other end of the strategic line, which could have been taken possession of, fortified and held, thus saving to the country the expense and disaster of two campaigns for its capture.

Buell's army was sent from Corinth toward Chattanooga. Grant retained command of the district of West Tennessee, with headquarters at Memphis, which had surrendered to the Federal fleet on June 6th. The Confederate Bragg had succeeded Beauregard, and was pushing his way to Chattanooga with a view of beating Buell in the race for this strong position. Early in July, General Pope was ordered to Virginia, and on the 17th of the month Halleck was called to Washington, as McClellan's successor, and as commander of all the armies. Thus this magnificent force was dissipated in the face of grand possibilities, and the visions of coherent action and further victory which had inspired officers and men after Shiloh faded into nothing.

Halleck's first order touching Grant was a snub and insult. His headquarters were ordered back to Corinth, and his command tendered to Colonel Robert Allen, who declined it, whereupon Grant was allowed to remain. Then came further stripping—a "pepper-box" policy as it was called at the time. Four divisions of Thomas' command were ordered to Buell, who was slowly making his way toward Chattanooga through Eastport and Decatur. This subtraction of force threw Grant

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entirely on the defensive, and made it exceedingly difficult for him to hold Corinth and the lines of railroad which centered there. He was in the face of an enemy whose force equalled his own, and who knew he could not assume the offensive. Further he was open to attack in any one of three or four directions, and regarded the cutting of the railroad north of him at Bolivar or Jackson as fatal. Memphis was safe enough with Sherman there, and the river at that point and above under control of the Federal gunboats. Grant very justly regarded the position he was in as one of the most unsatisfactory and trying of the whole war.

Leaving sufficient force at Memphis, Grant concentrated all the troops he could spare from guard duty at Corinth, at Jackson on his north, and at Bolivar on his northwest, all important railroad places, and the first two, centres of railway systems. For eight weeks he addressed himself to newly fortifying Corinth on a scale suited to his small force, and to garrisoning Jackson and Bolivar, all the while confronted by the Confederates under Van Dorn and Price, who threatened him continually.

Things were not going well with the Union armies. In the East, battles had been lost, and heart-burnings and bickerings existed among the generals, which led to frequent removals and disastrous successions. Bragg was fast proving that he was more than a match for Buell in quick marching, for he not only struck Chattanooga first, which threw Buell north to Murfreesboro, and even to Nashville, but had actually made arrangements for assuming the offensive with a view of regaining Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, and thence threatening Ohio and the North.

Van Dorn by this time, September 10th, 1862, felt himself strong enough for a diversion. He sent Price with twelve thousand men toward Iuka, twenty-one miles east of Corinth, as if he were to reinforce Bragg, and with the hope that Grant

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would follow, thus leaving Corinth an easy prey to his (Van Dorn's) forces. Grant did not fall into the trap, but without leaving Corinth uncovered, proceeded to defeat Price before he could get back to Van Dorn or be reinforced by him. He sent Ord, with about five thousand men, toward Iuka from the North, and ordered Rosecrans, who had succeeded Pope, with about nine thousand men, to attack the place from the direction of Jacinto. But Ord and Rosecrans failed to attack simultaneously as Grant had ordered and expected. The brunt of the battle fell on Rosecrans' troops, on the afternoon of September 19th, and they lost a battery, with seven hundred and thirty-six men killed and wounded. The engagement was a sharp one, and the loss to the Confederates greater than that to the Federals, being estimated by Rosecrans at fourteen hundred and thirty-eight killed and wounded, and by Pollard at eight hundred. Rosecrans sent word at nightfall that an early attack must be made in the morning. Ord was urged to push up his column and co-operate closely. Grant fully expected to capture all of Price's force on the 20th. But the enemy slipped out of its predicament during the night, and by morning was in full retreat, except about one thousand, who became prisoners of war. Pursuit was ordered and kept up for some time, but was discontinued when it was found that Price was making his way in a circle to rejoin Van Dorn. Grant had to get his forces back toward Corinth, or within supporting distance, as quickly as possible. Rosecrans was back at Corinth by the 26th; Ord was at Bolivar; Hurlbut was sent toward Pocahontas, midway between Corinth and Grand

GEN. ORD.

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Junction, where Price had rejoined Van Dorn, after his circuitous retreat, and from which point they were expected to move on Corinth.

"My position is precarious, but I expect to get through all right" was the word Grant sent to Washington on October 1st. The Confederates moved as if to strike Corinth on the north and thus cut off reinforcements from Bolivar. But Grant ordered Ord and Hurlbut to come from Bolivar to Pocahontas and thence to Corinth, so as to fall in on the Confederate rear. Van Dorn pushed boldly on with a force of over thirty thousand men upon Rosecrans with about nineteen thousand. On October 2d skirmishing began. On the 3d battle became active, and Rosecrans was gradually forced back toward the fortifications of Corinth, which Grant had erected within the bounds of the old ones. It was now seen how wisely Grant had been working a month before. The enemy were flushed with seeming victory. They pressed hard on the Federals, and by nightfall had driven them within their fortifications. So confident were they of final victory that Van Dorn sent a hasty dispatch to Richmond announcing the capture of Corinth. They were ordered to renew the attack early in the morning.

Fire was opened on the Federal lines early on the 4th. At half-past nine Price made a furious assault on the Federal centre, which was met with a storm of canister and grape, but not checked till it broke Davies' division and forced it back on the town. Rosecrans concentrated his artillery, pushed up Sullivan's brigade and the Tenth Ohio and Fifth Minnesota regiments, and finally drove the Confederates from their position within his lines. Meanwhile Van Dorn was leading his right in an assault on the Federal left. This was anticipated, and met with havoc to the enemy by Stanley's division and the heavy guns of Battery Robinet. Still they held on till within fifty yards of the works where the rifle fire became too

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deadly. They retreated, but were again led forward into the midst of that dreadful fire. On their second retreat, the soldiers within the works gave pursuit, and drove them, broken and routed, back to the woods. They were no longer able to make headway and lost no time in getting off the field, leaving their wounded and the artillery they had captured the day before. The Federal loss was 315 killed, 1812 wounded and 230 prisoners. Rosecrans reported the Confederate dead at 1423 with 2225 prisoners, representing sixty-nine regiments and light batteries. The coming of McPherson's and Hurlbut's columns in the rear and the splendid circle made by the former to get to Rosecrans' right, served to help the demoralization of the Confederates. Ord pushed after the enemy and intercepted the retreat at the Hatchie river, capturing a battery and several hundred men. Rosecrans had been ordered to pursue also and help Ord, but his army could not reach the scene in time, on account of fatigue and getting on the wrong road. A heavy rain set in, supplies were low, and the art of living off the enemy's country had not yet been learned. So the pursuit was called off. Grant issued orders congratulating his officers and men for their faithfulness and undaunted bravery.

Iuka and Corinth retrieved somewhat the disasters in the East and relieved West Tennessee from immediate danger. Rosecrans was made a major-general and ordered to the command of the army of the Cumberland to relieve Buell. Grant did not receive the credit due him for conceiving and directing these important operations. He was modest, made no show of superiority, took no advantage of victory to further his personal ends. He had few friends in Washington and was not a favorite with any correspondents. His genius was not yet fully understood, and his successes were yet counted as in the nature of accidents. He had been operating for weeks on the defensive, whereas he had before won his greatest victories on

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the offensive. Yet he showed equal mastery of situations, the same wonderful attention to details, the clearest knowledge of topography and strategy, and a felicity in ordering and directing which was Napoleonic.

BURYING A COMRADE AT NIGHT.

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CHAPTER VII.

PREPARING FOR VICKSBURG.

TO take and hold the Mississippi Valley was vital to the Confederacy, and equally vital to the Union. There lay an empire six times as large as France, through which ran the finest navigable water course on the globe, and over fifty navigable tributaries. Without it the Confederacy would be rent in twain; and so, without it the Northwest would be hemmed in and crippled to ruin.

Accordingly the Confederates early seized and fortified important positions on the line of the Mississippi river—Columbus, Fort Pillow, Island No. 10, Memphis, Vicksburg, Port Hudson. By means of the fortifications below New Orleans they controlled the mouth of the stream. By means of those at Columbus they shut off navigation from the north, up to within twenty miles of Cairo. And that long strategic line of theirs running from Columbus on the left, through Ft. Donelson and Ft. Henry, to its right at Bowling Green, Ky., gave them control of both the Tennessee and Cumberland.

To break this, and all other strategic lines that the Confederates might form, to open, and keep open, the Mississippi, was the supreme object, on the part of the North, of all that concentration of troops, munitions and supplies at Cairo, all the operations conducted from that convenient base, and all the co-operative efforts of armies and navies below New Orleans.

We have seen how the splendid victory of Grant at Donel-

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son, in the spring of 1862, pierced the centre of the first Confederate line, how it opened the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers for over two hundred miles, how it rendered both Columbus and Bowling Green untenable, and how it redeemed, for the time being, the two States of Kentucky and Tennessee on the east, and Missouri on the west of the Mississippi. Columbus emptied itself upon Island No. 10, forty-five miles below Cairo. The army of Pope and the flotilla of Foote proceeded against the Island about the same time that Grant was gathering his forces at Pittsburg Landing, preparatory to Shiloh. For three weeks they battered at the stronghold without effect. The time was used by Beauregard in preparing Ft. Pillow, one hundred and thirty miles below Island No. 10, as a place of retreat. When this place was deemed impregnable, the Island was evacuated on April 7th, the day of the battle of Shiloh, and Ft. Pillow became the northernmost post held by the Confederates on the Mississippi.

Ft. Pillow was covered by Beauregard's army as long as it retained Corinth. The Fort was invincible by way of the river, for Foote had steamed down to it immediately after the evacuation of Island No. 10, and had been bombarding it without effect for some six or seven weeks. But when, at the end of May, Beauregard was compelled to retire from Corinth, Ft. Pillow had to be abandoned. This left the Mississippi open from Cairo to Memphis, a distance of two hundred and forty miles, all of which was acquired within four months after the beginning of those operations by General Grant, which resulted in the victories of Donelson and Shiloh, and was the direct results of those victories.

While the river was being opened from above, Farragut was pushing his way from below. New Orleans had been captured April 28th, 1862, and shortly after, a combined fleet and army started up the Mississippi on a grand reconnoissance. Baton Rouge and Natches were captured, the latter on May 12th,

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just seventeen days before Halleck found out that Beauregard had left Corinth free for him to enter, and quite in time for his splendid army to have co-operated with the up-coming fleet against Vicksburg, as Grant had suggested it should, and as it would undoubtedly have done, had he been in command.

At this time the defences of Vicksburg were slight. Only three Confederate batteries were in position on the bluffs

ADMIRAL D. G. FARRAGUT.

when Gen. M. L. Smith, under directions from Beauregard, took command of the place on May 12th, 1862. He worked rapidly, and when Farragut's fleet, under commander Lee, appeared on May 18th, and demanded the surrender of the

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place, General Smith could well answer: "Having been ordered here to hold these defences, my intention is to do so as long as it is in my power."

Commander Lee, judging himself too weak to attack, awaited reinforcements. By May 28th, ten gunboats lay before Vicksburg and the bombardment began. Those ten days of waiting had been fatal to success. Six additional batteries had found conspicuous places on the bluffs, and more were under way. From May 28th till the middle of June the fleet fired at intervals on the town and fortifications. On June 6th, Memphis fell into Federal hands after a severe naval engagement, in which all but two vessels of the Confederate fleet were either captured or destroyed by the squadron under command of flag-officer Davis, Foote's successor, and thus over two hundred miles of additional water-way were gained to the North.

By the last of June, Farragut was present before Vicksburg with all his gunboats, and Porter with his mortar fleet. An infantry force of four regiments, landed from transports, under Gen. F. Williams, began to cut a navigable canal across the isthmus made by the great bend in the river at Vicksburg. Davis came down from Memphis with his victorious fleet. It was resolved to make a combined and determined effort to reduce the stronghold. A furious bombardment was begun on June 27th, and renewed on June 28th, when the lower fleet was put in motion. Steaming in front of the city the gunboats delivered their broadsides at the batteries, while the mortar fleet filled the air with bursting bombs. For over two hours the gunboats raked the fortified bluffs, steaming past them all the while. Seven of these boats ran the gauntlet of Confederate fire and joined the upper fleet. The shore defences were not materially damaged. The line of vessels was reformed, and again they poured their terrible fire into the batteries. This was kept up, off and on, till July 15th, when

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a powerful Confederate ram, called the Arkansas,—afterward, Aug. 6th, 1862 destroyed by Porter near Baton Rouge—ran out of the mouth of the Yazoo river, twelve miles above, speedily disabled two of the Federal gunboats, and then sought protection under the guns of Vicksburg. Knowing that his mor-

DESTRUCTION OF THE ARKANSAS BY THE ESSEX.

tar fleet would be helpless in the presence of such a formidable assailant, and feeling that the batteries, on account of their high location on the bluffs, could not be reduced by his fleet, Farragut resolved to descend the river. On the night of the 15th, the gunboats, which had ascended past Vicksburg, ran back again and rejoined the lower fleet. This changed

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matters somewhat, and the bombardment was continued till the 27th of July, when both fleets withdrew, leaving the Confederates to enjoy the conviction that Vicksburg was impregnable.

The canal proved a failure and General Williams withdrew to Baton Rouge. Thus ended the first attempt to take Vicksburg. Its defences withstood a siege of seventy days—May 18th to July 27th—without serious impairment. Though twenty-five thousand shot and shell were thrown from the Federal fleet, not a Confederate gun was known to have been dismounted, and the casualties were only seven killed and fifteen wounded. It required nothing further to prove that these elevated shore defences were impervious to attack by water. Grant had seen this all along, and had always acted on the principle that in order to capture them there must be a combined land and naval attack, or, better still, such land operations as would render them practicably untenable and their abandonment sure. Beauregard saw it with equal clearness, and hence his constant effort to keep a land army within supporting distance of their rear. Thus Columbus fell of itself when Donelson was gained. Beauregard lost Shiloh and Island No. 10 simultaneously. Memphis fell when the Confederates moved from their base at Corinth. And now Vicksburg, which had defied the efforts of two mighty fleets, and which was the only serious obstacle to an open Mississippi river, must fall, if at all, by means of land approaches. To this mighty task General Grant now set his wits and turned his energy and resources.

We have seen how with an inferior force, he was kept on the defensive by Van Dorn and Price, during September and October, 1862, and how he had at last freed himself from immediate danger by the victories at Iuka and Corinth. On October 26th, he intimated to Halleck the possibility of his being able to so shape things as to protect his strong points and at the same time "move down the Mississippi Central

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road and cause the evacuation of Vicksburg." On the previous day, October 25th, he had, in compliance with orders from Washington, assumed command of the Department of the Tennessee, which he immediately divided into four districts, allotting one division of troops to each. Sherman was assigned to the district of Memphis, with the first division; Hurlbut to the district of Jackson, with the second division; C. S. Hamilton to the district of Corinth, with the third division, and Davies to the district of Columbus, with the fourth division.

The line held by Grant was that of the Memphis and Charleston railroad, between Memphis and Corinth, his right at Memphis, his left at Corinth. To the south and in front lay Van Dorn's and Price's forces, now (November, 1862) consolidated under General Pemberton. Pemberton's line was that of the Tallahatchie river, two hundred miles north of Vicksburg, the real barrier to Grant's advance upon the place, and the real defence of the place by land. Till this force could be outmanœuvered or eliminated, the solution of the problem Grant had on hand could not even be begun. It is three hundred and ninety miles from Memphis to Vicksburg by way of the Mississippi. From Grand Junction, midway between Corinth and Memphis, on the railroad, it is not over two hundred miles in a straight line. By way of the Mississippi Central railroad it is two hundred and five miles from Grand Junction to Jackson, the capital of Mississippi. And from that point it is forty-five miles by rail, due west to Vicksburg.

The Tallahatchie country and after it the Yazoo, is a watery country, abounding in intricate bayous and swamps, lined with timber and rank undergrowth. Pemberton's northern outpost was at Holly Springs, twenty-five miles south of Grand Junction. To throw him from the line of the Tallahatchie and back over the country between that and Vicksburg was Grant's first object.

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On November 2d, he dispatched to Washington: "I have commenced a movement on Grand Junction with three divisions from Corinth and two from Bolivar. Will leave here (Corinth) to-morrow to take command in person. If found practicable, will go to Holly Springs and maybe Grenada, completing railroad and telegraph as I go." From Grand Junction to Grenada is one hundred miles. Sherman was moved out from Memphis to attract the attention of the enemy's left on the Tallahatchie. A cavalry force was to cross from the west side of the Mississippi to the rear of the enemy, to threaten their railway communications. On November 4th, Grant had seized Grand Junction and La Grange, and announced a "moving force of thirty thousand men." McPherson commanded his right and C. S. Hamilton his left. On the 8th, he announced to Sherman that he estimated the Confederate strength at thirty thousand, and "felt strong enough to handle them without gloves;" so the demonstration from Memphis was countermanded.

The expected cavalry force from west of the Mississippi, some seven thousand in number, under Washburne and Hovey, cut the railroad in Pemberton's rear and caused him to fall back to Grenada, one hundred miles south of Grand Junction. Grant pushed to Holly Springs, and by December 3d to Oxford, with his cavalry facing Pemberton at Grenada. This was a step of fifty miles toward Vicksburg without opposition. But the danger of depending on a long and single railway for supplies now began to loom up. To meet this, Sherman was sent from Memphis in command of a Mississippi expedition, which was to land at the mouth of the Yazoo just above Vicksburg. After establishing a base of supplies there he was to work his way eastward till he met Grant at Jackson. Thus Vicksburg was to be invested in the rear.

But by the time (December 26th) Sherman landed from the transports which had been conveyed by the gunboats under

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Admiral D. D. Porter, at a point twelve miles up the Yazoo, Grant had felt the effects of just such a blow as he all along feared and strove with all his power to avert. The Confederate cavalry, by a wide detour, struck his line of communications in the rear, and on December 20th captured the garrison of Holly Springs, some twelve hundred men, and destroyed an immense amount of military stores. His communications were also cut further up, between Jackson, Tenn., and Columbus on the Mississippi. This forced him to fall back from Grenada toward Holly Springs and La Grange, subsisting on the country as he went. It was a loss of valuable time and failure of the plan to co-operate with Sherman by way of the Yazoo and in the rear of Vicksburg. But Grant had faith in Sherman's ability to get a foothold somewhere close to Vicksburg, and he lost no time in reorganizing for his support.

On December 22d, 1862, he issued orders from his headquarters at Holly Springs, dividing the troops of his department into four army corps as follows:—The Ninth Division, Brigadier-General, G. W. Morgan; the Tenth Division, Brigadier-General, A. J. Smith; all other troops operating on the Mississippi below Memphis not in the Fifteenth Army Corps, to constitute the Thirteenth Army Corps, under Major-General John A. McClernand.

The Fifth Division, Brigadier-General Morgan L. Smith; Brigadier-General Steele's division from Helena, Ark., and the force in "the district of Memphis," to constitute the Fifteenth Army Corps under Major-General W. T. Sherman.

The Sixth Division, Brigadier-General J. McArthur; the Seventh Division, Brigadier-General I. F. Quimby; the Eighth Division, Brigadier-General L. F. Ross; the Second Brigade of Cavalry, Colonel A. L. Lee; Brigadier-General Davies' troops at Columbus, and those of Brigadier-General Sullivan at Jackson, Tenn., to constitute the Sixteenth Army Corps under Major-General S. A. Hurlbut.

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A NIGHT ATTACK BY CAVALRY.

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The First Division, Brigadier-General J. W. Denver; the Third Division, Brigadier General John A. Logan; the Fourth Division, Brigadier-General J. G. Lauman; the First Brigade of Cavalry, Colonel B. H. Grierson, and Brigadier-General G. M. Dodge's forces in district of Corinth, to constitute the Seventeenth Army Corps under Major-General J. B. McPherson.

Having made this new arrangement of his forces, General Grant went to Memphis to prepare for the work before him, and to communicate with Sherman, who, as we have seen, was down at the mouth of the Yazoo. Let us see how he was faring. The heights or bluffs of Vicksburg extend back from the city in all directions a considerable distance. These were generally fortified for miles. At the Yazoo river the bluffs break off, and the valley of the river is flat, marshy and intersected by bayous. Landing from the river was difficult. The timber on the slopes had been felled into dense abattis. The fortifications on the summits were hard to reach and well nigh impregnable. Sherman disembarked his forces at Chickasaw Bayou, and began skirmishing on December 27th. On the 28th he selected a point of attack over difficult ground. Pemberton had reinforced the Vicksburg garrison with some six or eight brigades of his army, for he had not followed up Grant when he fell back from in front of Grenada. On the 29th, Morgan's division of Sherman's force, strengthened by the brigades of Blair and Thayer, moved, under cover of a furious canonnade to within four hundred yards of the enemy's strong entrenchments, when they met a deadly infantry fire. Still they pushed on till within one hundred and fifty yards, when the fire became so terrible that they broke, but were quickly rallied only to be repulsed again and again, with heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners. The attack by the forces under Morgan Smith on the right was equally unsuccessful. Sherman saw that further attempt to force those strong lines by direct attack

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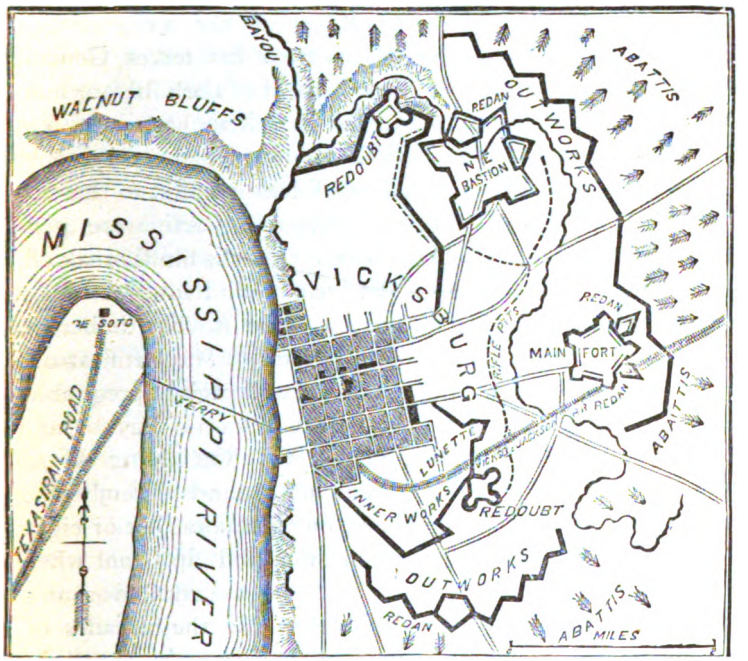
would be suicidal. He had already lost two thousand men, while the Confederate losses did not exceed two hundred and ten. He therefore gave up the impossible task, but immediately prepared a movement by which ten thousand men were to go in transports further up the Yazoo, and under cover of the guns



MAP OF VICKSBURG.

of the navy effect a landing further in the rear of the enemy's fortifications. This move was set down for the night of December 31st, but a dense fog prevented it. He therefore dropped all his boats and forces down the Yazoo to the Mississippi, where he met McClernand who had in the meantime, and by virtue of his influence at Washington, gotten authority to command the expedition against Vicksburg by way of the

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Mississippi river. McClernand ordered all the forces under his command to Milliken's Bend, a great elbow in the Mississippi, twelve miles above Vicksburg, where Sherman took control of his own corps, the Fifteenth, and General Morgan of the Thirteenth.

Not until Sherman reached the Mississippi after the failure of the attempt on Vicksburg by way of the Yazoo, did he learn of Grant's compulsory retreat from in front of Grenada. And now Grant for the first time learned of the ill fortune that had overtaken Sherman. The whole scheme against Vicksburg had failed, and the baffled commander must bring his genius to bear on some new device for its capture.

The first move was to assume command of active operations in person. This became necessary for the reason that he mistrusted McClernand's ability, and preferred that Sherman, in whom he had great confidence, should have a chance to redeem the Yazoo failure. But he saw no way of obviating all difficulties and lessening all risks except by taking direct control himself.

On January 17th, having visited the fleet lying off the mouth of the Arkansas river with a great number of troops on board, and in expectation of co-operation from General Banks, who was operating below against Port Hudson and the Red River country, he wrote to Halleck that "our troops must get below the city (Vicksburg) to be used effectually." On January 20th, he returned to Memphis and gave it out that "the Mississippi River enterprise must take precedence of all others, and any side move must simply be to protect our flanks and rear." On the 22d, he wrote to McClernand to reopen the canal across the isthmus in front of Vicksburg, in order to change the course of the Mississippi and make a straight, navigable channel out of reach of the enemy's guns. He never lost sight of the uses that might be made of the Yazoo river and its passes in securing a foothold in the rear

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of the city. Said he: "The work of reducing Vicksburg, will take time and men, but can be accomplished." He had evidently been pondering the matter deeply, and the above was a conclusion as much as an expression of faith.

And now came the work of putting his department in order. All unimportant points in Tennessee were abandoned. The heavy guns at Columbus, Memphis and Island No. 10 were removed so as to leave no inducement for attack by the enemy on the East side of the river. Young's Point opposite the mouth of the Yazoo, and near to Milliken's Bend, was to be the forming and operating point of the expedition. Halleck at Washington was urged to prepare all the support he could control. A part of the department of Arkansas was added to Grant's command, so that he might control both sides of the Mississippi. Forts Henry and Donelson were transferred to the Cumberland Department. On January 29th, General Grant arrived in person at Young's Point, and on the 30th assumed immediate command of the expedition against Vicksburg.

During February and March, 1863, General Grant tested five different expeditions, three of which were designed to enable him to pass freely up and down the Mississippi past Vicksburg, and two to overcome the obstacles to the navigation of the Yazoo presented by the batteries at Hayne's Bluff. The first of these was the canal across the isthmus opposite Vicksburg. It looked as though this would be successful, but on March 8th, the high water in the Mississippi broke the dams at the head of the canal, and flooded the entire peninsula. The canal project was abandoned.

The second expedient was to open the bayous from Milliken's Bend through Tensas river and into the Mississippi near New Carthage below Vicksburg. But low water by April and impassable roads rendered continuation of this work unnecessary. The third expedient was a passage for boats by

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way of Lake Providence on the Louisiana side. This never found real favor and was soon abandoned. The fourth was to open a route to the rear of Haynes' Bluff on the Yazoo. It was thought this could be done by threading some of the narrow, tortuous passes which run from the Mississippi into the Yazoo. Two of these were tried by resolute commands supported by Porter's gunboats, but without avail. The enemy blockaded the passes by felling trees into them faster than they could be removed, and by erecting batteries at the

REMOVING OBSTRUCTIONS.

available bends in the sluggish streams. All these expedients were therefore failures in one sense. Yet by means of them the mind of Grant had become clear as to what would have to be done in order to insure success. At the very moment when one of less heroic mould or without his commanding genius would have been heart sick amid failures, he was

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gradually rising to the height of that original and audacious conception which was to end in one of the grandest victories of the Civil War, and give him high and permanent rank among the great military commanders of the age and world.

CONFEDERATE CAVALRY PICKETS.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF VICKSBURG.

AT Young's Point opposite the mouth of the Yazoo the Mississippi turns to the northeast and flows four or five miles till it strikes the Vicksburg hills. These hills turn its flow back to the southwest, for a like distance. This sharp curve encloses the long narrow peninsula on the Louisiana side, across which two attempts to cut a canal had been made. Opposite the lower side of this peninsula, on the east shore of the river, stands the city of Vicksburg, on a rugged site where the cliffs rise abruptly from the water's edge to a height of two hundred feet. These bluffs extend from Warrenton below, to Walnut Hills above Vicksburg. They then turn to the northeast and strike the Yazoo twenty miles from its mouth, at Hayne's Bluff. From Hayne's Bluff, twelve miles from Vicksburg, to the Mississippi, the highlands were thoroughly fortified, and thence down the river to Warrenton, a distance of seven miles.

On the river front were twenty-eight heavy guns which gave a plunging fire. These effectually barred all approach by water, for no gun in the Federal fleets could be sufficiently elevated to reach the batteries on the heights. At the foot of the ridges and along the slopes rifle pits were dug and manned. The mouth of the Yazoo was obstructed by rafts and chains. The bayous leading to the north and rear of the city were filled with trees cut on their banks. The bluffy condition of the country extends back of the city for a considerable distance. The ravines, slopes, and ridges, wherever practical, were

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protected by batteries and entrenchments, so that approach by the land side was seemingly as impossible as that by water. This was the key to the navigation of the Mississippi and to the magnificent valley it drains.

On January 29th, 1863, the army in the Department of the Tennessee numbered one hundred and twenty thousand men. Of this number fifty thousand were at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend, consisting of the Fifteenth Corps (Sherman's), the Seventeenth (McPherson's), and part of the Thirteenth, (McClernand's). St. Louis and Memphis were the bases of supplies. Porter's co-operating fleet numbered sixty vessels large and small, two hundred and eighty guns and eight hundred men. We have seen how General Grant manœuvred and experimented up till the middle of March, 1863, and how one after another of his projects failed. These failures made it apparent to him that the true line of operations against Vicksburg was from the South. But this presented difficulties which were appalling. It would necessitate the moving of his army some thirty or forty miles down the west bank of the Mississippi river and through almost impassible sections. The river would have to be crossed in the face of the enemy. He would be cut off from Porter's gunboat support, unless the batteries of Vicksburg could again be successfully run. The fleet of Farragut and the army of Banks below were held in check by the strong Confederate fortifications at Port Hudson. Worst of all the movement would put the army out of communication with its bases of supplies, and with no hope of reaching them again till the circuit of Vicksburg had been made and the Yazoo reached.

The scheme was hazardous, but all others had failed. The country was clamorous for action on the part of its armies. Grant was not escaping censure for slowness of movement and even for incompetency. McClernand was unfriendly to him, and a request for his removal had reached the President. But

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Mr. Lincoln stood in the breach. "I rather like the man" (Grant), said he, "and I think we'll try him a little longer."

When General Grant had formulated his plan, he wrote to Halleck that it involved a move by way of the bayous and regular road from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage twenty-three miles below, a possible running of the Vicksburg batteries by Porter's fleet, a crossing of the Mississippi to Warrenton or Grand Gulf, a move directly upon Jackson, with perhaps a battle for that point, and, if victorious, a firm foothold in the rear of Vicksburg. "I will," said he, "keep my army together and see to it that I am not cut off from my supplies or beat in any other way than a fair fight."

The plan did not find favor among the officers of his command. They almost to a man advised against it as impracticable. It was not only full of the dangers of defeat, but, in that event, of annihilation of the entire army. Sherman, Grant's most faithful and best trusted lieutenant, boldly announced his views, and urged on his chief the propriety of going back to Memphis and moving to the coveted rear of Vicksburg by way of Grand Junction and Grenada, as Grant had attempted to do before. But while all found the plan counter to their judgments, they acquiesced as became good soldiers, and did their best to vindicate the wisdom of Grant's unalterable determination. The order to move hushed all dissatisfaction and criticism, and cemented opinion as firmly as if the pre-judgment had been unanimous. The perils of the undertaking conduced to harmony and generous rivalry. To stand together lest all should fall became a common resolve. And then if victory came it would be a most glorious one. Not to have aided in its purchase would be a shame. To have contributed to it would be a lasting honor.

On March 29th, 1863, the movement began. The Thirteenth Corps started for New Carthage. After a terrible march it arrived only to find its destination almost submerged. It was

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forced to go to Perkin's, twelve miles below and fully thirty-five miles from its starting point at Milliken's Bend. It was followed by the Seventeenth Corps, under McPherson. Simultaneously with this move Col. R. H. Grierson was sent

GRIERSON'S CELEBRATED RAID.

with a force of seventeen hundred cavalry from La Grange on his celebrated raid to test Grant's theory that the Confederacy was "a hollow shell with all its substance drawn to the outside." He traversed Mississippi without much opposition, destroying stores and bridges, and tearing up railroads. After traveling six hundred miles in sixteen days, capturing five hundred prisoners and three thousand stand of arms, killing and wounding over one hundred Confederates, destroying fifty miles

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of railroad and telegraph, he arrived at Baton Rouge on May 2d, with a loss of three killed, seven wounded and nine missing.

Grant now looked to Admiral Porter for promised co-operation. He must have gunboats for protection, barges in which to ferry his troops to the east side of the Mississippi, and since it was nearly impossible to get supplies by land from Milliken's Bend, transports laden with stores. But how were these helpless vessels to pass the Vicksburg batteries? The transports were loaded, and then protected with hay and cotton bales. They were manned by volunteer crews, and on the night of April 16th, the steamers, each towing a fleet of barges, steamed down to the great bend, preceded by the iron clad boats. Grant remained on a transport at the Bend to watch the operations. The night was dark. Porter led the way on the Benton, and reached the first battery before he was discovered. Then the artillery opened from the bluffs. The gunboats responded with a rapid fire. Houses in the city were set on fire to light up the river. This made every gunboat, steamer, barge fleet, and transport a target. Shot and projectiles of every form were rained on them from the forts, and some were badly disabled. One transport was set on fire by a shell and burned. All in all, the attempt was successful, and on the night of April 22d, it was repeated with a larger number of vessels and tows, most of which got past the batteries with slight injury.

These daring manœuvres secured to General Grant the supplies he needed and the co-operation of Porter's naval force below Vicksburg. It remained for him to select a point of crossing to the east bank of the Mississippi and to throw his army over. Neither New Carthage nor Perkin's, now held by his advance corps under McClernand, would make good starting points. They were really above the Confederate line of fortifications on the east side, which line may be said to have had its southernmost limit at Grand Gulf. Still they would do

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if Grand Gulf could be captured and the Confederate left turned there. Admiral Porter urged a combined attack on it at once. Grant ordered McClernand to co-operate with his corps in barges. But there was unaccountable delay in embarking, much to Grant's annoyance, for the Confederates were making use of every hour to strengthen Grand Gulf, a point fast becoming vital to them. The General, when apprised of the situation, resolved to push his headquarters from Milliken's Bend to Perkin's and assume direct control of the operations. Though suffering with an outbreak of boils, he took to the saddle and rode forty miles to Perkin's, to deliver his instructions in person to McClernand. But the golden opportunity had fled. Though Porter attacked the Grand Gulf batteries with vigor, April 29th, and was supported by an ample force ready to land and storm the place, they were perched too high for his guns. Like those of Vicksburg they were practically out of range and invincible.

In order to have his army well in hand and all ready for a speedy crossing in case Grand Gulf should fall, General Grant had pushed it, over very bad roads, from Perkin's to a place called Hard Times, twenty miles below, and opposite Grand Gulf. As soon as he saw the result of Porter's attack, which he witnessed from a tug in the stream, he signalled to be taken aboard the flagship. Here, after a personal interview with Porter, he requested that brave and ever willing officer to run the Grand Gulf batteries that night, April 29th, while he pushed his land forces from Hard Times to De Shroon's, three miles below. Porter ran his fleet past without much damage, and on the morning of the 30th, found the Thirteenth Army Corps at De Shroon's.

DAVID D. PORTER.

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Now for a good dry point on which to land on the east side of the river. Bruinsburg lay nearly opposite him and six miles below Grand Gulf. From this point a good road led inland to Port Gibson, twelve miles distant. This then would make a good landing place. A foothold once secured there, the enemy's left would be completely turned and the problem of access to his rear would be solved, unless he were strong enough to yet defeat it by a pitched battle. Against this contingency Grant had provided in more ways than one. In order to provide a disguise for his entire movement from Milliken's Bend to De Shroon's, and for his proposed crossing of the river, and at the same time prevent the enemy from marching out of Vicksburg and concentrating on him after he had crossed to the east side of the Mississippi, he ordered Sherman to make a bold and heavy demonstration, simultaneously with the attack on Grand Gulf, from Milliken's Bend, against Hayne's Bluff upon the Yazoo, which, we have seen, was the extreme right of the Vicksburg fortifications, and the point near which Sherman had failed to get a foothold on his former Yazoo Expedition. Sherman seeing its importance, undertook the expedition with ten regiments and the portion of Porter's fleet still above Vicksburg. He moved so vigorously and made such a plausible disposition of his forces, that the enemy engaged him for two days, under the apprehension that his attack was real. On May 1st, Grant sent him word that the object of the diversion had been achieved, and that he should desist and hasten to follow McPherson's Corps to Perkin's, and beyond, so as to be within reach of the head of the army and participate in the crossing if necessary.

Meanwhile Grant's advance was not losing a moment of time. He felt that amid all his obstacles, something substantial was being done. On April 29th, he wrote Halleck: "I feel now that the battle is more than half over." On the 30th he issued a batch of orders to all the corps' commanders to be

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ready for prompt movement and co-operation, and for other tugs with barges loaded with supplies to run the blockade. On the same day the Thirteenth Corps, McClernand's, and two divisions of the Seventeenth, were ferried across the river from De Shroon's, and effected a landing at Bruinsburg. Grant and his staff crossed early in the morning. The distance from the starting to the landing point was six miles, although the river itself is but little over a mile wide. Every available boat was pressed into service, and in order to get the most men over in the shortest time, not a tent, wagon or horse was allowed on board. To effect a landing, gain the highlands back from the river front, control the road to Port Gibson, and establish a base of operations, all before the enemy could become aware of his movement, was a matter of the greatest moment with General Grant. Never were the energies of an entire army more keenly directed to a single point, and never in a similar move was there heartier co-operation between land and naval forces.

Before sunset of April 30th, the highlands were reached by the landing forces, and a strong vanguard was pushed by forced marches out to within four miles of Port Gibson. Here it struck the enemy, five thousand strong, under Bowen who, having discovered the crossing and knowing that, if successful, it would turn his flank, had marched his forces out of Grand Gulf toward Port Gibson to protect his left and rear. This was to be the battle for position which Grant had anticipated and for which he was now ready. All four divisions of McClernand's corps and Logan's division of McPherson's were pushed to the front. Bowen was rapidly receiving reinforcements from Vicksburg, so that by May 1st, he had eleven thousand men with him in a strong defensive position. The battle opened at 10 A. M. As soon as Grant heard the firing he started on a borrowed horse for the scene and assumed direct command. McClernand was pressing the enemy on their

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left, but their right and centre were stubbornly resisting Osterhaus' division. It was speedily reinforced by Logan with two brigades of McPherson's Corps, and then began to gain ground. But the extreme right was the enemy's strong point. It was admirably protected by a sunken road and a deep, difficult ravine. Smith's brigade was ordered to Osterhaus' support, and Grant and McPherson both accompanied it. Osterhaus' increased the fury of his attack and the fresh brigade of Smith charged across the ravine. This was successful. The strong right of the enemy was turned, and his entire line broken and swept away. Bowen fell back toward Port Gibson, leaving his dead and wounded on the field. He was closely pursued till within two miles of that place and nightfall called a halt. During the night he withdrew from Port Gibson, burnt the bridge over Bayou Pierre, and took position between that stream and Grand Gulf. Here he was joined on May 2d by Loring's division from Jackson. But Grant crossed a new bridge hastily thrown over the Bayou, and was upon them before they could resist. They crossed the Big Black and were ordered by Pemberton to the vicinity of Vicksburg. The garrison at Grand Gulf, seeing their rear completely occupied and covered, beat a hasty retreat, leaving that stronghold to the Federals. It was quickly occupied, and Grant transferred his base thither from Bruinsburg.

The importance of a victory at or near Port Gibson was appreciated by both armies. It was to settle the fate of Grand Gulf at once, and also the success of that bold and brilliant move which had landed a Federal army on the left and in the rear of the "Gibraltar of America," as President Jefferson Davis had styled Vicksburg. Both Bowen and Grant knew the value of time and energy. The former secured all the reinforcements he could in the hours allotted to him. Grant drove his forces forward with desperate energy.

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LIVING OFF THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY.

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His efforts were in the nature of a series of surprises. He never remitted pursuit, and made the object of the expedition speedily secure. The battle was a sharp contention, in which Grant had the advantage of numbers. His loss was one hundred and thirty killed and seven hundred and eighteen wounded. He estimated the enemy's loss in killed and wounded as equal to his own, with the addition of six hundred and fifty prisoners, and the capture of six field pieces. In their hasty evacuation of Grand Gulf the Confederates left behind thirteen heavy guns.

Now that the Federal foothold was firm, General Grant sent orders to Sherman to push his corps down and across the Mississippi to his aid. He immediately disposed of the forces then with him so as to cover the country in his rear and make active demonstration on the enemy at the Black river crossings and at Jackson. The officers were now confident, the troops hardy and elated, so that there was no fear of lack of vigor. Word had been received below from Banks, that he could not be expected to reach the scene till after the fall of Port Hudson. This determined Grant to go on with the investment of Vicksburg alone. He had heard from Grierson's Cavalry raid, and knew that it was possible to live, for a time at least, off the enemy's country. He was therefore less anxious about supplies, although an ample store had been ordered to Grand Gulf.

General Pemberton had command at Vicksburg, under General Joseph E. Johnston, who commanded the Department. Johnston was concentrating rapidly at Jackson, fifty miles to the rear of Vicksburg. Grant had pushed the bulk of his army up toward Raymond, in the direction of Jackson, and had possession of Clinton, on the railroad between Vicksburg and Jackson. His object was to keep himself as much as possible between Johnston's and Pemberton's forces, so as to prevent their union and if possible attack them separately.

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But he was thus exposing his communications with Grand Gulf. Johnston saw this, and ordered Pemberton to attack Grant's rear at Clinton. But Pemberton swung toward Raymond, designing to make his blow more effective. His misfortune was that Grant had resolved as early as May 11th to cut loose from his base at Grand Gulf. He was now, May 14th, marching his men with only three days' rations in their haversacks, and with orders to live as much as possible on the country.

After a spirited fight at Raymond, Sherman was ordered to take the direct road to Jackson, and McPherson to take a northerly and parallel road. McClernand was to hold a point near Raymond, in supporting distance of both. On the morning of the 14th Grant wrote Halleck: "I will attack the State Capitol to-day." It was the point toward which Johnston was rapidly hurrying his reinforcements from the south. If struck quickly it would prove a masterly blow.

Sherman and McPherson moved so simultaneously that they reached the place at the same hour. The Confederate outposts were driven in, and guns were put in position to reply to the fire to which the Federals were now subjected. A rain set in which suspended the attack for two hours, but the time was well occupied in getting troops into position. Then McPherson ordered an advance, which soon became a gallant charge by Crocker's division. It swept the Confederates from their outer posts, and drove them behind their permanent works. Both McPherson and Sherman now drew their lines closer, brought their artillery to bear, and began a resolute attack on the defensive works. Grant, who had all the while been with Sherman, ordered that officer to send a force to the extreme right, as far as Pearl river. It did not return, and Grant rode to the right himself, accompanied only by his staff. He found the road open clear to Jackson. The enemy had hastily evacuated before it received the force of

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the designed blow. Grant, in company with a dozen officers, rode forward and entered the works and the city. His son, a lad of thirteen, who had accompanied his father throughout the campaign, spurred his horse ahead of the company and was really the first to enter the Capitol of Mississippi. By three o'clock in the afternoon both Sherman's and McPherson's corps were in the city and the possession was complete.

The rapidity of Grant's march from Raymond had disconcerted all of Johnston's plans. He was unable to hold on till properly reinforced. The same rapidity carried the Federal army away from danger of a rear attack by Pemberton. The vigor of McPherson's onset had been such that Johnston was unable to save his artillery, and he lost seventeen pieces with nearly a thousand men killed, wounded and prisoners.

The Federal loss was thirty-seven killed and two hundred and twenty-eight wounded. Johnston fell back northward, thus making the gap between him and Pemberton wider.

When Pemberton found that Grant was already beyond Clinton, and as far as Jackson, and further, on the line of direct road from Jackson to Vicksburg, he saw that his swing away from his base on that road at Edward's Station was but to give Grant a fair chance to move directly on Vicksburg. So he made all haste to re-occupy the line of the road again, which he did, selecting a naturally strong position at Champion Hills, nearly midway between Edward's Station and Clinton. Grant knew that it was now possible for Johnston to reinforce Pemberton. So he ordered all his forces to concentrate at Bolton Station, immediately in front of Pemberton's lines at Champion Hills. Battle must be given there and given quickly, before Johnston could recover from the effects of his retreat from Jackson and come to Pemberton's support.

On May 16th, the two armies met, and the battle became hot and stubborn all along the lines, but especially on the Federal left. On the right, Logan carried his division well

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around the enemy's flank and completely turned it. Orders were given to strengthen the Federal left and intensify the attack so as to give Logan time to force his advantage further. He did so, and the Confederates, doubled on themselves, broke in confusion. They retreated with the loss of over three thousand killed and wounded, nearly as many in prisoners of war, and thirty field-pieces. The Federal losses were four hundred and twenty-six killed, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four wounded and one hundred and eighty-nine missing. So rapidly was the pursuit pushed that the Confederate General Loring, finding himself cut off from the command, abandoned his artillery, and, wheeling eastward, made a wide detour by forced marches till he reached Johnston. But his division was much decimated before it found a destination. This was one of the severest battles of this campaign of strategy and activity; and a most decisive one too. Only the celerity of Grant's movements and his wonderful ability to keep his corps in hand had rendered it possible. It was as much needed for the country as for the success of Grant's audacious plans, for the President, General Halleck and army officers everywhere, were keenly criticising the entire movement and predicting disaster. Hooker had lost at Chancellorsville. The nation was despondent and looked for deeper gloom when Grant should be heard from. Moreover, the authorities at Washington had been all the while urging him to wait till Banks could come up to his assistance, or to drop his plans and go to Banks' assistance at Port Hudson. Fortunately he was out of reach of dispatches, and away from criticism and clamor. He was even more guarded than usual in his camp counsels, never debating, seldom explaining, in advance. It was a time for only heroic action, and that in the line he had evidently studied well and from which he would not swerve, come what may. That it was the line of victory, every step of the way, thus far, had proved.

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Grant's army pursued Pemberton's westward beyond Edward's Station, and thence to the Big Black crossing, six miles beyond. Here he received Halleck's dispatch ordering him "to return and co-operate with Banks." He *was* returning now, but with victorious banners. No danger now of further rebukes, further countermands, further recalls, once the real situation was known at Washington and to the country.

Pemberton crossed the Big Black with most of his army, but left a force on the east side to dispute the passage of the Federals. It was strongly entrenched, with both flanks resting on the river, and a slough in front. By hugging the river and making a gallant charge on the extreme left flank, General Lawler carried the whole Confederate works, capturing eighteen guns, and over one thousand five hundred privates and officers. The balance of the force escaped, burning the bridge, which was rebuilt that night, May 17th, by the Federals. The same night Sherman crossed his corps by a pontoon bridge at Bridgeport, a mile or two above Edward's Station.

What now was the situation? On that night of May 17th the broken columns of Pemberton's army were rushing in confusion back into Vicksburg. For two weeks it had been marched and countermarched over the country in the rear in aimless adventure, had been forced into disastrous actions in detached parts, had failed to achieve a single hope entertained by its commander or by General Johnston. Pemberton clung all along to the thought of retaining Vicksburg. Johnston saw the folly of this, and after the disaster at the Big Black ordered him to evacuate the place and march to the northeast. But it was now too late for this, even if the order had found favor, which it did not in a council of war called by Pemberton.

Eighteen days had elapsed since Grant crossed the Mississippi and got his hold at Bruinsburg. Such had been the

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rapidity of his motions, the bravery and hardihood of his troops, and the originality of his schemes, that he had kept the Confederate armies divided, struck them both telling blows, and succeeded in shutting the main one up within the defences of Vicksburg, whence they were not to issue except as prisoners of war.

By the morning of May 18th, the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Corps were across the Big Black at the scene of the battle, and Sherman was across at Bridgeport. All were moving directly on Vicksburg by three roads, and all within supporting distance.

GEN. JOS. E. JOHNSTON.

Johnston was lying at Vernon, twenty miles up the Big Black, waiting for Pemberton to make his escape and join him. He had not yet heard of the disastrous battle at the Big Black crossing, the tumultuous retreat into Vicksburg, and the closing in of Grant's forces.

Sherman's corps was forced along on the right till it struck the Benton road and Walnut hills on high and dry ground, three and a half miles from Vicksburg. This position overlooked the Yazoo river where, a month before, Sherman had tried to effect a foothold. It also completely cut off the Confederate right at Hayne's Bluff from the strong fortifications of the centre. Grant was with Sherman when his corps struck this available position. Looking over the scene and recognizing fully the advantages secured in the short space of eighteen days, Sherman turned to Grant, and said: "Until this moment I never thought your expedition a success. I never could see the end clearly until now. But this is a campaign; this a success, if we never take the town."

And by what was that success measured? By the rapid

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marching of three full army corps a distance of over two hundred miles inside of twenty days. By the defeat of two opposing armies in five successive battles. By the capture of twenty-seven heavy guns, sixty-one field pieces, sixty-five hundred prisoners, and the killing and wounding of six thousand of the enemy. By forcing and keeping apart two armies in a hostile country, which, had they been able to combine, would have outnumbered his own, and perhaps overwhelmed it. By starting with limited rations and light equipment, and proving that an invading army could live on the country. Only five days' rations had been issued since leaving Grand Gulf, yet the soldiers had not complained of lack of subsistence. His aggregate losses were six hundred and ninety-eight killed, three thousand four hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and thirty missing: a total of four thousand three hundred and thirty-five. All this leaves out of sight the splendid vantage ground gained on the Yazoo, the hopes of successful siege operations, the certainty of a splendid victory in the future, the moral effect of such victory on the armies in the East and the country in general.

The army was thrown into position for prosecuting the siege. Sherman, on the right, had already rendered Hayne's Bluff untenable, and this evacuated, the Federal army found a secure and long-coveted base of supplies on the navigable Yazoo, near to the boats above Vicksburg, and in easy communication with the northern Mississippi. McPherson's corps occupied the central line of investment and McClernand's the left. Could Grant afford to wait for that capitulation which was sure to come through slow approaches and a starving out process? His lines were long and at no point very strong. The enemy within were, he knew, in a demoralized condition. Johnston was behind, gathering forces as rapidly as he could, and there was no telling when he might make a diversion in the rear in order to save the beleaguered garrison. So Grant resolved on

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an early assault, if for no other purpose, to shorten his lines by pressing them closer up to and around the enemy.

The assault was ordered on the afternoon of May 19th. It was found impossible to force the entrenchments, but the Federal lines were drawn closer on all sides. The Fifteenth Corps had mainly participated, and though its loss was severe, the result was not without profit, for it showed the nature of the defences, that the Confederates had recovered their spirits and were determined to hold out to the last, and, most of all, that they were far stronger numerically than Grant, who credited Pemberton with fifteen thousand effective men, had supposed.

The 20th and 21st of May were devoted to the comfort of the army. The ground was cleared for more permanent encampments. Supplies were brought from Chickasaw bayou. McClernand was ordered to establish a base for stores at Warrenton, on the extreme left. Porter made an attack, May 21st, with his fleet on the water batteries in front, and succeeded in dismounting several guns. Grant pushed his pickets and sharpshooters well up to the entrenchments, and gained several effective points for the use of field-pieces.

By the 22d the Federals were in excellent condition for another offensive movement. An attack all along the lines was ordered for that day. Porter was asked to co-operate with his fleet. Early in the morning the cannonade began on the land side. Under cover of this, sharpshooters pushed their way forward into all the available spaces. The fleet opened with its tremendous volleys. Vicksburg was girdled by a sheet of flame from deep-throated cannon, lighter field-piece and Minnie rifle. The bombardment was the most concentrated, unremitting and terrible during the siege, and lasted till eleven o'clock. It was not responded to heartily. Even if Pemberton had not been forced to economize ammunition, it would have been impossible for his gunners to stand by their instruments of death, amid that rain of lead and iron missiles

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At eleven the grand movement of the army corps began. Grant stood near McPherson's front, where he could see the advancing columns of the Seventeenth and part of those of the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Corps. All moved in concert. The advance was most difficult, amid mazes of ravines and hills, abattised slopes and fortified summits. Yet the attack was determined. Sally after sally was made from the Federal lines upon supposed weak points, and charge after charge upon murderous positions. Never men exposed themselves more recklessly, or fought braver, in the midst of fires which seemed to come out of the very earth, and to enfilade and concentrate with merciless precision, such was the nature of the ground and the frequency and bearing of the rifle pits and entrenchments. Though the enemy's strong positions were forced in many places, they could not be held.

The Federal losses in killed and wounded during the day were three thousand. They had thirty thousand engaged. Pemberton said he had eighteen thousand five hundred men in the trenches, and lost eight hundred. The Federal repulse occasioned no murmuring, no falling back, no symptoms of demoralization. Detachments remained till nightfall close up to the advanced positions reached during the day, and then dug their way back out of the ditches. Again the mettle of the army had been proven, and now it was patent to all that Vicksburg could not be carried by storm.

Grant at once set about preparations for regular siege, the three army corps retaining their old positions, but that of McClernand on the left being materially strengthened by reinforcements, which by this time were rapidly arriving by way of Warrenton and Grand Gulf. Prentiss and Hurlbut were ordered to send all the forces they could spare from Corinth, Memphis and further up the Mississippi. A large cavalry force was organized for watching the rear of his army and observing the movements of Johnston, who was collecting his forces at

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Canton with the determination of striking another blow for Pemberton's rescue. Grant's part was plain, but its performance most difficult and hazardous. He must hold the line of the Big Black river as the natural defence of his rear. He must cover the line of the Yazoo to a point as high up as Hayne's Bluff, for there lay his right, and that was his main source of supplies as well as communication with the Mississippi to the North. He must keep Johnston in check. He must push his siege operations with all the energy at his command.

On May 23d orders were given that the axe, pick and shovel should support the cartridge and bayonet. There were no siege trains or howitzers and few appliances for regular siege operations. But volunteer parties, with stout hearts and willing hands, made up for this inconvenience. Roads and covered ways were opened from camp to camp. Timbers were felled. Batteries were posted wherever they were necessary to keep down the enemy's fire or disarm his positions. Sharpshooters were kept active at every point. The hillside approaches were worked by degrees closer and closer to the enemy's entrenchments. Sappers and working parties almost undermined the Confederate parapets in places. In two weeks' time the entire Confederate front had shifted, by a backward movement of its artillery, and abandonment of its outer lines.

Early in June, Grant had eighty-nine batteries in position, numbering two hundred and twenty guns, mostly light field-pieces, and some of them within four hundred yards of the Confederate entrenchments. The enemy were always active, digging counter trenches and springing mines. They were least effective with their artillery owing to scarcity of ammunition. To tell how, by means of deep-covered trenches, Grant pushed his men under the very guns of the enemy, to mention the labor, the engineering feats, the surprises, to dwell on the incidents connected with digging a pathway for an

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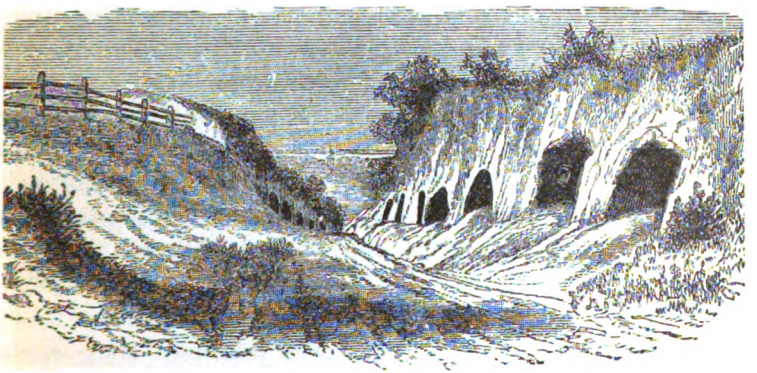
army into a city so strongly defended, would require a volume. It is enough to say that neither ingenuity, industry nor daring could have done more to tighten the lines about the fated city. Its time would come and soon, if nothing interfered. By night and by day it was to receive a baptism of fire, now from gunboat, then artillery, and there was to be no rest till the end. The prices of food in the town had, by this time, risen enormously. There was scarcely a building in Vicksburg that had not been struck by shells, and many were entirely demolished.

The women and children at night, and often in daytime when the firing was especially severe, were sheltered in caves that were grouped in every hillside. They were rather damp bedrooms, but answered a very good purpose. But something



CAVE LIFE IN VICKSBURG.

was threatening in the rear. Johnston had collected an army at Canton and was moving on Grant. His direction would in all probability be toward Hayne's Bluff. Porter was ordered to guard the Yazoo well with his gunboats, Sherman was strengthened with all the reinforcements arriving from the North. New lines of entrenchments were formed from Grant's centre clear to the Bluff, so that he could fight either way.

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But it was no part of his plan to let Johnston approach him. "We must whip him at least fifteen miles off" was his order to General Parke.

On June 2d, he heard that Johnston was crossing the Big Black. Immediately Sherman was ordered to assume command of all the forces which were to face about and operate to the rearward. "Should Johnston come we want to whip him, if the siege has to be raised to do it," was the sentiment which went with the orders to move, and the promise of all the support that might be asked for.

On June 27th, Grant heard that Johnston, whose strength was estimated at twenty-four thousand men, expected a reinforcement of ten thousand from Bragg in Tennessee. He still felt strong enough to contend against this increase, for his men were in excellent health and full of expectation. On July 1st, Johnston was reported between the Big Black and Brownsville. On the 3d, an intercepted dispatch from Johnston read that he would make an attack on Grant on the 7th, and that he (Pemberton) should attack from within. Duplicates of this dispatch did not reach Pemberton till the 10th. As a counter to this, Grant, who had made every disposition to meet Johnston, determined to make another assault on Pemberton's works on the 6th of July, and if possible either capture the city or so demoralize the enemy that he could neither make an effective diversion in Johnston's favor nor a successful escape. An enemy's movement always necessitates a counter movement, was a maxim Grant never forgot.

But in the midst of all this planning, excitement and preparation, there befell that which was to crown every Federal sacrifice with victory and add new lustre to Grant's fame. On the morning of July 3d, Pemberton sent a letter to Grant proposing an armistice, and a commission of three to arrange terms of surrender. To this Grant replied, declining to appoint a commission, for the reason that no terms of capitulation were

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possible except unconditional surrender of the city and garrison; and added: "Men who have shown so much courage and endurance as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect of an adversary, and I can assure you will be treated with all the respect due to prisoners of war." The reply also accorded Pemberton a personal interview if he desired one.

At three o'clock in the afternoon Pemberton, accompanied by Bowen and Colonel Montgomery, proceeded to the front. General Grant met them under a tree on the hillside, within two hundred feet of the Confederate lines. He was accompanied by several members of his staff and by A. J. Smith, McPherson, Logan and Ord, who had lately succeeded McClernand dismissed for haughty and irregular congratulations of his corps and for reflections on the other corps commanders after the assault of May 22d. The works on both sides were crowded with unarmed men, and for once in six long weeks the mouths of muskets, artillery and great cannon were dumb.

The two generals shook hands, and Pemberton asked what terms of capitulation would be allowed. Grant replied: "Those expressed in the letter of this morning." Said Pemberton, haughtily: "If that is all, the conference might as well terminate, and hostilities be resumed immediately." "Very well," said Grant, and turned away.

Bowen then proposed that two of the subordinates then present should retire and propose such terms as they could agree upon to their chiefs. Grant had no objection to this, but refused to be bound by any agreement of his subordinates. Bowen and Smith withdrew, and in a short time returned with the suggestion that the Confederates should march out of Vicksburg with the honors of war, carrying their muskets and field guns with them, but leaving their heavy artillery. Grant smiled at this proposal and rejected it. It was then agreed

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that he should send his final terms to Pemberton before ten o'clock that night, hostilities not to be resumed till the correspondence terminated.

The General sent for all his corps and division generals then on the city front, and for the first time in his life held what might be called a formal council of war. Their opinions, with the exception of Steele's, did not meet his views, and he sent the following as his ultimatum:

"I submit the following for the surrender of Vicksburg, public stores, etc. On your accepting, I will march in one division as a guard, and take possession at 8 A. M. to-morrow. As soon as the rolls can be made and paroles signed by officers and men, you will be allowed to march out of your lines, the officers bearing side arms and clothing, and the field, staff and cavalry officers taking one horse each. The rank and file will be allowed their clothing, but no other property. You may take along any amount of rations you deem necessary from your stores and sufficient cooking utensils. Thirty wagons will be allowed for the transport of such articles as cannot be carried. Same conditions to all sick and wounded as fast as they become able to travel, their paroles to be signed while the proper officers are present."

To this Pemberton replied at midnight, accepting it in the main, but proposing some amendments, which were not accepted, except that the men were permitted to march to the front of their respective lines, stack arms at 10 A. M. of the 4th of July, and then remain as prisoners till paroled. The following from Pemberton concluded the correspondence: "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this day (now the 4th), and in reply to say that the terms proposed by you are accepted."

At ten o'clock on the morning of Saturday, July 4th, 1863, the anniversary of American Independence, the Confederate garrison of "The Gibraltar of America" marched out of the

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GRANT'S INTERVIEW WITH SHERIDAN.

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lines it had defended so long and valiantly and stacked its arms in front of the victors. It then returned, empty handed and silent, within the works as prisoners of war. Thirty-one thousand six hundred men surrendered, two thousand one hundred and fifty-three of whom were officers, and fifteen of the rank of general. One hundred and seventy-two cannon also fell to the victors, which, with those previously taken at Grand Gulf and Hayne's Bluff, made two hundred and forty-six in all. This ranks as the largest capture of men and material ever made in war, that of Ulm being next, where thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the adversary by surrender.

Logan's division had the honor of first entering the city, at whose head Grant rode. A request by Pemberton for an issue of rations to his troops, which he said numbered thirty-two thousand men, was the first intimation that Grant had of the extent of his victory. He had never credited the Confederate general with a force of over twenty thousand. After riding to the river front and congratulating Admiral Porter, he dispatched the glorious news of the surrender and the terms to Washington. Banks was notified of the success and was offered a corps of "as good troops as ever trod American soil; no better are found on any other." Sherman and McPherson were ordered to close up in front of Johnston and "drive him from the line of the Mississippi Central Railroad, destroy the bridges as far north as Grenada, and do the enemy all the harm possible. I will support you to the last man that can be spared." And he did. Sherman drove Johnston out of Clinton and into Jackson. By July 9th the place was invested, while the work of destroying railroads according to Grant's orders went on. On the 16th the investment was so close that Johnston, fearing assault, withdrew across the Pearl river, burning the bridges behind him. Pursuit was kept up for fifty miles, when it was withdrawn, and Sherman returned to Vicks-

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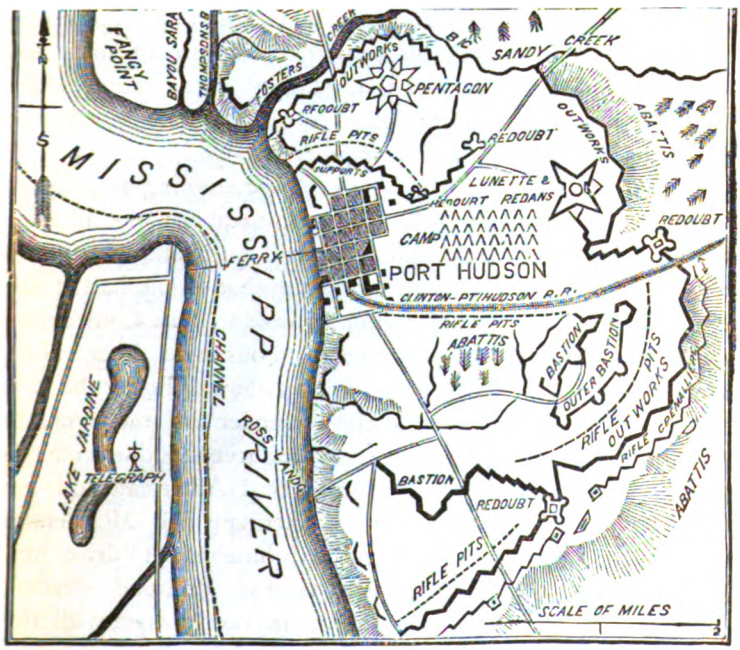
burg, having lost less then a thousand men. There was no longer an enemy in the rear.

Herron's division was sent immediately from Vicksburg to Banks at Port Hudson, which stronghold surrendered on July 8th, yielding ten thousand more prisoners and fifty guns, another fruit, indirectly at least, of the campaign which Grant



PORT HUDSON.

had conceived and pushed to such a triumphant conclusion. Victory had not made him unmindful of details. He swept the field everywhere with his wonderful vision, and delivered orders as promptly and calmly as if the responsibilities of an aggressive campaign were still upon him.

What did Vicksburg mean? It meant the fulfilled dream,

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the crowned central hope, the completed solemn resolution of the great Northwest. An unvexed Mississippi was not a greater strategic than commercial necessity. It now ran free to the sea, an outlet for every form of produce, an artery for the flow of peaceful or armed craft, industrial bargemen or uniformed cohorts. "The possession of the Mississippi river is the possession of America, and I say that had the Confederacy held with a grip sufficiently strong the lower part of the Mississippi river we would have been a subjugated people; and they would have dictated to us had we given up the possession of the lower Mississippi. It was vital to us, and we fought for it and won it." This is the language of Grant's warmest friend and most trusted lieutenant, Major-General W. T. Sherman. It is no more significant than that of President Jefferson Davis at Jackson when Grant's purposes became known. He urged the citizens "to assist in preserving the Mississippi river, that great artery of the country, and thus conduce, more than in any other way, to the perpetuation of the Confederacy, and the success of the cause"

The fall of Vicksburg meant the severance of the Confederacy, and the establishment of an armed line directly through its great Western Zone. Vicksburg and Port Hudson, two hundred miles apart, right and left wing of all that was left of a water front to the Confederacy, were sufficiently wide apart to serve as a means of communication between the East and Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana on the West. On this line the well-nigh exhausted East depended for its beef and other supplies from the less impoverished West. It was now cut off from herded plain and well-stored granary, and had therefore received a blow which was harder to bear than the loss of munitions and men.

Vicksburg meant the elimination of the entire army of the Confederacy on whose shoulders the defence of the Southwest depended. The major part of that army had surrendered, the

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rest had been driven clear off the scene of effective action. This was a source of humiliation, a blow at the spirit of the Confederacy, a cause of gloomy doubts, a rude awakening to the possibility of never realizing by force of arms the success

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

of secession and separate empire. In a single campaign that army had suffered five defeats outside of Vicksburg, had been severed and its greater part captured within the defences, had been driven from Jackson, had lost forty thousand prisoners, twelve thousand killed and wounded, and thousands of stragglers, in all fully sixty thousand men, with arms and munitions for one hundred thousand effectives.

The result to the army of the West was as it a great load

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had been lifted. It was exhilarated and nerved for new conquests. Its trials had brought it unmatched discipline, its victories rendered it invincible. Henceforth it would move in any direction with the willingness of a veteran band and the certainty of triumph. Its least excited, most unperturbed and modest spirit was its great leader, who asked nothing for himself, claimed nothing except through the gallant officers and privates who had so cheerfully and obediently followed him through the valleys of trial and up to the summits of victory. He congratulated all on their devotion and bravery, and Sherman, McPherson and all his faithful officers were remembered with hearty recommendations for honor and promotion.

The effect of Vicksburg on the armies of the East was inspiring. They had for a long time been worried by changes of commanders, by General Lee's tactical marches and sudden onsets, and had at last been forced to concentrate, not in time to prevent, but in order to meet, a bold and desperate attempt on the part of that renowned leader to march into the North and pierce its very vitals. While Grant was investing Vicksburg, all the northeastern States were quaking and all the Federal armies therein were seemingly overmatched. It seemed to require such a move as that of General Lee, above the Potomac and into Pennsylvania, to establish unanimity, awaken co-operation, and force a clear perception of danger. Lee forced Gettysburg on the Federal armies of the East, just as Grant forced Vicksburg on the Confederate armies of the West; not, to be sure, with the same victorious preludes, but with the same originality of conception and tactical desperation. The results were wholly different. Grant kept Pemberton and Johnston separated. It was genius against genius and physical force against physical force. Lee could not keep his opposition divided, for the division had been simply in its councils, a matter of feeling, moral, rather than physical division. A common danger, a patriotic awakening, a firm

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united resolve, a commander whose power to command was greater than his individual sentiments, his speculative fervor, his love of self, and there would come about a result which not even the energy and genius of a Lee could contravene. Gettysburg was this result. It was a clash of two great armies, equal in strength and on a fair field. It was a test of valor and resource for three whole days. Men stood firm in both ranks, and died or were wounded in nearly equal numbers. It was a brave fight in which Meade and Lee, and all the officers and men on both sides, as the reader may choose to view them, won glory. But even on the night of July 3d, 1863, it was nobody's victory, nor yet on the morning of the 4th. Not until the confession made by Lee's retreat was wafted back to the Federal front, and passed thence from corps to corps and camp to camp, did the Federal army realize that it was triumphant, and the nation that it had cause for congratulation more inspiring than its memories of a natal day. And even yet that tired and worn-out army, too stricken to give successful pursuit, too sad to jubilate with its home friends, was not assured of the magnitude of its blow or the real wealth of its conquest, till its heart was electrified by the news that Vicksburg too had fallen and the stars and stripes were waving in triumph on its ramparts. The thrill of subdued delight then became one of unrestrained joy, and every Federal soldier felt that even if Lee had not been crushed, he must go back to a country bowed in despair, and henceforth support a cause whose life was rapidly oozing.

GEN. MEADE.

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Who can imagine the effect of Vicksburg and Gettysburg combined on the country? It was as if a dumb mouth had suddenly opened and proclaimed its joy on the housetops. It was as if a deeply sunken heart had in a moment leaped into glowing action. It was as if a lowering cloud, impervious to all radiance, had been whisked away by glad breezes, and a full flow of hope's brightest sunlight had come upon the people. A loud, prolonged, united, Amen! sealed the country's prayers for deliverance, its heartfelt words of approval, its speeches and songs and acts of jubilation. The drift of a cause was changed. Destiny took new shape. The United States were not to be divided States. Amid the unbounded joy of the people and the supreme satisfaction of the Government, General Grant became the recipient of unstinted praise and a central figure in our military history. He was hailed with unfeigned delight and sincerity as "the only general who was always successful." President Lincoln wrote him on July 13th, after the full effects of his victory became known, "I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. . . . When you got below Vicksburg and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong;" and Halleck, who had all along disapproved of the campaign, wrote:

"Your report dated July 6th, of your Mississippi campaign, ending in the capitulation of Vicksburg was received last evening. Your narration of the campaign, like the operations themselves, is brief, soldierly and in every respect creditable and satisfactory. In boldness of plan, rapidity of execution, and brilliancy of routes, these operations will compare most favorably with those of Napoleon at Ulm. You and your

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BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

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army have well deserved the gratitude of your country, and it will be the boast of your children that their fathers were of the heroic army which reopened the Mississippi river."

The grade of major general in the regular army was immediately conferred upon him. Called assemblies, patriotic clubs, and deliberative bodies sent him votes of thanks, costly gifts, and other honors. Amid all he maintained a quiet, unostentatious dignity, declining ovations and refusing to rob his companions in arms of their share of the credit due for the late campaigns and victories. And yet, could one have seen beneath that calm exterior, there must have been witnessed a secret glow of satisfaction over vindication of his private character from the aspersions of imaginative and malignant army correspondents, and of his military ability and genius from disparaging slur and jealous criticism indulged by those who looked solely to political influence for favor and promotion.

Once he yielded to an invitation to attend an ovation designed to reflect the loyal sentiment of Memphis. It was in August after his army had enjoyed a rest and all the fruit of Vicksburg had been carefully gathered. His reply to the invitation shows his public spirit and clear perception of personal and political duty. It runs:

"In accepting this testimonial, which I do at great sacrifice of personal feelings, I simply desire to pay a tribute to the first public exhibition in Memphis of loyalty to the Government which I represent in the Department of the Tennessee. I should dislike to refuse, for considerations of personal convenience, to acknowledge anywhere or in any form, the existence of sentiments which I have so long and so ardently desired to see manifested in this department. *The stability of this government, and the unity of this nation, depend solely on the cordial support and the earnest loyalty of the people.*"

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CHAPTER IX.

FROM VICKSBURG TO CHATTANOOGA.

THOUGH Grant's forces had a much needed rest for some time after the fall of Vicksburg, his fertile mind was busy devising new schemes of conquest. As early as July 18th, he wrote to Halleck: "It seems to me now that Mobile should be captured, the expedition to start from Lake Pontchartrain." But Halleck had other plans, and a grand opportunity was lost. Still Grant continued to urge the importance of a move on this only remaining stronghold of the Confederates on the Gulf, and offered to assist with one of his army corps. It was vain. He was forced to see his army scattered, the Thirteenth Corps, Ord's, to Banks, a division to Schofield, to operate against Price in Arkansas, a corps, the Ninth, to Burnside in East Kentucky, portions to garrison unimportant places on the Mississippi and other rivers. At length orders came that he should co-operate with Banks in securing a permanent foothold in Texas.

GEN. BANKS.

On August 30th he started to New Orleans to see Banks. While there he was thrown from his horse and disabled. This postponed his return to Vicksburg till September 16th, where he was compelled to keep his bed till the 25th. On the 13th Halleck telegraphed him that he should send all his available forces to Rosecrans, who was then

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operating with an army of sixty thousand men in Tennessee and northern Georgia, where he had just obtained possession of Chattanooga, one of the most important strategic positions between Richmond and the Mississippi.

It may be well to know that at this juncture the military operations of the Mississippi Valley were conducted by three different armies, the army of the Tennessee, under Grant, the army of the Cumberland, under Rosecrans, the army of the Ohio, under Burnside. Halleck's dispatch of the 13th not having been received, he again sent word on the 15th, to the effect that part of Lee's army had been sent from Richmond to reinforce Bragg, who was rapidly concentrating for an attack on Rosecrans.

This dispatch reached Grant on the 22d. Though in bed, he instantly ordered Sherman to send a division of his corps to Rosecrans, and a similar order was sent to McPherson. On the 27th, Sherman himself was sent to Rosecrans' aid with two more divisions of his corps. The route was by boats to Memphis and thence overland by way of Corinth, Tuscambia and Decatur. That Sherman's progress might be uninterrupted Grant ordered an expedition to Canton and Jackson to distract the enemy.

GEN. ROSECRANS.

But long before these reinforcements could reach their destination, the blow which Rosecrans had foolishly invited and Halleck had foreseen fell on the Federal army at Chickamauga. Rosecrans suffered disastrous defeat on the 19th and 20th of September, and was driven back to Chattanooga with heavy loss of men and artillery and the sacrifice of immense strategic advantages.

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On September 29th, Halleck wrote that the enemy was still concentrating on Rosecrans, that all the forces he (Grant) could spare should be sent under able generals, such as Sherman or McPherson, and that as soon as his health permitted he should go to Nashville in person to take direction of the movement. Grant replied that he was again ready for duty, and had ordered everything to suit Halleck's wishes. On October 3d the Secretary of War telegraphed him to come to Cairo and report. On October 16th he telegraphed his arrival at that point. To which Halleck replied requesting him to proceed to the Galt House, Louisville, Ky., to meet an officer of the War Department. At Indianapolis he met Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, who brought with him an order creating for Grant a new command—the Military Division of the Mississippi, to include all the territory between the Alleghenies and Mississippi, except such as Banks held below Port Hudson. Thus the three Departments of the Tennessee, Cumberland and Ohio were consolidated under him. This was in accordance with his advice to Halleck a year before, at which time he declined the command of such united department as he then proposed, in order to show that his personal ambitions had nothing to do with his convictions.

The imperative necessity for co-operation between all the commands embraced in the new Department had become painfully manifest to the government. The disaster to Rosecrans at Chickamauga had hastened its decision. It was a great responsibility for Grant to assume, but no other general had accomplished so much. Past successes gave a guarantee for future ones, the danger at Chattanooga was imminent, and increasing daily. It was necessary to act promptly, boldly, unitedly.

At the same time General Grant was shown two other orders by Stanton, either of which he could accept. One left Rosecrans in command of the Army and Department of the

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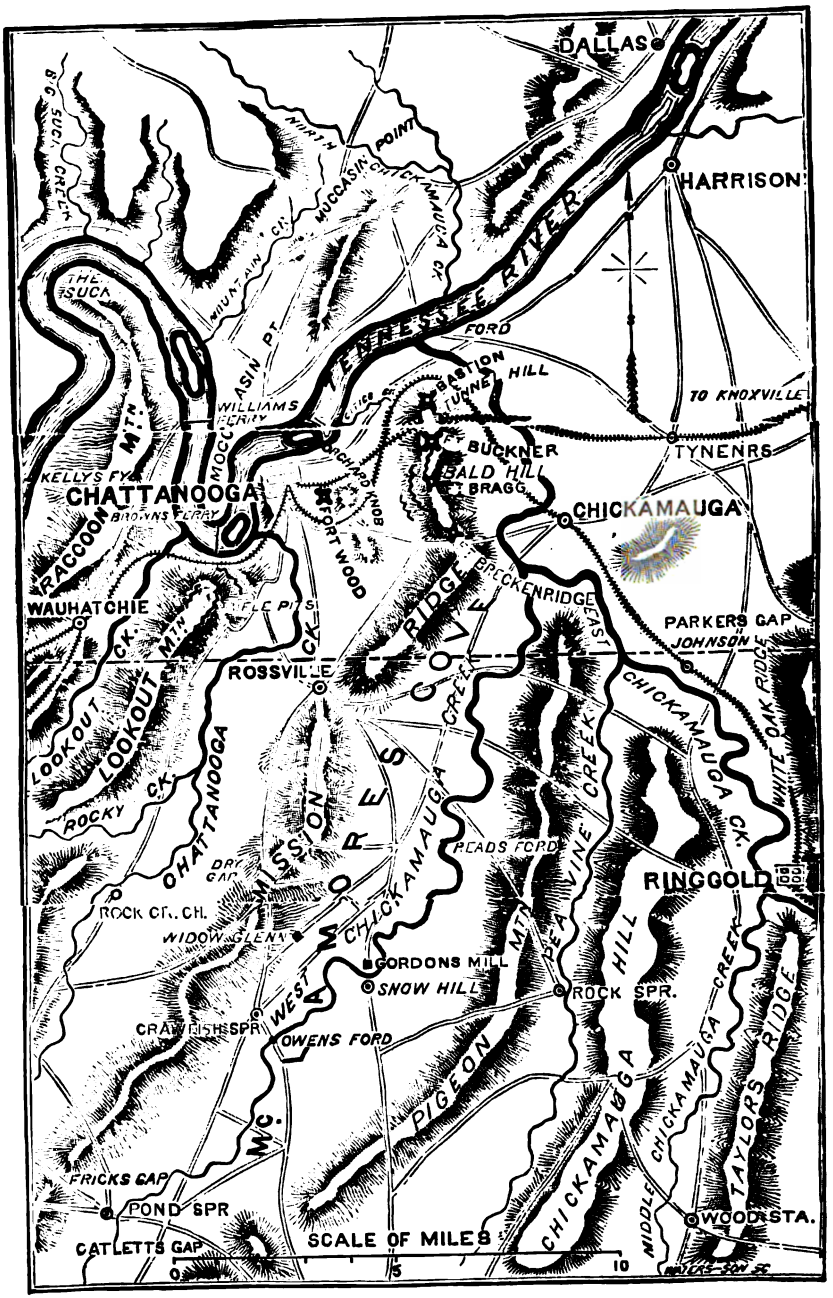

166 MAP OF CHATTANOOGA AND VICINITY.

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Cumberland, the other gave it to Major-General George H. Thomas. Thomas was chosen. Stanton and Grant arrived at Louisville together, where the former found a dispatch from Mr. C. A. Dana, afterward Assistant Secretary of War, to the effect that it was feared Rosecrans would evacuate Chattanooga. Grant was therefore advised to assume command at once, and relieve Rosecrans before the disaster could occur. He telegraphed his assumption of command immediately, assigned Thomas to the Department of the Cumberland, and on October 19th started by rail for Chattanooga.

Let us glance at the new destination. Three great States, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, approach each other at, or near, where several of the Cumberland Ranges of mountains cluster. Here the Tennessee river breaks through from the east, twisting and winding amid deep gorges, dashing vexatiously against perpendicular barriers till it finds egress westward into a more fertile and less picturesque region.

At a sharp bend of the river in the midst of the mountains lies a little bowl or valley of the area of five or six square miles. On the north is the river, on the southeast the now celebrated Missionary Ridge, on the southwest the Lookout ranges. To the south runs off a ravine or gap. The lofty crest overlooking all is Chattanooga, or the "Eagle's Nest." The river gives access to this sequestered spot, eastward and westward; the natural gap gives access from the south. The through railroads from Richmond and Charleston to Memphis, Nashville and St. Louis, seek this river route. So do those from south to north, from Mobile, Atlanta, and on to Knoxville, Richmond and Washington. They meet at the "Eagle's Nest," and there the town of Chattanooga sprang up. The whole region is a mighty bulwark, and the town a gateway between North and South. In war, its strategic importance could not be over-estimated, and especially to the Confederacy, for here centered those long food and troop lines,

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which enabled the States of the southwest to come up to the rescue of Virginia and the Confederate capital. In the hands of a Federal army it looked right into the cotton fields and gave access to the gulf. It was a coveted point from the first, and its possession had been dreamed of in the strategy of more than one department commander.

In June, 1863, Rosecrans marched an army of sixty thousand men from Murfreesboro, Tenn., crossed the Tennessee river at Stevenson, threw part of his army south of Bragg's forces at Chattanooga, and thus compelled him to evacuate the stronghold and retreat southward to Chickamauga. There Bragg was reinforced, and there he pounced on Rosecrans, beating him in a battle, September 19th and 20th, in which the Federals lost thirty-six cannon and sixteen thousand men, and compelling his retreat back to Chattanooga, where he built stout fortifications.

The Confederates followed. Bragg's forces occupied Missionary Ridge, south and east of the town. Westward, overlooking the valley and river and controlling the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad by which supplies were brought to the Federal army, lay Lookout Mountain. This Rosecrans abandoned to the enemy, and was from that moment besieged, except as communications could be kept up by wagons with Bridgeport beyond the mountains by an almost impassible wagon-road. The whole command was put on half rations. Three thousand wounded soldiers lay suffering in the camps. Forage for horses and mules could not be obtained, and ten thousand animals died. Retreat was impossible unless the artillery was abandoned. The enemy's cavalry had found a way to intercept the provision wagons from Bridgeport. Ammunition was so low as scarcely to suffice for another battle—one-half a supply. Here the army of the Cumberland lay in the hot sun and chilly nights of September, 1863, without food, with few tents, with half a supply of ammunition, with few

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blankets and no extra clothing, suffering from all the dire effects of defeat and hasty retreat from Chickamauga. This was the situation when Grant took the command on October 19th, 1863.

His first order to Thomas after giving him command of the army of the Cumberland was "to hold Chattanooga at all hazards; I will be there as soon as possible." To which the reply came, "We'll hold the town till we starve." Grant reached Bridgeport by rail and was compelled to cross the mountains by a circuitous route, and after night, amid a drenching rain, which made the ground slippery. His horse fell and bruised him severely, which greatly intensified the pain he was already suffering from the fall in New Orleans.

He arrived in Chattanooga on the night of October 23d, and immediately set about to rescue the army from its peril and prepare it for final victory. Indeed this he had been doing all the way from Louisville, for on his arrival at Nashville on the 20th, he telegraphed to Burnside at Knoxville: "Have you tools for fortifying? Important points in east Tennessee should be put in condition to be held by the least number of men, as soon as possible." And to Admiral Porter, at Cairo, he sent word: "Sherman's advance was at Eastport on the 15th. The sooner a gunboat can be got to him the better. Boats must now be on the way from St. Louis to go up the Tennessee to Sherman." And then to Thomas: "Should not large working parties be put upon the road between Bridgeport and Chattanooga at once?" Arriving at Bridgeport, he telegraphed the commissary at Nashville: "Send to the front, as speedily as possible, vegetables for the army. Beans and hominy are especially required." Thus before he got on the ground he was taking in the situation with the grasp of a great military genius and providing for an emergency which he knew could only be met by prompt and herculean effort. An army had to be saved from such a dilemma as no other Federal army found itself in during the war, and if possible by winning a victory.

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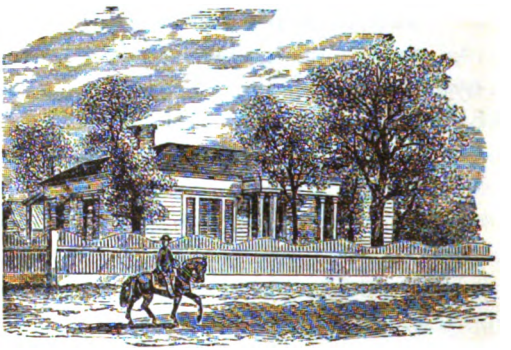
On his arrival in Chattanooga he went at once to Thomas' headquarters, and learned the situation as that modest but most able general gave it. He found it truly deplorable. There had been no exaggeration of the plight of the



THOMAS' HEADQUARTERS.

Federal forces, and as to the Confederates, there they were to speak for themselves on all the commanding ridges and in all the impregnable passes of the mountains. After approving of Thomas' order to Hooker, who had been sent from the army of the Potomac with two corps, to concentrate at Bridgeport and hold the Tennessee as well as the main wagon road between that place and Chattanooga, he reported to Halleck at Washington, and asked him to confirm his order giving Sherman control of the army of the Tennessee, his own (Grant's) old command.

The next day he and Thomas made a reconnoissance of the place. To clear the river and wagon road from Chattanooga to Bridgeport, and to hold both, thus opening an avenue for supplies, was a matter of the first necessity. To effect this the ingenuity of both Grant and Thomas was taxed to the utter-

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most, for at least seven miles of the river was under the fire of the Confederate pickets. But at a point nine miles below, and around the sharp bend in the river which makes the peninsula of Moccasin Point, was a place called Brown's Ferry. The enemy's lines did not extend that far. If that point could be occupied much else might be effected. What?

The base of supplies would be brought within nine miles of Chattanooga, while now they were thirty-five miles away at Bridgeport. On the south side of the river at Brown's Ferry was a valley which ran down between Raccoon Mountain on the west, and Lookout Mountain on the east. This valley could be occupied, and then the ranges of Lookout on that side could be scaled, for there was no enemy there, they being intent on watching the river front, overlooking Moccasin Point, and the projections overshadowing Chattanooga. This would have much of the effect of a flank movement, and once a foothold was gained on these westerly spurs of Lookout, the river could be controlled by artillery for several of the intervening seven miles, or indeed all the way, for the Federals were in possession of the Moccasin Point peninsula, though directly overlooked by the Confederates on the Lookout crags. Again, a force could be sent down this valley from Brown's Ferry, or down the Raccoon Valley further west, and passing through gaps in the ranges, could debouch into Lookout Valley quite in the rear of the Confederates.

A movement was projected and orders issued. Everything depended on celerity and secrecy. The movement consisted of three parts. It was necessary that all should fit. On the night of October 26th, two days after orders were issued, all was ready. General Smith had command of the river expedition with four thousand picked men. Palmer marched over two thousand of these north of the river to Jasper, and crossed at Kelley's Ferry to the south side. Hazen embarked eighteen hundred on sixty pontoon boats, and under cover of

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darkness dropped down to Brown's Ferry. Both were on time. Palmer crossed and held the road to Kelley's Ferry on the south. Hazen landed on the south side, pushed his forces to the almost inaccessible heights over the river, and soon had them in a position where they commanded the Ferry over which he was to lay his pontoon bridge, and the mouth of Lookout Valley also.

GEN. J. M. PALMER.

Meanwhile Hooker had orders to cross from Bridgeport. He did so with Howard's corps, and Geary's division of Slocum's corps, and on the morning of the 26th, marched down the west side of Raccoon Mountain, passed a gorge into Lookout Valley, and turned northward toward the Tennessee. He met with but slight resistance, for the whole movement was in the nature of a surprise and upon an unfortified flank of the enemy. On the 28th he was within a mile of Brown's Ferry. That night Longstreet's corps made a fierce assault on him, which was resisted amid confusion but with great determination. The battle raged for several hours with the utmost intensity. By repeated charges the Federals forced their way up the steep heights and gained a permanent foothold on the summits, which they were not slow to fortify and make secure against further assault. Hooker had nearly seven thousand men engaged, and his loss was four hundred and sixteen in killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was much heavier. This sealed the fate of Lookout Valley, and gave the Federals almost entire control of the two wagon roads from Chattanooga to Bridgeport. Thus in five days from Grant's arrival at the point of danger the beleaguered

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army had found an outlet, and a bold and confident enemy had been put on the defensive. The Confederate authorities were terribly chagrined at the unexpected result. They saw their prize suddenly snatched from their grasp by one who had outwitted them in strategy and dazed them with his boldness and quickness. Looking down from their fortified peaks on a camp where misery reigned and starvation impended, they saw it, as if by magic, transformed into a busy, cheerful, formidable scene. Old steamboats were repaired and new ones built. Railroads were replaced. Pontoons were laid. Horses, mules and wagons came with ample supplies. Sherman was nearing the place with his western veterans. Other reinforcements were expected. The gloom of Chickamauga was fast giving way to a confident spirit of aggression. The soldiers felt they had a commander who could see and relieve their necessities. On October 28th, General Grant said: "If the Confederates give us one week more time, I think all danger of losing territory now held by us will have passed away, and preparations may commence for active operations."

But though the pressing emergency at Chattanooga was met by Grant's activity and admirable strategy, there were still other needs requiring instant attention, equal vigor and a wider range of generalship. His new military division extended from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi, and included two hundred thousand soldiers. Burnside, with twenty-five thousand men, was in the Valley of the Tennessee, at Knoxville, east of the Cumberland Mountains. He was away from a base of supplies. These had to be sent from St. Louis, by way of the Ohio and Cumberland rivers, and then overland by wagon from Big South Fork, a hundred miles. This varied and complicated business was superintended directly by Grant, for he had not only heard Burnside's plaint for stores, but knew how important it was to hold the line of the upper Tennessee against any and every attack.

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Sherman was nearing Chattanooga, and every preparation had to be made for expediting his march. The gunboat ordered to meet him at Eastport was promptly there, also barges for ferry purposes. In a day or two the fleet of steamers ordered up with provisions arrived. Thus all Grant's advance plans to help him culminated as he intended. Sherman's march from Memphis had been toilsome, and not without opposition, though no great battle had been fought. He was most anxious to reach Grant, whom he, with true soldierly spirit, had urged to "Accept the command of the great army of the centre; don't hesitate. By your presence at Nashville you will unite all discordant elements, and impress the enemy in proportion. All success and honor to you!" And again, with equal magnanimity, he wrote Grant: "I am very anxious you shall go to Nashville, as foreshadowed by Halleck, and chiefly as you can harmonize all conflicts of feeling that may exist in that vast crowd. Rosecrans, and Burnside, and Sherman, with their subordinates, would be ashamed of petty quarrels, if you were behind and near them—between them and Washington. Next, the union of such armies, and the direction of it, is worthy your ambition. I shall wait news from you with great anxiety."

From the date of Grant's assumption of command, October 19th, 1863, he sent orders to Sherman, regulating his marches and the in-gathering and disposition of his forces, all of which were obeyed with a promptitude which showed that the older general's heart was in his words. On November 7th, Grant sent him word of Bragg's prospective move on Burnside at Knoxville, and that he expected to make a countermove directly on the enemy in his front. Haste was urged, and Sherman responded with forced marches. On November 13th he reported his arrival at Bridgeport, and was summoned in person to Chattanooga. And now Grant had with him all his trustiest lieutenants. They were a united band of officers in spirit, determined in valor, able in council. He could look

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with some serenity on the situation, and devise and order with the certainty of co-operation and the assurance of loyal execution. Extricated from the entanglements of the preceding weeks, every subordinate, clear down to the lines, felt a freedom and confidence which was unwonted, and burned with a desire to show by brave acts his love for one who had brought them through midnight to morning, and gave them promise of a glorious day of victory.

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CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA.

STRANGE as it may appear, Burnside's position at Knoxville, a hundred miles away from Chattanooga, and amid the mountains of East Tennessee, was now one of greater anxiety than that at Chattanooga. That General had, before Grant assumed direction of affairs, pushed his way from Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap and upon Knoxville, which he regarded as a key to the upper Tennessee. It was so in some respects, but not in all. It would have been entirely so for the Confederates, who held the railroad from East Tennessee into Virginia, and who, by virtue of their position at Chattanooga, controlled it from that point almost to Knoxville. Yet it was one worthy of maintainance, and Grant felt that Burnside must be supported at all hazards. He did not contemplate doing it directly, but by means of one of those masterly counter movements which he had so often employed successfully and which formed such a conspicuous feature of his military operations.

At Knoxville, Burnside's rear was open to a sudden movement of the enemy from the east. He could be attacked in front with equal facility by any portion of the army detached from Chattanooga. Halleck was most anxious for his safety, and repeatedly urged Grant to reinforce and protect him, all of which was done, but in Grant's own way. He did it by opening his supply lines for him, by ordering him to entrench him-

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self strongly, and to live as much as possible off the country, by concentrating his own forces more strongly at Chattanooga, by getting ready for an offensive blow which, if successful, must speedily recall any forces sent northward from his immediate front.

The Confederate movement against Burnside took shape. It consisted of a diversion from Abingdon in his rear. At the same time Bragg, commander of the Confederate army besieging Chattanooga, detached Longstreet's corps, and sent it by way of Cleveland, Sweetwater, and Loudon to Burnside's front. Halleck grew almost frantic for his safety, and his dispatches to Grant took the shape of appeals. On November 14th, he sent word, "advices from East Tennessee indicate that Burnside intends to abandon the defence of Little Tennessee river and fall back before Longstreet to Cumberland Gap and the Upper Valley. Longstreet is said to be near the Little Tennessee with twenty to forty thousand men. Burnside has about thirty thousand in all, and can hold his position; he ought not to retreat. I fear further delay may result in Burnside's abandonment of East Tennessee. This would be a terrible misfortune, and must be averted if possible."

To this Grant replied developing his whole scheme, for he had for days been advised of Bragg's daring movement, and saw in it all the elements of a stupendous military blunder, if only Sherman were within supporting distance, and he could concentrate his forces to take advantage of it. His dispatch ran: "Burnside can certainly detain Longstreet in the Tennessee Valley until we can make such moves here as will entirely free him from present danger. I have asked him if he can hold the Knoxville and Clinton line for one week; if so, we can make moves here that will save all danger in East Tennessee. Sherman is now at Bridgeport. He will commence moving to-morrow or next day, throwing one brigade from Whiteside into Trenton, thus threatening the

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enemy's left flank. The remainder of his force will pass over Kelley's Ferry, evading view of Lookout, and march up to the mouth of Chickamauga creek. Pontoons are made and making to throw across at that point, over which it is intended that Sherman's force and one division of Thomas' shall pass. This force will attack Missionary Ridge with the left flank of Thomas supporting from here. In the meantime Hooker will attack Lookout and carry it if possible. If Burnside can hold the line from Knoxville to Clinton, as I have asked him, for six days, I believe Bragg will be started back for south side of Oostanawla, and Longstreet cut off."

Here then was Grant's great double thought—to fight the battle for one of his armies threatened at Knoxville a hundred miles distant, at Chattanooga; to concentrate the other two there, and so make all co-operate in a grand movement which should eventuate in securing the advantages which the natural stronghold had so long promised to the Federal forces. Halleck grew more distrustful of Burnside's ability or willingness to hold on. But Grant had assurances of both, and worked away with characteristic industry and patience to complete his plans of action.

Burnside had really never expressed a desire to retreat except to help Grant. On November 14th he reported to Grant that Longstreet was on the Holston river at Loudon, and intending to cross. He gave as his plan, to concentrate in his front but not to fight him there. He would make a show of fight, and then retreat to Nashville so as to entice him so far away from Bragg that he could not have time to reinforce him should Grant's move at Chattanooga be successful. This looked like a full understanding of Grant's tactics and a wish to aid them. And on the 14th of November Grant sent him word to the effect that if he could hold Longstreet in check, or by skirmishing and falling back avoid serious loss and gain time, "I will be able to force the enemy

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back from here and place a force between Longstreet and Bragg that must inevitably make the former take to the mountain passes by every available road, to get his supplies."

As has been seen in the previous chapter, Sherman arrived at Bridgeport on November 13th and 14th. On November 15th he was in Chattanooga. On the 16th he rode out with Grant and Thomas to the hills on the north bank of the Tennessee, from which could be seen the line of Missionary Ridge with its northeastern terminus on Chickamauga creek, the point where he was expected to make the crossing of the river and begin his attack.

All in Chattanooga were impatient for action. Sherman's men had made a long and toilsome march of nearly four hundred miles, and they were tired, shoeless and almost clotheless, but he saw enough of the condition of men and animals in the mountain- and enemy-begirt town to inspire him with renewed energy. He returned at once to Bridgeport, to bring up his army and dispose it for action.

On November 18th Grant telegraphed Halleck: "Burnside's troops back to Knoxville. Sherman's advance reached Lookout Mountain to-day. Movements will progress threatening enemy's left flank until forces can be got up and thrown across the river to attack their right flank and Missionary Ridge. A battle or a falling back of the enemy is inevitable by Saturday at the furthest. Burnside speaks hopefully."

The same day written orders were issued to Sherman and Thomas for the battle of Chattanooga, in all respects a unique contest, and one which was not only to relieve Burnside's army and the valley of the upper Tennessee, but all of Grant's armies, and further to open the way for active and offensive operations in the interior of Georgia and the heart of the Confederacy. The aggressive spirit that now chafed for release from a pen-like area amid hostile mountains and impassable rivers was all unused to hampered situations and defensive lines.

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By means of repeated reconnoissances Grant had discovered that it was perfectly feasible to move any number of troops from points below Chattanooga, on the river, to points above, by keeping them well to the north of the stream, and back among the hills, out of sight of the enemy on the pinnacles of Lookout. He had further discovered that the north end of Missionary Ridge, near the mouth of Chickamauga creek, and really overlooking Chickamauga Station, Bragg's depot of supplies, was imperfectly guarded. These discoveries were taken advantage of to throw Sherman's forces around north of Chattanooga and across the Tennessee to the south, near Chickamauga creek.

GENERAL THOMAS.

They also determined Grant not to make too much of his contemplated movement on the Confederate left by way of the Lookout valley and ranges. He therefore detached Howard's corps from Hooker and ordered it to follow Sherman, and reinforce Thomas in the centre, if necessary.

The orders of Grant, issued on November 18th, contemplated the completion of all these movements by the 20th, and an attack on the morning of the 21st. Nothing that officers and men could do was left undone to bring the troops into the positions designated in time. Thomas strove with the energy of desperation to extend his centre out to the edges of Missionary Ridge, so as to co-operate with Sherman after the passage of the river. He strove equally to plant batteries so as to protect Sherman's crossing. But the horses were yet too

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few in number, and too weak, to meet the strain upon them. Sherman meanwhile was forcing his men over the hilly roads back of the river toward their destination. But the routes became fearfully cut up. The river rose and interfered with the pontoon bridges, both below at Brown's Ferry and above near the mouth of Chickamauga creek. He was obliged to inform Grant of the impossibility of performing his herculean task in the required time. So the proposed attack of the 21st was compulsorily postponed.

This filled Grant with alarm for Burnside's safety. He was not succeeding as he had expected in his promised diversion. Halleck was more than ever anxious about the fate of Knoxville and East Tennessee. Grant's communications with Burnside had been cut off, and he had heard nothing from him in two days. The last word was that he had been fighting Longstreet and had been driven into Knoxville. "I have never," wrote Grant to Halleck, "felt such restlessness before, as I have at the fixed and immovable condition of the Army of the Cumberland."

GENERAL LONGSTREET.

Seeing that attack on the morning of the 21st was impossible, Grant, rising with the emergency, made his orders more peremptory for a hard combination of effort, so as to attack on the 22d. In this he was again disappointed, for the increasing rise in the river swept away the pontoons at Brown's Ferry and endangered all others on the river. Sherman could not get his forces up. Howard's corps, however, was more fortunate. It managed to get into Chattanooga, on the 22d, and was sent at once to a commanding position well out on Missionary Ridge. This was done that the Confederates might suppose the troops at

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Brown's Ferry were reinforcing Chattanooga directly, and as a cover for both Sherman's movement and any movement of Hooker on their left at Lookout.

Amid these disappointments, word came through a deserter, on the night of the 22d, that Bragg was preparing to fall back. Grant was unwilling to allow him to do this in good order. On the morning of the 23d he instructed Thomas to make a demonstration to ascertain the truth of the report, saying, "that if Bragg is really falling back, Sherman can commence at once to lay his pontoons at the mouth of South Chickamauga, and we can save a day."

Thomas' demonstration was ready by 2 P. M. of the 23d, and it was prepared on an elaborate scale. Granger's Fourth Corps was pushed towards the enemy's position a mile beyond Fort Wood. His right was supported by Palmer's Fourteenth, and his centre and left by Howard's corps. The heavy guns from Fort Wood, and the artillery from smaller works, opened fire on the Confederates entrenched on the steep faces of Missionary Ridge. The cannon at Moccasin Point, below, opened on the enemy in their strong positions on Lookout, and the response was vigorous from these embattled heights. Under cover of this intense fire the deployment and advance of the Federals went on so regularly and deliberately as to give to the enemy the impression that a grand review was in progress. At last the skirmishers came in contact with the Confederate pickets along the foot-hills of Missionary Ridge, and drove them back up the eminences into their first line of rifle pits. Wood's division of Granger's command followed rapidly in the face of a severe

GENERAL GRANGER.

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musketry fire and, capturing some two hundred prisoners, were in possession of the enemy's first lines before they could recover from their surprise or be reinforced from the main works on the ridge. In fifteen minutes, Sheridan, with another of Granger's divisions, fell in on Wood's right, and completed the capture of the entire advance lines of the Confederates. This left the enemy nothing west of the ridge and below its summits but a line of rifle pits at its base. It gave to Grant a strong point, called Orchard Knoll, and the low range of hills running south, about half way between Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge proper. These were fully occupied by Granger's corps during the night, and also by Howard's. Breastworks were thrown up, artillery was placed, and the whole front was strongly picketed. Thus two strong army corps lay entrenched a full mile in advance of the Federal position of the day before, and on ground occupied by the enemy. The casualties were small, not exceeding one hundred in killed and wounded.

Had Bragg intended to retreat? This demonstration said, no. But he had started Buckner's division to help Longstreet, on the 22d, and another also, which were speedily recalled. Grant was at last relieving Burnside. He was doing vastly more. Perhaps no similar move ever had such a moral effect on contending armies. The Confederates felt secure in their apparently impregnable positions till this moment. The advance was a surprise. Its success was in the nature of a stunning blow. It shook their prestige, introduced the thought of danger, and began the work of demoralization. On the other hand, it diffused an assurance of victory through the Federal forces, gave them that action for which they had pined, and that opportunity for wiping out the stain of Chickamauga for which they had longed. They were as if under an inspiration of faith in their commander, their officers, and themselves, while their cause needed just such a triumph as they felt the near future must yield.

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The destruction of the pontoon bridge at Brown's Ferry below, and the failure of Sherman to promptly get his army to the north side of the Tennessee, revived in Grant's mind the original intent to make his move on the enemy's left at Lookout a bold and decisive one. Therefore all the forces in Lookout Valley, and south of the river at that point, were brought into requisition for a movement in conjunction with his own at Chattanooga. Hooker had there about ten thousand men, embracing Osterhaus' division of the Fourteenth Corps, Cruft's of the Fourth, and Geary's of the Twelfth. None of these divisions had ever been associated in battle. Geary's represented the Army of the Potomac; Cruft's, the Army of the Cumberland; Osterhaus', the Army of the Tennessee. They would vie with each other in the perilous task now before them.

It will be recollected that a Federal force under Stevenson had already gotten a foothold on the west side of Lookout close to the Tennessee, and where Brown's Ferry could be protected. All the rest of the western slope, overlooking Lookout Valley and the Raccoon ranges further west, as well as the summits, were in the hands of the Confederates, and all strongly fortified with redoubts, redans, rifle-pits, abattis and stone walls. Behind these were seven thousand men. At the base of the mountains runs Lookout creek, which formed the western edge of the Confederate lines. Beyond the narrow valley at the foot of Raccoon Mountain was Hooker's encampment.

Simultaneously with Grant's splendid move at Chattanooga, Hooker swept from his camps upon the enemy along Lookout creek and drove him from his first lines. Then Geary's division began to ascend the steep mountain sides, the men pulling themselves up by vines and branches, propping themselves with their guns, scrambling and climbing amid obstructing rocks and stones, dislodging the enemy wherever found,

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for his artillery was of no account, and even the men in the rifle-pits could not use their weapons effectively in so close an attack on those steep hillsides. Geary was soon joined by other forces, and the victorious columns pressed on amid obstacles of a most extraordinary character. As the summits were neared the enemy's resistance became more stubborn and his fire more deadly. Still the Federals pressed on, gaining point after point, fighting for the peaks and for the little plateau facing the Tennessee, which was really the Confederate centre on Lookout, as its army faced at first. After two or three sharp conflicts this plateau was cleared and Hooker had a front on the bluffs overlooking the Tennessee, where had frowned for weeks the Confederate batteries.

GEN. HOOKER.

But now, 2 P. M., the battle had to cease. The clouds settled heavily down and enveloped these summits so as to give the appearance of darkness. But if Hooker could no longer fight he could hold what he had. He therefore made himself strong against attack, and worked his lines eastward toward Chattanooga. At five they reached the eastern edge of the mountain, overlooking the town, and found a brigade fighting its way upward to meet them. This was Carlin's brigade, sent out by Grant to open communications with Hooker as soon as he should round the peaks of Lookout, and begin to force his way eastward. The lines met. Lookout was won. Hooker sent Grant word that "His lines were impregnable and commanded the enemy's defences with an enfilading fire." Thus by the night of the 24th of November the Federal army had an unbroken line of communication from Lookout Mountain through Chattanooga and to the north end of Missionary Ridge.

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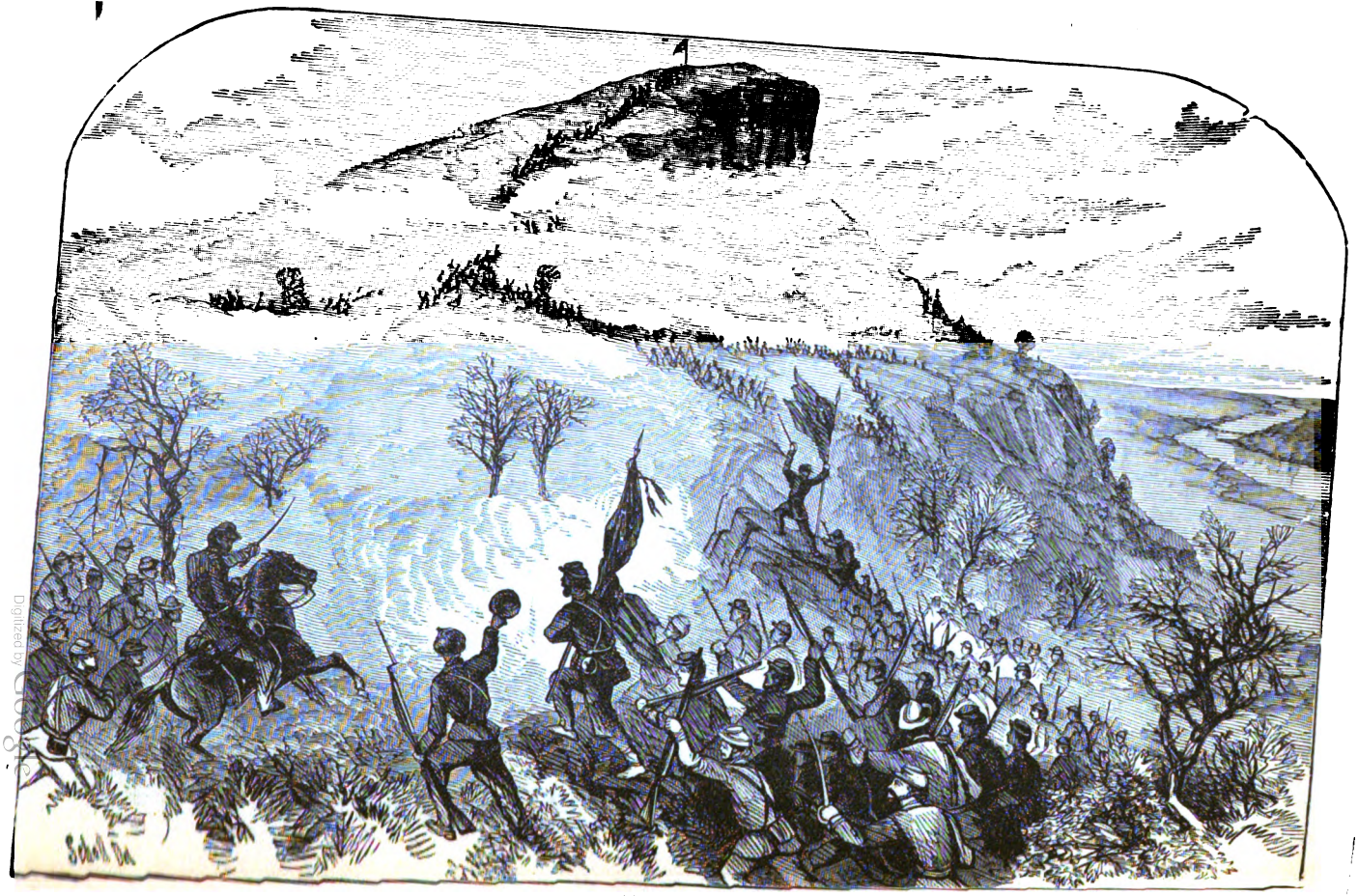

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But what of Sherman and the left? He was struggling heroically against floods and difficult roads in order to get up to the South Chickamauga and make the pontoon crossing to the ends of Missionary Ridge. Would he be ready? Not in time for Grant's demonstration of the 23d, yet in time for the morrow. One division was on the north side of the Tennessee ready to cross. Others were coming. Where were the pontoons? Five miles up hidden in the mouth of North Chickamauga creek, whither Smith's brigade was sent to man them. At midnight of the 23d each pontoon was boarded by thirty men, and seven hundred and fifty oarsmen piloted them down the river to the mouth of the South Chickamauga. So quietly did they move that neither Federal picket on the north side of the Tennessee nor Confederate on the south side knew of their passage. They stopped just above the mouth of the South Chickamauga, for it was designed to pontoon both that stream and the Tennessee. There a small band jumped ashore and rapidly captured the enemy's outposts before he was aware. Then the boats dropped below the creek, disembarked their men and lumber and were sent back for other material. Smith's men immediately began to entrench themselves. The balance of his division was hastily ferried over from the north side of the Tennessee to his support. This was followed by John E. Smith's division. By daylight eight thousand men were on the south side of the river and quite well protected.

Though Grant had taken the precaution to have all the hills on the north studded with cannon to protect Sherman's crossing, he had thus far managed so secretly and dexterously as not to draw the attention of the enemy to his main object. But now daylight was coming, and the work of laying the pontoon bridge was about to begin. The wisdom of having those forty pieces of cannon ranged so as to cover the operations was apparent. They gave the protection required. By noon of the 24th the bridge was complete, and Howard and Sherman

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shook hands upon its centre. The junction of the armies of the Tennessee and Cumberland was formed. Sherman sped the remainder of his forces across, and fast formed them for attack on the northern spurs of Missionary Ridge. The bridge across the South Chickamauga was already laid, and Long's cavalry had crossed both bridges on its way to cut the Confederate communications with their depot of supplies at Chickamauga Station.

As Sherman moved, his left, under Morgan L. Smith, followed South Chickamauga creek, his centre, under John E. Smith, moved squarely on toward the spurs, his right, under Ewing, moved in columns, prepared to deploy in any direction. The sky was heavily clouded, so that the view of the enemy from their heights was obscured. From the valley of Lookout to the North Chickamauga, a distance of thirteen miles, was now a continuous line of battle, all animated and expectant, all subject to a single will, faith in which was unbounded, whose directory vigor was felt in every single organization and movement like a strong pulse in a human body.

At half-past three on the 24th, Sherman secured a desirable position on the elevated foot-hills of Missionary Ridge, and the enemy, for the first time, became aware of his movement. He instantly opened with artillery, but too late, for Sherman had dragged several guns up the steep slopes, which were opened in response. At four o'clock a violent charge was made on his lines which was repulsed. He was then left alone to fortify what he had gained. Howard's corps was then pushed in on his right, so as to make a close connection with Thomas.

That night, the night of the 24th, the skies cleared and the camp-fires revealed to the enemy the fact that Sherman was in position. Grant's dispatch of that date to Washington is a graphic sketch of the scene: "The fight to-day progressed favorably. Sherman carried the end of Missionary Ridge, and his right is now at the railroad tunnel and his left at Chicka-

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mauga creek. Troops from Lookout Valley carried the point of the mountain and now hold the eastern slope and point high up. Hooker reports two thousand prisoners taken, besides which a small number have fallen into our hands from Missionary Ridge."

To this the President replied in person on the 25th: "Well done. Many thanks to all. Remember Burnside." And Halleck thus: "I congratulate you on the success thus far of your plans. I fear that Burnside is hard pushed and that any delay may prove fatal. I know that you will do all in your power to relieve him."

During the night the Confederates evacuated Lookout and retreated by way of Rossville to Missionary Ridge. At sunrise the national flag floated on the Lookout crests. Hooker pushed after the retreating enemy, but was detained at Chattanooga creek, the bridge having been burned. He was to take position so as to guard and hold Rossville gap, and operate on the enemy's left on Missionary Ridge.

The morning sun of the 25th shone brightly on one of the most momentous battle-fields of the war. Bragg's headquarters were visible on the ridge. Grant and Thomas had theirs on Orchard Knoll. Sherman was in the saddle early, prospecting his left on Chickamauga creek. Orders had been issued the night before for a grand attack in the morning. Sherman's was the post of danger, and the point of main onset and resistance. Before him was a depression, heavily wooded. It was the approach to the fortified heights on the enemy's right, and would be defended with all the strength he could wield.

A little after sunrise the bugle sounded for an advance. Case's brigade of Ewing's division pressed valorously forward, and its general fell. Loomis', Raum's, Mathias', and indeed, Sherman's whole force, were quickly in action, gaining ground here, losing there, everywhere meeting with stubborn resist-

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ance. The Federal objective point was the first foot-hill beyond the depression in their front. It was within eighty yards of the enemy's regular entrenchments, and its possession would give control of the railroad bridge over the Chickamauga. The contest for this grew close and desperate,

GEN. SHERMAN.

and the Federals only secured it after four hours of persistent and bloody fighting. Bragg now saw the danger that threatened him. He weakened his centre and massed his forces on his right, but notwithstanding a determined assault, he could not dislodge the Federals. They held what they had so hardly earned, and Bragg saw a foe firmly fixed on his

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flank and threatening his rear where his supplies lay. He looked down into the valley, and saw supporting columns hurrying to Sherman. This impressed him with the fact that Grant's intention was to scale the ridge at the northern end. He therefore threw other reinforcements in that direction, and in the afternoon succeeded in staying Sherman's progress and in driving back his right under John E. Smith.

Grant was watching the operations with anxious eyes. He offered to help Sherman, but the old hero sent word back that he had all the force he wanted. He knew his hour of relief would come as soon as Grant moved his centre. All day Grant and Thomas had witnessed Bragg's fatal movement of troops from his centre toward his right, and while they feared for Sherman they were delighted with the advantage it opened to them. But where was Hooker? He was to appear on the Confederate left from the direction of Rossville gap, and was to sweep up the narrow Chattanooga Valley and along the edges of Missionary Ridge. As has been seen, the burning of the bridge over Chattanooga creek detained him, but he had sent word he was in the gap and would be up in a few hours.

Trusting that he would appear in time, Grant determined to assault with his centre. Turning to Thomas, he ordered the attack. Six guns were fired from Orchard Knoll as a signal, and the eager troops sprang forward in splendid order, their front covered by a cloud of daring skirmishers. Johnston's, Sheridan's, Wood's and Baird's divisions all moved simultaneously, with orders to capture the rifle-pits at the foot of the ridge and then, reforming there, to scale the heights.

The immediate front of the Federals was an open wood. Then came a clear, smooth plain some four to nine hundred yards wide. Next was the enemy's line of rifle-pits. Back of them was the steep slope of the ridge, timbered, pitted, rugged, rising five hundred yards to the summit. As soon as the Federals began to move they were met by a tremendous

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artillery fire from the ridge, but they marched steadily through the wood. At the edge of the plain they closed their columns, charged on the double-quick, and carried an irresistible line of gleaming bayonets across the open space in the face of the enemy's musketry and a plunging fire from the heights. Not a shot was fired in turn, but as the glistening lines of steel approached the Confederate works the effect was to carry dismay to those who thought themselves safely protected. They threw themselves prostrate in the trenches, and the Federal charge swept over them. A thousand prisoners were captured and sent to the rear. Others fled rapidly up the steep slopes. The charge was a magnificent one, and all the forces engaged reached the long lines of rifle-pits near together.

The orders were to halt and reform for the ascent. But the impulse to follow this preliminary success was too strong. The men took to the slopes in wild, ungovernable desire to scale them and complete their victory at the top. They were met by a raking fire from the second line of works about half way up, and by enfilading fires of canister from the summits. Many color-bearers fell, and the havoc was general. But neither thinned ranks nor toilsome climbing broke the ascending lines. Up, up, they pushed, steadily here, rapidly there, close after the retiring foe. The crests were reached simultaneously at six different points, and the victorious streams began to pour into the upper trenches and to swarm around the batteries. Whole regiments surrendered. Artillerists were bayoneted and their guns captured. Panic seized the remainder, who began a hasty retreat down the eastern slopes of the ridge. The route of the centre was general and complete. Bragg could not believe it, so confident was he of the strength of his position, even against a greatly superior force. He therefore made strenuous exertions to reform his lines again, but was dismayed to find that the Federals had also crowned

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the ridge on his right. A few moments afterward the divisions from his left began to crowd in upon his broken centre in confusion, and then he learned that his left, too, had been turned. There was nothing to do but to organize retreat and save what was possible from the wreck. Breckenridge and Hardee gathered up the broken detachments, as best they could, and fell back toward the depot at Chickamauga creek. Fortunately it was near night, and the retreat would be along familiar roads.

When Grant saw his forces climbing the ridge after their success at the first line of rifle pits, he could not remain longer at his point of observation on Orchard Knoll, but galloped to the front, with his staff, and began to mount the ridge also. The wounded forgot their pain as he passed, and cried out, "We've gained the day, general!" "We're even with them now for Chickamauga!" "All we wanted was a leader!" He worked his way up the steeps and into the midst of the fray at the top, where he was exposed to the enemy's heaviest fire. His desire to see the victory made complete, overcame for the time his discretion.

Here he took in the whole situation. It was apparent that the enemy's centre was hopelessly broken. The cannonading to the south and the confused surging of Confederate divisions northward told him that Hooker had rebuilt the burned bridge across the Chattanooga, had gained the crests on the enemy's left, and was sweeping all before him. And as to Sherman, he knew that he would not only hold on, but would take advantage of the turn in the tide to force in the enemy's right. Therefore he organized as speedily as circumstances would permit for effective pursuit. But night intervened ere the ridge was cleared. From the eastern verges Bragg, who had barely escaped capture, was seen in the valley below with his disorganized troops and a large wagon train, together with artillery, seeking the protection of a high ridge still further

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east, on which was posted several batteries and an infantry reserve. Sheridan, who was at the head of the pursuing

GEN. SHERIDAN.

columns, could not resist the temptation presented by such a prize. His men plunged down the eastern slopes of the ridge and across the narrow valley. Then, as a few hours before on

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the western side, they began to clamber up this less difficult range on either flank of the enemy's regiments, artillery and wagon train. Gaining the summit, they closed on the roadway and captured the entire train, most of the guns and many men. Not yet content, the pursuit was kept up, though it was long after nightfall, till the Confederates passed the South Chickamauga by bridges which they burned. Then the tired victors went into bivouac, passing their cheers back from ridge to ridge, and regiment to regiment, till all the hills and valleys rang with their glad good-night salvos. Chickamauga was avenged. Grant ere he slept sent the following to Halleck: "Although the battle has lasted from early dawn till dark this evening, I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg." To which Halleck responded on the 26th: "I congratulate you and your army on the victories of Chattanooga. This is truly a day of thanksgiving."

But though victory was complete and all the mountain ranges encircling Chattanooga were rid of the enemy, though the troops were exhausted by their three days of active manoeuvring and hard fighting, there must be no remission of effort. Bragg must not be allowed to retreat toward Burnside. Sherman had already been warned, and had pushed his left well toward Cleveland on the railroad running to Knoxville. Bragg therefore turned south, and Hooker was ordered to pursue rapidly the next morning with the hope of cutting off his new troops and trains. Granger was ordered to march up the south side of the Tennessee with a force of twenty thousand men to strike Longstreet in the rear and relieve Burnside at Knoxville. Thomas was to supervise the direct pursuit of Bragg, and to contribute all the strength he could spare to it.

The next day Bragg was closely followed. He burned his supply depot at Chickamauga creek, and hurriedly pushed toward Dalton, leaving evidences everywhere in his trail of

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his haste and demoralization. Just before reaching Dalton, at a gap twenty-two miles south of Chattanooga, the pursuit was checked for a time by the rear guard of the enemy who occupied a strong position, and offered battle. They were not dislodged till after a sharp fight in which some two hundred were killed and wounded on both sides. Hooker was then ordered to discontinue the pursuit and hold the gap. The railroad was destroyed from Dalton almost to Cleveland, and all direct communication cut off between Bragg and Longstreet.

The battle of Chattanooga was the grandest fought west of the Alleghenies during the Civil War, and was in many respects the most remarkable in history. It covered an extent of thirteen miles, and Grant had sixty thousand men engaged, while Bragg, in his report of December 10th, reported fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-five men present, of whom forty three thousand and ninety-four were effective. The Federal losses were 757 killed, 4529 wounded and 330 missing; total 5616. The enemy's losses in killed and wounded were less, owing to the nature of the ground and their entrenched positions, but their total losses must have approximated 10,000, as they left 6140 prisoners behind, 69 pieces of artillery and 7000 small arms.

No battle, ancient or modern, ever reflected greater credit for generalship on a commander. The situation was wholly desperate till Grant's arrival. He found an army hemmed in, demoralized, without clothing, starving, immovable as to guns, wagons, animals and paraphernalia. He was a new officer, in a new field, and in command of three armies that had not hitherto fought together or even actively co-operated. His lieutenants were fortunately without jealousy, were able and loyal, and men who would disappoint no confidence, but they were occupying wide areas, and had to be hurriedly brought together with their forces, or strongly supported where they were. In fact the army of Chattanooga had to be

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first rescued and reorganized and reinforced before it could rescue itself, and above all, effect the rescue of Burnside at Knoxville.

We have seen how General Grant went about his work of rescue; how he opened the Tennessee below and established communications with Nashville; how he urged and helped Sherman in his long weary march; how he looked up every strategic point in and about Chattanooga; how he concentrated and manœuvred for positions; how he ordered and fought, first with Hooker for the enemy's left on the heights of Lookout, then with Sherman for the enemy's right on Missionary Ridge, and again at an opportune moment, and when the menace was complete on both wings, how he let loose his invincible centre under Thomas, scaled the entrenched heights, and broke the enemy in twain. Notwithstanding obstacles of march, river crossing, abrupt mountain side, heavy and frequent entrenchment, uncertainty of skirmish and charge, every movement was ordered with intelligence and made with promptitude and precision. No corps, division nor brigade was out of time. No vital object failed. Every subordinate excelled in rare good management of his men; and the courage, endurance and enthusiasm of the men were without parallel.

It was a battle of monumental plans and grand executions. Vicksburg had been all preliminary strategy and then pertinacious stick. Shiloh had been stubborn, close fighting. Chattanooga was giant manœuvre in sight of a fortified enemy, a complete outwitting of his keenest suspicions, a herculean move, involving the finest co-operations on the part of lieutenants and bravest efforts of a gallant soldiery. It was two grand battles in one, for it meant not only the defeat of Bragg on the hill tops around Chattanooga and the driving of him back to where the waters run toward the gulf, but the relief of Burnside, at Knoxville, and the Federal control of East Tennessee.

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And it was equally extraordinary in other respects. The results were of great permanent value. This was a characteristic of all Grant's battles. He made his victories tell. He organized and fought for results. The results of Chattanooga were acquisition of vast territory, a way to Atlanta and the heart of the Confederacy, and finally through that heart to the sea, the erection of a fortified menace on the very spot which had for years been a threat to the North. The result to the country was the lifting of the terrible Chickamauga cloud and a bursting in of sunlight upon a situation which had been dark and a source of the gloomiest foreboding. Its effects on the armies were remarkable. Three separate hosts had for the first time fought together under a single and trusted commander. The Potomac, the Cumberland, the Mississippi, had blended their chivalry to win combined honors. The Potomac, under Hooker, had fought the enemy's left off Lookout and Missionary Ridge. The Mississippi, under Sherman, had fought the enemy's right up the Missionary foothills. The Cumberland, under Thomas, had scaled the heights of the centre and broken the enemy into fragments. United they were invincible, but the union must be just such as Chattanooga showed to be possible, a union of force, discipline, heart, under a genius in whom confidence was boundless, and a spirit that was all presiding. The experiment of uniting departments and armies under one master mind had met with the endorsement of a magnificent, timely and most fruitful victory, and the destiny of the calm, determined, yet anxious and brilliant, leader was further foreshadowed. It remained for the authorities to act upon the proofs which Chattanooga supplied, both as to the wisdom of and necessity for a central and supreme commandership. Happily circumstances were rapidly shaping to that end, and none more powerfully than the existence of one whose deeds declared him worthy the high distinction and equal to the great responsibility.

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The following shows the organization of the contending armies at Chattanooga:

Commanding United States Forces.—MAJOR GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Army of the Cumberland.—Commander, MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS.

Fourth Corps,
Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger.
- 1st Div.—Maj. Gen. D. S. Stanley,
- 2d Div.—Maj. Gen. P. H. Sheridan,
- 3d Div.—Brig. Gen. T. J. Wood.

Eleventh Corps,
Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard.
- 2d Div.—Brig. Gen. A. Von Steinwher,
- 3d Div.—Maj. Gen. C. Schurz.

Twelfth Corps,
Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum.
- 1st Div.—Brig. Gen. A. S. Williams,
- 2d Div.—Brig. Gen. J. W. Geary.

[*Commanding the two corps.*—MAJ. GEN. J. HOOKER.]

Fourteenth Corps,
Maj. Gen. J. M. Palmer.
- 1st Div.—Brig. Gen. R. W. Johnston,
- 2d Div.—Brig. Gen. J. C. Davis,
- 3d Div.—Brig. Gen. A. Baird.

[Part of this corps reported to Sherman.]

Cavalry Corps,
Brig. Gen. W. L. Elliot.
- 1st Div.—Col. E. M. McCook,
- 2d Div.—Brig. Gen. George Crook.

Part of Army of the Tennessee.—Commander, MAJOR GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

Fifteenth Corps,
Maj. Gen. F. P. Blair.
- 1st Div.—Brig. Gen. P. J. Osterhaus, [reported to General Hooker].
- 2d Div.—Brig. Gen. M. L. Smith,
- 3d Div.—Brig. Gen. J. E. Smith,
- 4th Div.—Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing.

Confederate Army.—Commander, GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG.

Right Wing,
Lieut. Gen. W. J. Hardee.

[*Commanders.*]
- Maj. Gen. P. R. Cleburne,
- Brig. Gen. S. R. List,
- Maj. Gen. B. F. Cheatham,
- Maj. Gen. C. L. Stevenson.

Left Wing,
Maj. Gen. J. C. Breckinridge.

[*Commanders.*]
- Maj. Gen. A. P. Stewart,
- Brig. Gen. P. Anderson,
- Maj. Gen. S. B. Buckner,
- Brig. Gen. Lewis.

Cavalry,
Maj. Gen. J. Wheeler.
- 1st Div.—Brig. Gen. J. A. Wharton,
- 2d Div.—Brig. Gen. W. Martin.

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CHAPTER XI.

CHATTANOOGA TO WASHINGTON.

WE have had a glimpse of the bearing of the battle of Chattanooga on the fortunes of Burnside's army in East Tennessee. Let us take a hasty view of the situation there. Early in November, 1863, Bragg, feeling all too sure of his positions around Chattanooga, and that time only was required to force the Federals into retreat or capitulation, dispatched Longstreet with a large and excellent corps to operate against Burnside, who was at Knoxville, and had pushed a strong advance of twelve thousand men down along the railroad to the Holsten river, across which a pontoon bridge had been built.

It was here that Longstreet first met him. Burnside's policy, as has been seen in the previous chapter, was not to fight, but to keep up shows of battle, in order to risk nothing on his part, and at the same time draw Longstreet so far away from Bragg, at Chattanooga, as to put mutual reinforcement out of the question, should the fate of Chattanooga require it. And then, if Grant should be successful there, and should drive Bragg southward, Longstreet could be marched upon from the rear and forced into the devious by-ways of the mountains, perhaps captured. This was Grant's plan, and Burnside was to second it by his shows of battle and retreats.

He therefore burned his bridge across the Holsten, on the approach of Longstreet, prepared for battle on the north side of the river, and after administering a severe check, fell back to Campbell's Station, where he again made a stubborn stand. His next retreat was to Knoxville, which was well fortified,

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though but poorly provisioned. This he intended to hold as long as possible, in expectation of hearing from Grant and finding succor through and by means of a decisive turn of affairs at Chattanooga.

Longstreet tried the defences of Knoxville, on November 18th, but finding them too strong for direct capture, he invested the place, determined to starve Burnside out. He was reinforced by several small commands from Virginia, and began to manœuvre so as to cut off all sources of Federal supply. In this he was confidently engaged when he was startled by the defeat of Bragg, at Chattanooga. He knew what this meant. It made every moment precious to him. He determined on an assault before Grant could send relief. On November 29th, he threw three brigades of McLaw's division, with murderous energy, on Fort Sanders, near the northwest angle of Burnside's works, supporting them with the rest of his force. The ditches were reached and rapidly filled by the assaulting forces. But a merciless fire of canister was opened on them from the salients, and they were mowed down ere they could scale the parapet. Again and again they were repulsed, and finally broke in confusion, some preferring surrender to retreat back over ground subjected to so hot a fire. This rash experiment cost Longstreet a thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Federal loss was only thirteen.

Just then Longstreet received word from President Davis that Bragg had been defeated by Grant at Chattanooga, and that he should hasten to his succor. He started, but hearing that the Federal troops were already at Cleveland, on the line of the railroad, and knowing that he could not hope to reach Bragg, he wisely returned to the siege of Knoxville, trusting thus to divert Grant from pursuit of Bragg.

Immediately after the victory at Chattanooga, Grant ordered Granger's Fourth Corps to march rapidly to the relief of Knoxville. But that general delayed, and Sherman, who had been

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ordered to Hiawasse, was directed to assume command of the relief movement, and push it with all his energy. The situation at Knoxville was getting desperate, on account of the scarcity of provisions. Grant was fully advised of this, and sent Burnside the following dispatch, written in duplicate, with the intent that one copy should be let fall into the hands of the enemy:

"I congratulate you on the tenacity with which you have thus far held out against superior forces. Do not be forced into surrender by short rations. Take all that the citizens have, to enable you to hold out a few days longer. As soon as you are relieved from the presence of the enemy, you can replace everything taken from them. Within a few days you will be relieved. There are now three columns in motion for your relief. One from here, moving up the south bank of the river, under Sherman; one from Decherd, under Elliott (this movement suffered delay); one from Cumberland Gap, under Foster. These three columns will be able to crush Longstreet's forces, or drive them from the valley, and must all of them be within twenty-four hours' march of you, by the time this reaches you, supposing you to get it on Tuesday, the 1st." (Dec.)

Sherman infused all his energy into his tired forces, and soon had the Eleventh and Fifteenth Corps hastening toward Knoxville, building bridges, making forced marches, driving off an intercepting enemy at crossings and from available points. Elliott was sent ahead with a large cavalry force, and orders to reach Knoxville at all hazards. Grant's dispatch fell into the hands of Longstreet, as designed. It had the effect anticipated. That officer immediately raised the siege of Knoxville, and made hasty preparations to escape the ingathering of the Federal forces. By December 4th, his lines of investment were entirely broken up and his troops in retreat. On the same date Sherman reached Knoxville, so that Longstreet got away none too soon. Grant's express orders were to pursue the enemy, capture, if possible, at least drive him entirely from the

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valley. Sherman deferred to Burnside in command of the Department, and that officer feeling strong enough for future operations with Granger's Fourth Corps, sent Sherman with the Fifteenth Corps back toward Chattanooga, so as to be within striking distance of Thomas, in case Bragg should again assume the offensive. But Burnside miscalculated. He lost valuable time which should have been occupied in active pursuit of the enemy, as Grant had designed and ordered. True, he sent Major-General Parke, with Manson's and Potter's commands, after Longstreet's fleeing forces, but only to find out what every army and naval officer should know, that "a stern chase is necessarily a long one." Longstreet escaped to the south of the Holsten river, where he was protected from pursuit by the approach of winter. In the spring, he joined his army to that under Lee, in Virginia. On November 11th, Burnside was removed by Halleck, General-in-Chief at Washington, and General J. G. Foster, who had pushed his relief columns through the Cumberland Gap, and arrived in Knoxville on the 10th, was given command of the Department of the Ohio.

GEN. J. G. FOSTER.

Although Grant's intention to "crush Longstreet" had been frustrated, his other thought to "drive him out of East Tennessee," was more nearly carried out, rather by virtue of the masterly concentration of troops for the purpose than by the uses which Burnside made of them after they came under his control. And when it became apparent that East and Southern Tennessee were safe and that military operations must cease for the winter, and further, when the full effects of Grant's Chattanooga campaigns began to be realized, there came a response from the Government and country such as

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few military officers have ever drawn and fewer still more highly deserved.

On December 8th, President Lincoln telegraphed out of the fullness of a grateful heart the following: "Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you and all under your command my more than thanks, my profoundest gratitude for the skill, courage and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have affected that important object. God bless you all!"

On the 7th, the day before the above dispatch was sent, the President appointed a day of thanksgiving recommending "all

GRANT'S MEDAL.

loyal people to assemble in their places of worship and return thanks to God for this great advancement of the national cause." On December 17th, Congress unanimously voted a resolution of "thanks to Major-General Ulysses S. Grant and the officers and soldiers who have fought under his command during this rebellion." A gold medal was struck, which the President was authorized to present to General

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Grant "in the name of the people of the United States of America." The Legislatures of various States voted him resolutions of thanks. As if to show appreciation which could not be measured by words, a movement was set on foot in the Congress to revive the ancient and highly honorable grade of lieutenant-general and to confer it upon Grant, together with a call to the chief command of all the armies of the United States. The measure did not go through at once, but it was already clear that appreciation of exalted service was co-operating with exigency in military affairs in such a way as to make its final passage desirable.

In the midst of all these rejoicings and fervent expressions of thanks, and heart-felt manifestations of gratitude, and proffers of added honors, the modest, unmoved general was quietly disposing of his forces for the winter, carefully turning over plans for the spring, and anxiously working on his official report of stewardship since the consolidation of the Western Departments. One clause from this report shows all the man: "The armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee, for their energy and unsurpassed bravery in the three days' battle of Chattanooga, their patient endurance in marching to the relief of Knoxville; and the army of the Ohio for its masterly defence of Knoxville and repeated repulses of Longstreet's assaults upon that place, are deserving of the gratitude of the country." Self is lost sight of. His able lieutenants, his brave men, his invincible armies—these deserve, these only receive, mention and the meed of praise.

With time on his hands to look over the situation, Grant saw the error, due to Burnside's tardiness, of permitting Longstreet to stop inside the State of Tennessee. On December 17th, he wrote to Washington, saying: "I feel deeply interested in moving the enemy beyond Saltville this winter, so as to be able to select my own campaign in the spring, instead of having the enemy dictate it for me." Foster

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was ordered to observe matters closely, and to take advantage of any winter opportunity that offered to force the enemy further east. This was in keeping with all of Grant's military plans. He knew well the value of an initiative blow, and to such had been due Paducah, Belmont, Donelson, Vicksburg and Chattanooga. The enemy had struck first at Shiloh, Corinth and Iuka, and had made Federal victory costly.

He studied over the feasibility of a mid-winter campaign into Georgia and directly against Bragg. But the roads were bad, the country mountainous, and supplies scarce. Nothing offered to warrant a move in this direction before spring. He however revived his old scheme of a campaign against Mobile, and submitted it to the authorities at Washington, where it was again received coldly.

Immediately after the battle of Chattanooga, Bragg was relieved of the command of the Confederate army and succeeded by Hardee. This was a repetition of the fatality which overhung the Confederate generals opposed to Grant. Floyd, Pillow, Buckner, Van Dorn, Price, Pemberton, Bragg, had either surrendered outright, or succumbed to an inexorable sentiment engendered by their defeat.

In order to aid Foster in his efforts to harass Longstreet and drive him further east, Grant went to Knoxville in person about Christmas. The winter had by this time settled deeply. Foster was suffering from the outbreak of an old wound received in the Mexican War. The men were not properly shod or clad. Many were going home by reason of expiration of term of service, and their places would not be filled before spring. The matter of supplies was precarious. Nothing could be done but to make such disposition of the forces as would give them new foraging ground, and present them as squarely to the enemy as possible when the time came for a movement.

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The depth of winter found General John A. Logan's command stretched along the railroad between Stevenson and Decatur, part of Hurlbut's along the Nashville and Decatur road, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps along the road from Nashville to Chattanooga, the Fourteenth at Chattanooga, Granger's force between Cleveland and Knoxville. Sherman was sent to Memphis and Vicksburg in person to superintend the disposition and movement of forces so as to prevent a winter invasion of Mississippi. McPherson, at Vicksburg, was notified of this, and ordered to dispatch a cavalry force through the State to clean out Forrest, who was, with detached bands of troops, harrassing smaller towns therein and in Western Tennessee. This was the cavalry part of what afterward became the celebrated Meridian raid.

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN.

On January 13th, 1864, Grant returned from Knoxville by way of Cumberland Gap and Lexington to Nashville, where he made his headquarters. This journey made in mid-winter was full of hardship and danger. The mountains were covered with ice and snow and the thermometer was ten degrees below zero. In many places it was impossible to ride, and Grant and his party were compelled to dismount and lead their horses. The general in advance had many falls, but suffered no material injury. A few days after his arrival at Nashville, he was suddenly called to St. Louis by the dangerous illness of one of his children. Hurrying through the country in the modest dress of a citizen, he studiously avoided all public ovation and display, and as soon as the danger which threatened his son had passed returned in the same way to his headquarters.

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On the 15th he dispatched to Halleck that Sherman would be ready to start from Vicksburg by the 24th with a force of twenty thousand men to destroy all the railroads in Northern Mississippi "so effectually that the enemy will not attempt to rebuild them again during the rebellion. He will then return unless opportunity of going into Mobile with the force he has appears perfectly plain." It seems that Grant could not give up the idea of capturing Mobile, much less letting the enemy rest in parts where winter operations were possible.

By this time he had so far matured his plans for a spring campaign as to present them to the authorities at Washington, which he did on January 15th, and in the letter just quoted from he said: "I look upon the next line for me to secure, to be that from Chattanooga to Mobile; Montgomery and Atlanta being the important intermediate points. To do this, large supplies must be secured on the Tennessee river, so as to be independent of the railroad from here (Nashville) to the Tennessee for a considerable length of time. Mobile would be a second base. The destruction which Sherman will do to the roads around Meridian will be of material importance to us in preventing the enemy from drawing supplies from the Mississippi, and in clearing that section of all large bodies of rebel troops. I do not look upon any points, except Mobile in the south and the Tennessee river in the north, as presenting practicable starting points from which to operate against Atlanta and Montgomery."

In the discussion over the features of these plans which was held between Grant and the authorities at Washington, he clearly foreshadowed that grand movement under Sherman which had Atlanta for its base and which ended in the historic "march to the sea." To all doubts about the ability of his generals to take charge of and carry to success an independent movement of the magnitude contemplated, he repeatedly insisted that both Sherman and McPherson were officers of

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such experience and reliability as to be confidently trusted with separate and distant commands for any purpose.

By February 1st, 1864, Sherman was on the move from Vicksburg with two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps, under Hurlbut, two of the Seventeenth under McPherson and a brigade of cavalry under Colonel Winslow. Smith, Grant's chief of cavalry, swept out from Memphis with a large force, and with orders to join Sherman at Meridian. These columns moved invincibly forward, although confronted by Loring, French and S. D. Lee, with a considerable strength of infantry and cavalry. On February 4th, Sherman entered Jackson, and on the next day crossed the Pearl river. Thence he marched rapidly on Meridian, pausing only to build bridges and destroy railroads. On February 14th, he entered Meridian, the Confederate forces under Polk having evacuated the place without offering serious opposition. From this point he spread railroad destruction in every direction, and burned all storehouses and supplies. The Confederates were reinforced and returned to attack him. Sherman gathered in his forces, and as Smith had not yet put in an appearance with his eight thousand cavalry, he resolved to not risk a battle, but to retreat. On the 20th, McPherson started back to Jackson, and the rest of the force made a detour with the hope of meeting Smith. Failing in this, it concentrated at Canton, where word came that Smith had gotten no further than West Point, whence he had been forced to retreat by Forrest's cavalry. Thus what Grant at first thought might prove a move which would end in the capture of Mobile, turned out to be only a magnificent raid. But it was not without its value, both in the crippling of the enemy by the destruction of railroads and supplies, and in proving that vigilance must not yet be relaxed even in sections which were thought comparatively safe. Its moral effect on the Confederates was great. Never before had a Federal army penetrated so far into the Confederacy;

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A CAVALRY FIGHT.

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immense excitement prevailed everywhere. Farragut was making a naval demonstration against the forts of Mobile, and it was feared that Sherman was bound directly for the place to make a land attack. Reinforcements were hurried to Polk from Mobile and from Johnston's (Johnston had succeeded Hardee) army in front of Thomas. But Sherman was without a supply line, and a long way from any permanent base, and he retreated as above seen.

This ended Grant's immediate supervision of the armies in the southwest. But he was all the time busy at Nashville. He had urged Schofield, who had succeeded Foster at Knoxville, to prepare for a movement on Longstreet. That officer had talked the whole matter over with Foster, and their opinion was that Longstreet could not be successfully disturbed before spring. In this joint judgment of two very able and trusty officers Grant finally acquiesced. Thomas was, however, ordered to make a demonstration against Johnston at Dalton, so as to keep him from sending reinforcements to any army that might be opposing Sherman's southern movement. He moved from Chattanooga with a strong force and penetrated as far as Dalton, but found the roads in fearful condition, and all the strong points well guarded by the enemy. Nothing could be done but leave an advance posted well toward Dalton and wait the building of the railroad and the return of spring.

GEN. SCHOFIELD.

The campaigns of the West and Southwest in the year 1863, had been very remarkable. Wherever they had been conducted on the principle of separate and selfish action they were fatal. Wherever they had been conducted on the prin-

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ciple of concentrated, co-operative action, splendid victories resulted. Most of all had this been made apparent by that union of departments and concert of forces which brought Grant to Chattanooga and paved the way for that great victory and the relief of East Tennessee. But while the government was willing to accept a logic which was clear—to wit, the necessity for combined movement of all its armies under a single, clearheaded, fearless and faithful leadership, it had not as yet struck the man in whose genius it could have implicit confidence. The amiable and popular McClellan, the well-meaning and over prudent Halleck, had fallen short in the essentials necessary to make victories sure and profitable. They therefore failed to inspire the authorities with that hard, severe, unquestioned confidence whose existence only could justify the placing of supreme control of the armies and the destinies of the country absolutely in their hands.

At a very early period in the war, Secretary Stanton had become impressed with the importance of unified superintendence and effort under a general of capacity. It required the stirring events, the victories, the failures, the arguments, the admonitions of 1863, to force the idea along and make it a conviction in places where it could be given effective and tangible shape. General Grant's growth as a successful commander, his organizing force, his genius, his skill, his persistency, his wonderful grasp of situations, his tactical powers, his repeated victories, his freedom from political affiliations and offensive jealousies, the confidence reposed in him by all the officers and men of the armies, and now by the government and country, greatly simplified the labor and lightened the responsibility of preparing for and choosing a suitable general-in-chief.

And another thing that now impelled more strongly than ever to the adoption of the principle of unified command was the political and general military outlook. The Confederate

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schemes to carry the war into the North, which had been the central feature of their operations in 1863, had failed, but they were to be supplemented by the disintegrating and demoralizing political doctrine of 1864, introduced into the National Democratic platform at Chicago, that the "war for the Union" had been a failure and should be abandoned. In the face of such a doctrine it would not do to push a contest for any great length of time without crowning it with frequent and substantial victories. And these victories were demanded from the very nature of the contest at the dawn of 1864, for it was plain that a crisis had been reached. The energies of the Confederacy had been taxed to the uttermost, yet it was a vigorous, determined unit. The energies of the Union had been largely, though not so exhaustively, drawn upon, and it was as much committed to its policy of peace, only through conquest, as the Confederacy itself. The issue was clearer than ever before. Defeat of either side meant its ruin more than ever before. And the scale must soon turn decidedly one way or the other. The war had not been uniformly progressive in its Eastern theatre. In its Western, during 1863, it had been active and aggressive on the part of the Federals, and productive of most substantial fruits. Was this an indication? It was so received by the country. And it was an inspiration as well. It determined much, or helped to. It made the theory of firmer and more concentrated effort conspicuous. It induced the spirit of rally for an effective and final blow. Such a blow would necessarily be more difficult than any to deliver, for Federal successes could only result in driving the Confederates closer together, compacting their forces, shortening their defensive lines, giving them the advantage of striking from a centre upon more widely diffused but gradually concentrating lines. All the factors of former Federal victories must now be present in tenfold force. There must be no frittering away of time, no waste of precious

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energy, no discordant policies, no defensive tactics, no strategy, that was not bold and aggressive, no lack of concentration, no divided military councils, no fear of consequences. As the issues were clear and closely joined, so the arbiters—the armies—must be kept face to face, in close contact, perpetual meeting, till a verdict was signed, sealed, delivered and published to the world.

The bill to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the armies of the United States, which had been introduced by Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, soon after the battle of Chattanooga, was making slow progress in the Congress, but was gradually ripening for final passage. The instincts of legislators, spurred by the sentiment of the country, by study of the situation, and by all outward, determining circumstances, forced a result on February 26th, 1864, when both Houses sanctioned the bill. The President approved it on the first day of March, and immediately nominated General Grant to an office which had not existed since 1798, when the grade of lieutenant-general was tendered as an honorary offering to General Washington, who held it for one year, when it was discontinued. In 1855 it was conferred by brevet on Major General Winfield Scott.

The authorities at Washington, outside of the Congress, neither favored nor opposed this bill while it was pending. They were convinced of its efficacy, and those who were connected with war affairs, including the President, felt that the man for the mission was already in the foreground, but it was a grave measure, and the responsibility should not be detached from the people, the real source of power. Hitherto the grade had been honorary. Now it would carry a power altogether new, and be productive of lasting good or irremediable evil, as it was wielded wisely or foolishly.

Though sentiment had long previously pointed to Grant as the man to be trusted with this new honor and power, though

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his name had been used in the Congress and his successes and genius pointed to as arguments in favor of combining all future military effort under one capable head, he used no influence, spoke no words, wrote no line to bring about the result. He was as quietly indifferent to the fate of the bill as if his name had never been mentioned in connection with it, yet amid that indifference there was no disposition to shrink from the responsibilities it imposed, should the country choose to call him to higher spheres of activity and more important services.

During the debates on the bill, and after his name had been mentioned in connection with it, Mr. Washburne said: "No man with his consent has ever mentioned his name in connection with any position. I say what I know to be true when I allege that every promotion he has received since he first entered the service to put down this rebellion was moved without his knowledge or consent. And in regard to this very matter of lieutenant-general, after the bill was introduced and his name mentioned in connection with it, he wrote me and admonished me that he had been highly honored by the government, and did not ask or deserve anything more in the shape of honors or promotion; and that a success over the enemy was what he craved above everything else; that he only desired to hold such influence over those under his command as to use them to the best advantage to secure that end."

On March 3d, 1864, Halleck sent the following dispatch to Grant:

"The Secretary of War directs that you will report in person to the War Department, as early as practicable, considering the condition of your command. If necessary you will keep up telegraphic communication with your command while *en route* to Washington."

The next day, March 4th, General Grant started for the capitol. His last orders to Sherman give a view of his plans

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for the spring campaign. They directed that officer to guard all the Mississippi river posts, as far as practicable with colored troops, and concentrate his other forces at Memphis, so as to be ready for active operations after the winter had passed. This was with a view to a direct movement on Atlanta and Mobile, which Grant intended to lead in person, notwithstanding his promotion. Thomas was to fight his way southward to Atlanta. Then cutting loose from that point the army was to swing upon Mobile or Savannah, whichever should prove most inviting. For this purpose Sherman's, Thomas' and Schofield's armies were to co-operate, and he had no doubt of the ultimate success of his daring plans, for every indication favored his long entertained and oft repeated theory that while the Confederacy presented a strong circumference it was really weak at its centre. He therefore left for Washington with the intention of returning in ten or twelve days to Chattanooga to superintend his spring plans, and head the great offensive movement of his combined armies.

The spirit with which he received notice of his promotion and his orders to report at Washington, cannot be more fairly set forth than by his private letter to Sherman, which was forwarded with the official orders of March 3d:

"DEAR SHERMAN:—The bill reviving the grade of Lieutenant-General in the army has become a law, and my name has been sent to the Senate for the place. I now receive orders to report to Washington immediately, *in person*, which indicates a confirmation, or a likelihood of confirmation. I start in the morning to comply with the order.

"Whilst I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I, how much of this success is due to the energy and skill of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me.

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"There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success.

"How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do, entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I.

"I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction.

"The word *you* I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also. I should write to him, and will some day, but starting in the morning, I do not know that I will find time just now.

"Your friend,

"U. S. GRANT."

Sherman, who was at Memphis, received this letter on March 10th, and replied:

"DEAR GENERAL:—I have your more than kind and characteristic letter of the 4th inst. I will send a copy to General McPherson at once.

"You do yourself injustice, and us too much honor, in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve of the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue, as heretofore, to manifest it on all proper occasions.

"You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends and the homage of millions of human beings, that will

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award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability.

"I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits—neither of us being near. At Donelson, also, you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you.

"Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted a ray of light I have followed ever since. I believe you are as brave, patriotic and just, as the great prototype Washington—as unselfish, kind-hearted and honest as a man should be—but the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in the Saviour.

"This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your best preparations you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserves; and, I can tell you, it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew, wherever I was, that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place you would help me out, if alive.

"My only point of doubt was, in your knowledge of grand strategy, and of books of science and history; but, I confess, your common sense seems to have supplied all these.

"Now as to the future. Don't stay in Washington. Come West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure—and, I tell you, the Atlantic slopes and Pacific shores will follow its destiny, as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk. We have done much, but still much remains. Time and time's influences are with us. We could almost afford to sit still and let these influences work.

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"Here lies the seat of the coming empire; and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic.

"Your sincere friend,

"W. T. SHERMAN."

General Grant's journey to Washington was made as rapidly as possible, and by special trains. Wherever his approach to a town was known he was welcomed by cheering multitudes, eager to see and honor the new commander of the nation's armies. While on the way he received the following from Halleck, whom he succeeded: "The Secretary of War directs me to say, that your commission as Lieutenant-General is signed, and will be delivered to you on your arrival at the War Department. I sincerely congratulate you on this recognition of your distinguished and meritorious services."

On March 8th, he arrived at the capitol, a stranger to the President, almost one to the Secretary of War, and quite one to the scenes and surroundings. On the 9th, he was formally present with the President and his Cabinet, when Mr. Lincoln said:

"General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done, in the existing great struggle, are now presented, with this commission constituting you Lieutenant-General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

The General replied: "Mr. President, I accept the commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many fields

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for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me; and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

The investiture was then made complete by the action of the President, who assigned the new Lieutenant-General to the command of all the national armies, with headquarters in the field.

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CHAPTER XII.

PREPARING FOR THE WILDERNESS.

WHEN Lieutenant-General Grant took command of the armies of the United States and glanced at the situation from his high central stand-point, he saw the enemy in strongest numbers, under its ablest generals, and on its best fighting-ground, in the State of Virginia, and between the two capitals, Washington and Richmond. Nature had made this area strong for defence. It was thickly wooded, and across it ran the Rappahannock and Rapidan, the Mattapony, the Pamunkey, the North and South Anna, and the Chickahominy, all more or less sluggish, deep steams, with wide margins of flats and swamps. Almost from the beginning of the war it had been the scene of defeat and victory for the respective armies, as the Bull Runs, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Cedar Mountain, and the stupendous Peninsular Campaign, proved. Lee's army now stretched across it south of the Rapidan, covering Richmond, menacing the national capital.

Should the Federal armies concentrate in the West, drive Johnston from Dalton, establish a new line from Atlanta to Mobile, do all that had been hoped under Sherman and Thomas, it would only result in harder Confederate consolidation in the path between Washington and Richmond. Lee's army therefore became an important and direct objective. As long as it represented an unbroken military power the war could not terminate. There could be no break except by offensive action and immediate contact. Continuous and concurrent operations were the means Grant decided upon to

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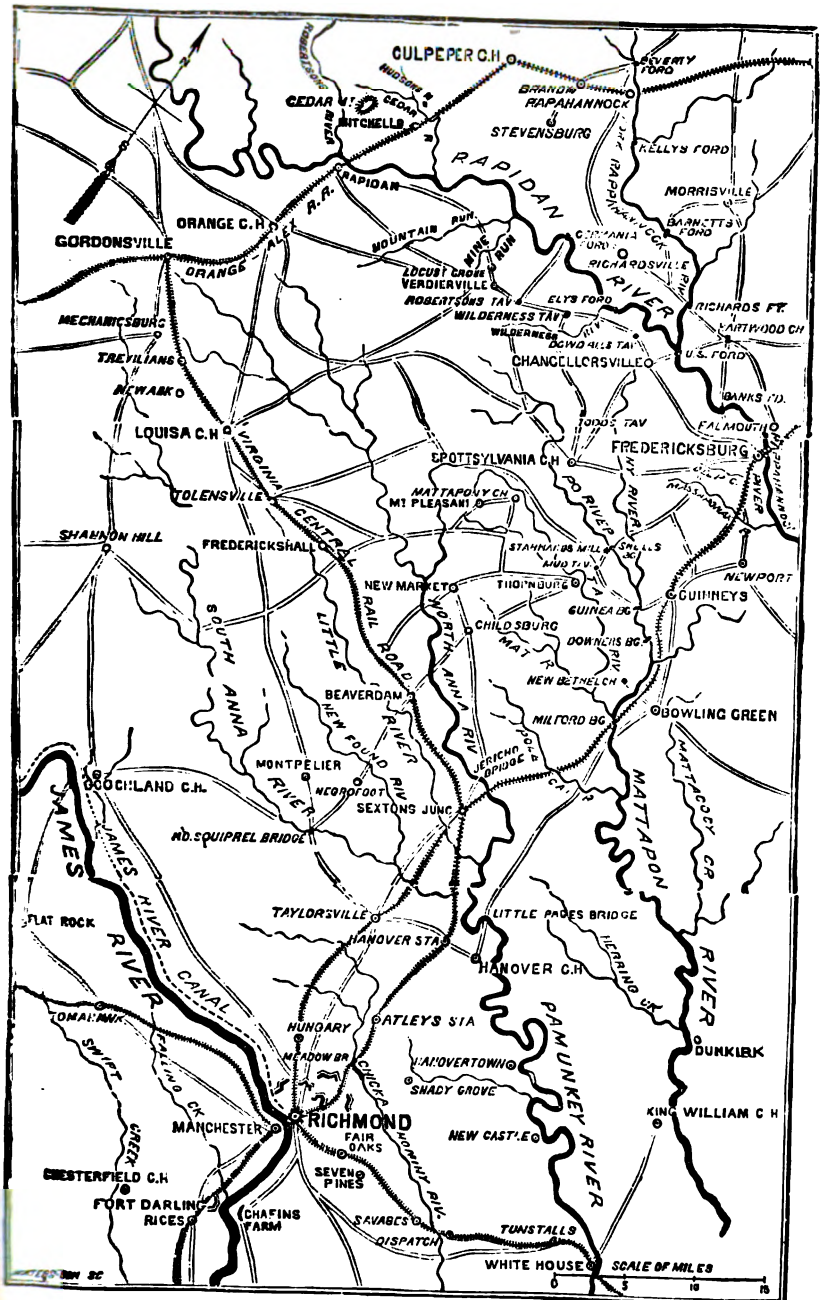

MAP OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

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force victory and bring peace. No opportunity should be given the Confederates to profit by their interior lines, to send reinforcements hither and thither at will, to hold strong defensive positions with inferior numbers. In deciding upon this he was only applying his Western strategy to an Eastern situation. But he was in a great measure reversing the tactics of his predecessors—the brilliant manœuvres for place, the

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

splendid games of battle at which Lee had played so successfully with McClellan and Hooker and Burnside.

There was also a moral argument which must have weighed powerfully with him, since it helped to change all his previous plans and forced him to ignore the solemn advice of Sherman,

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Thomas, and indeed all his Western generals. His assumption of command had a chivalric significance. Lee stood head and shoulders above the Confederate generals. He had proved more than a match for the best Federal leadership. Therefore acceptance of the high rank of lieutenant-general was in the nature of a gauge of battle. He could no more decline a trial with the Confederate chieftain, without injuring his fame and weakening his power to command, than the country could afford to further waste its resources and its blood by continuing the policy of former officers of the Potomac armies. The intuitions of a heroic nature pointed unerringly to a duty inherent in his high office, that of crushing the foremost army of the Confederacy under its foremost leader.

He was encouraged in these convictions by the willingness of the authorities at Washington to stand by him, to load him with their confidence, to permit him to mature his plans and carry them out without interference. Of this he had the voluntary and kind assurance of both President and Secretary of War.

On the tenth of March he started to the front. Meade had command of the Army of the Potomac. His headquarters were at Brandy Station, fifty miles from the capital and ten miles north of the Rapidan. The two generals had not met since the Mexican War, but Grant was received with most respectful consideration and conducted to headquarters. Meade's position was one of great delicacy. He had been successful at Gettysburg, had handled his army on Virginia soil with rare tact, and had met with no severe reverses. Under the circumstances, removal, rumor of which had reached his ears, or even the raising of one to a rank above him, was a matter about which he had a right to be sensitive. But on their first interview he relieved Grant of all embarrassment by asking to be removed if it suited his plans best. Grant not only did not

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request his removal, but assured him of his desire not to interfere with his position as general of the Army of the Potomac.

All night they discussed the military situation and plans for the future. On the 11th of March he returned to Washington, declined the honors of a public dinner given by the President, and started the same night for Nashville to perfect his Western campaigns and install the generals who were to carry them out.

He arrived in Nashville on the 14th. On the 17th Sherman met him there, pursuant to orders. His first words to Grant were, "I cannot congratulate you on your promotion; the responsibility is too great." To this the quiet man responded with—silence. Yet he felt the full force of Sherman's utterance. Too many of his predecessors had failed in what he must now attempt for him to feel exultation over honors and rewards, however freely bestowed by a grateful country.

Sherman again laid before Grant, in glowing colors and with all his natural persuasiveness, the propriety and duty of remaining in the West. "Here," said he, "you are at home; you are acquainted with your ground; you have tested your subordinates; you know us, and we know you. Here you are sure of success; here, too, you will be untrammeled. At the East you must begin new campaigns on an unfamiliar field, with troops and officers whom you have not tried, whom you have never led to victory. They cannot feel toward you as we do. Near Washington, besides, you will be beset, and it may be fettered, by scheming politicians. Stay here, where you have made your fame, and use the same means to consolidate it."

But Grant had already been moved by higher convictions of duty. That very mutual faith which Sherman spoke of would make his command of Western operations easy, while nothing but personal observation and superintendence would insure the success he desired in Virginia, on a strange field,

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and among officers and men unused to his guidance. So he proceeded to parcel the Western domain and place his lieutenants.

Sherman was given command of the Military division of the Mississippi, the high post which Grant had just vacated. This would give him an opportunity to achieve a separate renown, which Grant felt was his due. Of his ability to do so he had not the least doubt. The two travelled together as far as Cincinnati. The plans for a spring movement on Johnston and into the heart of Georgia, thence on toward the sea, were all talked over and understood, but Sherman was left without detailed instructions.

McPherson was assigned to the command of the Department of the Tennessee. Although this disposition placed Sherman over Thomas, and McPherson over Hurlbut, both these seniors acquiesced, and gave as heartily of skill and bravery as if they too had been honored with distinguished preference. This disposition of commands being made in the West, and the particular work of each assigned, although, as has been stated, Sherman was left with large discretionary power, General Grant hurried eastward to assume the burdens of active leadership in the field; just "like yourself," as Sherman said, "you take the biggest load."

On March 23d he was back again in Washington, and face to face with the responsibilities and difficulties of his high office. There was no shrinking from them, no questioning of plans, no thought of expedients. He was firm in the faith that gave him Donelson, Vicksburg and Chattanooga. No shadow of doubt about eventual success crossed his mind. The true heroism of the man, never ostentatious, never even visible except in his deeds, was now sustaining him for the fires of conflict, even as the heroic faith of the old Christians upheld them in the presence of the stake.

And now came his work of reorganization and readjustment

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on the Atlantic seaboard. Halleck was made Grant's chief-of-staff in Washington. The Army of the Potomac was divided into three corps, to be known as the Second, under Major-General Hancock; the Fifth, under Warren; the Sixth, under Sedgwick. The Ninth Corps, brought from East Tennessee, was reorganized at Annapolis, and acted with the Army of the Potomac, but for a time independent of Meade, on account of Burnside's older commission. Among the division commanders were such distinguished names as Barlow, Gibbon, Birney, Carr, Wadsworth, Crawford, Robinson, Griffin, Wright and Prince. The cavalry of the army was consolidated under General Sheridan, with Gregg, Torbert, and Wilson as division commanders.

The staff organization of the Potomac army remained unchanged, with Brigadier-General H. J. Hunt as Chief of Artillery; Major J. C. Duane, Chief of Engineers; Brigadier-General Rufus Ingalls, Chief-Quartermaster; Major-General A. A. Humphreys was Chief of Staff, and also a division commander; Brigadier-General Seth Williams was Adjutant-General.

Grant's personal staff consisted of General Rawlins, as Chief of Staff; Colonel T. S. Bowers, Adjutant-General; Colonel Comstock, Inspector-General; Colonel Horace Porter and Colonel O. E. Babcock, Aids-de-Camp; Colonel Adam Badeau and Colonel Ely Parker, Military Secretaries. This personal staff was made up of young officers, yet men full of experience, and in whom Grant had the utmost faith.

In three days after his return from the West, General Grant was at the front looking closer into his preparations, and at the same time busy in remodeling all the military departments so as to turn their forces to the best account. Very many of these departments were outside the actual theatre of war, and contained idle armies, or forces, of no mean proportions. Some of them had been made the scene of useless operations, in no-

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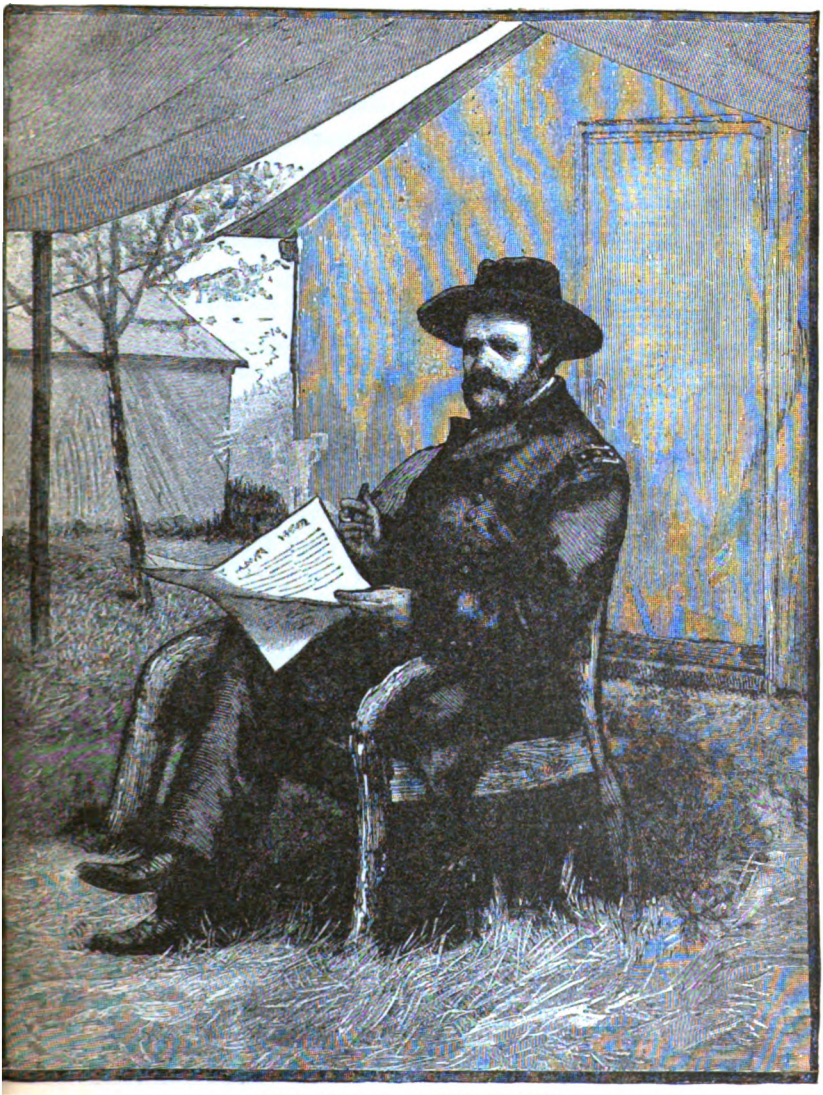

GEN. GRANT AT THE FRONT. 259

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wise in keeping with his plans of concentration and his future methods of attack. All these he reorganized and, wherever practicable, turned their forces to the account of the central armies. After all his plans of reorganization, mobilization and concentration were complete, he had in hand an aggregate of forces unequaled in modern warfare, and as to extent of country in which they were to be operated unparalleled in military history.

They stood thus:

			Commander.	Men.
1.	Department of the East.	New England, New York.	Maj. Gen. Dix.	1,800
2.	Department of the Susquehanna.	Pennsylvania.	Maj. Gen. Couch.	2,200
3.	Middle Department.	Maryland, part, Delaware, Virginia, East of the Chesapeake.	Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace.	4,100
4.	Northern Department.	Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan.	Maj. Gen. Heintzelman.	6,800
5.	Department of the North West.	Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Indian Territory.	Maj. Gen. Pope.	2,800
6.	Department of Kansas.	. . . . .	Maj. Gen. Curtis.	4,600
7.	Department of Missouri.	. . . . .	Maj. Gen. Rosecrans.	10,000
8.	Department of New Mexico.	. . . . .	Brig. Gen. Carleton.	3,700
9.	Department of Pacific.	California, Oregon.	Brig. Gen. Wright.	5,600
All these were outside the theatre of actual war.				
10.	Department of Arkansas.	. . . . .	Gen. Steele.	18,000

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11.	Department of Gulf.	Louisiana, Texas.	Maj. Gen. Banks.	56,000
12.	Department of Tennessee.	Tennessee, part, Kentucky, part.	Maj. Gen. McPherson.	56,000
13.	Department of Cumberland.	Tennessee, part, Kentucky, part.	Maj. Gen. Thomas.	102,000
14.	Department of Ohio.	East Tennessee.	Maj. Gen. Schofield.	26,500
15.	Department of W. Virginia.	. . . . .	Maj. Gen. Sigel.	26,000
16.	Department of Washington.	The Capital and immediate defences.	Maj. Gen. Auger.	28,000
17.	Department of Virginia and North Carolina.	. . . . .	Maj. Gen. Butler.	47,000
18.	Department of the South.	Sea Coast South of N. Carolina.	Maj. Gen. Gillmore.	9,700
These were all within the theatre of actual war. Besides the forces thus shown, the Army of the Potomac had				97,000
Ninth Corps, Burnside's, ...				22,000
Grand total, ...				529,800

These were actives, and they represented an army, on paper, exceeding six hundred thousand men.

General Grant's strategy consisted in merging all his available armies into two, or at most three, powerfully co-operating bodies. These were to be brought into direct contact with the foe wherever he was found strongest, and to be used incessantly till he was beaten or exhausted. There was to be but one common centre and aim—Lee's army in the East, Johnston's army in the West. In the East two necessities existed. Washington must be guarded. Butler's command must be protected, for it held the outlets to the sea. Therefore, in moving on Lee, Washington must never be uncovered, and yet the campaign must move so that the Army of the Potomac and the Army

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of the James should be as one, either in their co-operation, or by actual junction—which last afterward came about.

Sherman was to mass his three armies upon Johnston, at Dalton; Meade was to move from his base north of the Rapidan upon Lee; Butler, reinforced by the Tenth Corps, under Gillmore, was to operate against Richmond from the south side of the James river. But, while Richmond was a point toward which all effort centred, Lee's army was the always conspicuous objective. Hence, Meade was informed that when fighting begun it was to be carried on wherever Lee should go with his army. Sherman was similarly informed, that Atlanta was to be his point of convergence and conquest, but that Johnston must be followed wherever he went, and fought wherever he stood. The thing of primary moment was the breaking up and destruction of the organized and armed forces of the Confederacy. The time for it had arrived, the men were in the field for it, Grant's high commission endowed him with power to turn every energy to this account, all the conditions existed for carrying to success the comprehensive plans of a gigantic and final campaign. Sherman, Meade and Butler were to move on the same day. Neither army was to draw reinforcements from the other, but Sherman was to keep Johnston always engaged, so as to prevent him from swinging to Lee, and Meade was to do similarly with Lee's army. Banks was to release as many men as possible from his command to co-operate with Farragut in an attack on Mobile. Sigel was directed to move a part of his force eastward into the valley of Virginia, and to push the rest down so as to cut the East Tennessee railroad. Thus all the troops in the theatre of actual war, not required for guard and garrison duty, were to be turned to account, and the general direction of all was to be toward a common centre of operations. That there might be no diversion from the essential issue, there was a general suspension of outside enterprises. Every army not within the areas

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of activity was to rest and hold on. The situation became highly dramatic. The face of the soldiery, the authorities, the country, the world, was turned toward Virginia and Georgia, Richmond and Atlanta.

These were the general plans. The specific movements must now be determined. Sherman was left to determine his own. On April 1st Grant visited Butler at Fortress Monroe. He had previously determined that he should move along the south side of the James and upon Petersburg. The threat on Richmond would be as direct as if a move were made on the north side of the river, and it would eventuate in cutting the railroads running into the Confederate capital from the south. Butler preferred this route also. Therefore Petersburg and the railways became his objective, for " with them in our possession," said Grant, " Richmond must fall."

Then as to the movement of the Army of the Potomac. Should it move by way of the enemy's left or right? By crossing the Rapidan above the enemy—that is, by a movement on his left—Lee would be cut off from all chance of ignoring Richmond and making a diversion to the North. But then there would be no base of supplies, and no possibility of co-operating with Butler on the James. To move by the enemy's right—that is, to cross the Rapidan below him—would secure a base of supplies at Brandy Station, as well as on the Rappahannock, York, and James rivers, should the army fight its way thus far.

By April 29th his mind was fully made up to move by his own left and on to the enemy's right, to start with fifteen days' rations, to bring Meade's and Butler's forces together on the James. This determination he at the proper time communicated to his subordinates and to the authorities at Washington. It has been much commented on by military martinets, as has his entire " on to Richmond " move. The best answer to all comments is that it succeeded, while every previous plan

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failed. That it was full of natural and artificial difficulties from the start, many of which might have been avoided by taking a water route as in the Peninsular Campaign of McClellan, none doubts. But the fate of McClellan, Pope, Hooker, Burnside, and in part that of Meade, ought to enter into every consideration of a choice of ways and employment of means. The fact was that the Wilderness proved the only real obstacle. The deep, marsh-bordered rivers, which were regarded as so capable of defence, which *were* defences in themselves, turned out to be the least formidable things in the way. The Rapidan, North Anna, Panumky, Chickahominy, and even the James, were crossed by the Federal armies without loss. Lee made no defence of them. And, really, Grant anticipated this, for he saw that in order to defend them Lee would have to so scatter his forces as to place himself at the mercy of the grand central column which Grant had determined to keep ever active and aggressive. Besides, every other route uncovered Washington, and no other was free from objections which grew more formidable the longer they were considered. Grant's route gave him freedom to manœuvre and fight, test his strategy and exhaust his enemy. If victory came it would mean something; if defeat, he would still have weakened his foe, and any line of retreat would necessarily be a short one.

To be always in sight of Lee on that dangerous ground, and in that delicate situation, so near the national capital, within such easy striking distance of the North, was a determination full of military wisdom. And then to engage him often, to fence with him, to demoralize by bold strategy, to keep him on the alert and on the defensive, to take and hold fresh bases, to drive ever toward his capital and centre—these were far more effective in the end than any indirect and inconsequential schemes of invasion, however brilliant they might have been in conception, or however they may have subscribed to the book-theories of learned professors.

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Grant's preparations during April were somewhat interfered with by a small faction, in and out of the army, that regarded him as inferior in ability to some of his predecessors in command of the Eastern departments. He was looked upon by such as more fortunate than able, and as victorious only because he had not yet contended with the best generals on the Confederate side. There must be no combat with this sentiment, however much it happened to be in a minority. But to work around it, to get it pacified and where it could do no harm, was difficult. He exercised his power of supreme command so as to keep clear of bitter complications on this account, and insure as united and hearty a support as possible.

And then it was not all plain sailing in the field. The Confederates, taking advantage of the climate, were on the move earlier than his own forces. Forrest, with a large cavalry force, had penetrated West Tennessee and Kentucky and captured Union City, and the town but not the fortifications of Paducah. He then threw himself on Fort Pillow and massacred its garrison of seven hundred men, mostly colored troops. Sherman sent a force against him and drove him south of Tennessee. Grant had decided on the evacuation of Plymouth and Washington in North Carolina, as places of no military importance. They were given up on the 22d of April, or rather their garrisons had been so reduced as to make them an easy prey to Confederate attack. This encouraged the Confederates greatly; besides, their loss looked like disaster to those ignorant of Grant's plans, or who were anxious for something on which to rest criticism and censure.

GENERAL FORREST.

But by far the most embarrassing situation arose in Louisiana. Halleck had, even a year before, fully committed Banks

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to the remote Red River Expedition. In Grant's mind it was only scattering troops and indulging a craze. He had felt this particularly when called upon at a critical moment to send a corps to Banks' relief, and afterward when the remoteness of these troops beyond the Mississippi, and the greater importance attached by Halleck to the Red River scheme, frustrated his proposed movement on Mobile.

By the time Grant assumed command of all the armies, March, 1864, Banks was so far on with his movement on Shreveport that a recall would have been foolish or fatal. Therefore Steele was ordered to help him with his Arkansas forces, and A. J. Smith, who had been detached from Sherman, was ordered to stay till the fate of Banks' expedition was known. At the same time Banks was ordered to push his enterprise with all his might, so as to send Smith back to Sherman as soon as possible, and free his own forces; for, said Grant, "I look upon the conquering of the organized armies of the enemy as being of vastly more importance than the mere acquisition of territory. It may be a part of the spring campaign to move against Mobile. It certainly will be if troops enough can be obtained without embarrassing other movements."

On March 28th Grant learned that Banks, who was to meet Sherman's force at Alexandria on the 17th, had not left New Orleans on the 19th. He immediately proposed a new department, so as to secure a general who would obey his orders better. His proposition did not meet with favor at Washington. Then on the 31st of March Grant's orders to Banks were to push with all energy, so that a force of twenty-five thousand men at least could be thrown against Mobile by the 1st of May. Word came back which filled Grant with apprehension. It was to the effect that after the capture of Shreveport he (Banks) intended to turn his attention to Texas. Not trusting further to hazardous messengers, Grant sent to Washington for General

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Hunter, and dispatched him to Banks with full and peremptory instructions. They were to the effect that if after the capture of Shreveport he had turned toward Texas, he should retrace his steps at once and concentrate for the proposed move on Mobile. Hunter was to stay to see that the Mobile expedition was put under way.

Three days after Hunter started, word came that Banks had been defeated near Pleasant Hill, and forced to retreat to Grand Ecore with the loss of his supplies. Thus the Red River expedition terminated in disaster. Grant felt greatly chagrined, for now Sherman could hope for no help from Banks. The large force of the latter, thirty thousand strong, would be neutralized for the balance of the season. All Grant's suggestions as to a change of officers west of the Mississippi were ignored, and he was forced to leave the situation there wrapped in cloud, in order to hasten final preparations for his immediate spring campaigns.

Word was coming in that his plans were being met with great promptitude. Gillmore reported that his troops had been withdrawn from the Carolinas. Butler was massed at Gloucester Point, on the York river, as if a movement on Richmond, north of the James, were intended. On May 1st, Sigel reported the occupation of Winchester. Crook and Averill were well on toward the Kanawha. Sherman reported his army as ready to move from Chattanooga. Burnside was ordered into position between Bull Run and the Rappahannock, close to Meade's rear. A fleet of iron clads was sent to the James to co-operate with Butler.

A little flurry occurred when Sigel reported that Lee was moving into the Shenandoah Valley, evidently bent on another invasion of the North. "Let him go," said Grant; "I will follow with force enough to prevent his return South." It turned out that the forces Sigel had seen were those of Longstreet, on their way from East Tennessee to join Lee.

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At last the mighty machine was ready in all parts to move. Rain, and a backward, cold spring had postponed the final order for some days, but at length there went forth from the silent man at Culpeper word which was to put to final test the armies and causes of the respective governments. Never such a big fate hung on one man's word.

To Butler, "Start your forces on the night of the 4th, so as to be as far up the James as you can on the morning of the 5th of May." To Halleck, "When we move from here cannot the bridges between Bull Run and the Rappahannock be held by troops from Washington?" To Halleck, again, "Say to Burnside not to leave his position between Bull Run and the Rappahannock before May 5th." To Sherman, "Get your forces up, so as to move by May 5th. All will strike together." To Meade, "You will move according to the orders issued." To Burnside, on the 3d of May, "All General Meade's troops will be away from Brandy Station to-morrow morning." Finally to Halleck, at 12.30 P. M. of May 3d, "This army moves to-morrow morning."

That night, at Culpeper, Grant detailed all his plans to his staff. It was a lengthy, earnest, momentous consultation. The plans were so comprehensive, the results which hung on them so stupendous, the chances so various, the obstacles so formidable, that no one man was buoyant, though all were trustful and determined. Grant's spirit was the least moved among them, and his vision was the clearest.

Two days before, he had received the following from the President:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,

"*Washington*, April 30th, 1864.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT: Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way, my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon

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you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or the capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting, which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know.

"And now, with a brave army and just cause, may God sustain you.

"Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

Grant's reply was:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,

"*Culpeper Court House, Va.*, May 1st, 1864.

"THE PRESIDENT: Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future, and satisfaction for the past, in my military administration, is acknowledged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed. From my entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day, I have never had cause of complaint —have never expressed nor implied a complaint against the administration or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty. And since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility, and the importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

"Very truly, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

Thus the political and military chieftains of the nation entered harmoniously and supportingly upon this momentous campaign, each conscious of their desire to do right, whatever might betide; each relying on the bravery and discipline of their soldiers; each trusting in that overruling Providence which establishes the just cause even at the expense of anxious delay and much sacrifice.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE WILDERNESS.

IN the previous chapter we saw why Grant determined to cross the Rapidan below Lee's army, and move by his right flank. Bearing this in mind, let us see how, with what force, and against what opposition he did it.

In counting men and comparing forces, the reader must remember that Confederate official figures show only the men of a command present and fit for duty on any given date. The Federal official figures show all the men enrolled on any given date. The latter figures are therefore always in excess of the men actually present and fit for duty. The per cent. of this excess can be safely set down at about eighteen. Thus Grant found an enrolled army of 662,345 men on May 1st, 1864, but an equipped and dutiable army of 533,447, a difference of over eighteen per cent. This was the entire Federal forces in all the Departments.

Lee's army, called the Army of Northern Virginia, occupied during the winter and spring of 1864 a fine defensive position on the south bank of the Rapidan. Its right rested on Mine Run, its left on the foothills of the Blue Ridge. Ewell, with one of the three corps into which the army was divided, held the right, protected by Mine Run and by an almost impenetrable tangle of pine woods, called the "Wilderness," which extended for many miles south. Hill held the left with another corps, well protected by the Blue Ridge and the Rapidan. J. E. B. Stuart had command of the Confederate cavalry. The third infantry corps, commanded by Longstreet, lay in the rear,

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among the hills at Gordonsville. Besides the Rapidan, with difficult fords and steep banks, the entire front of this army was artificially well protected by lines of breastworks, which made a successful front attack impossible. Its strength was 75,391 men, as nearly as may be, with probably 224 field pieces.

The strength of the Federal army, including the Army of the Potomac, 97,273, and the Ninth Corps, 19,613, was, on the morning of May 4th, 1864, 116,886 men, with 322 field pieces.

ORGANIZATION OF ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

Commander, MAJ. GEN. GEORGE G. MEADE.

Artillery, Brig. Gen. Henry J. Hunt.	1st Brigade,	Col. J. Howard Kitching.
	2d "	Maj. John A. Tompkins.
	1st "	Horse Art., Capt. John M. Robertson.
	2d "	" Capt. Dunbar R. Ransom.
	3d "	Light, Maj. Robert H. Fitzhugh.

SECOND ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. W. S. HANCOCK.

First Division, Brig. Gen. Francis C. Barlow.	1st Brigade,	5 Reg'ts,	Col. Nelson A. Miles.
	2d "	5 "	Col. T. A. Smyth.
	3d "	6 "	Col. Paul Frank.
	4th "	6 "	Col. John R. Brooke.
Second Division, Brig. Gen. John Gibbon.	1st Brigade,	8 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. Alex. S. Webb.
	2d "	5 "	Brig. Gen. Joshua T. Owen.
	3d "	9 "	Col. Samuel S. Carroll.
Third Division, Maj. Gen. David B. Birney.	1st Brigade,	9 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. J. H. H. Ward.
	2d "	9 "	Brig. Gen. Alex. Hays.
Fourth Division, Brig. Gen. Gershom Mott	1st Brigade,	9 Reg'ts,	Col. Robert McAllister.
	2d "	8 "	Col Wm. R. Brewster.

Corps Artillery Brigade, 11 Batteries, Col. John C. Tidball.

FIFTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. G. K. WARREN.

First Division, Brig. Gen. Charles Griffin.	1st Brigade,	9 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. R. B. Ayres.
	2d "	5 "	Col. J. B. Sweitzer.
	3d "	7 "	Brig. Gen. Jos. J. Bartlett.
Second Division, Brig. Gen. John C. Robinson.	1st Brigade,	4 Reg'ts,	Col. Samuel H. Leonard.
	2d "	6 "	Brig. Gen. Henry Baxter.
	3d "	4 "	Col. A. W. Dennison.
Third Division, Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford.	1st Brigade,	6 Reg'ts,	Col. Wm. McCandless.
	2d "	5 "	Col. Jos. W. Fisher.
Fourth Division, Brig. Gen. Jas. S. Wadsworth.	1st Brigade,	7 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. Lysander Cutler.
	2d "	5 "	Brig. Gen. Jas. C. Rice.
	3d "	5 "	Col. Roy Stone.

Corps Artillery Brigade, 11 Batteries, Col. Chas. S. Wainwright.

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SIXTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. JOHN SEDGWICK.

First Division, Brig. Gen. Horatio G. Wright.	1st Brigade,	6 Reg'ts,	Col. H. W. Brown.
	2d "	4 "	Col. Emory Upton.
	3d "	4 "	Brig. Gen. David A. Russell.
	4th "	5 "	Brig. Gen. Alex. Shaler.
Second Division, Brig. Gen. Geo. W. Getty.	1st Brigade,	5 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. Frank Wheaton.
	2d "	5 "	Col. Lewis A. Grant.
	3d "	5 "	Brig. Gen. Th. H. Neill.
	4th "	4 "	Brig. Gen. Henry L. Eustis.
Third Division, Brig. Gen. Jas. B. Ricketts.	1st Brigade,	5 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. Wm. H. Morris.
	2d "	6 "	*Col. Benj. F. Smith.
	*Relieved, May 5th, by Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour.		

Corps Artillery Brigade, 9 Batteries, Col. Charles H. Tompkins.

CAVALRY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

First Division, Brig. Gen. A. T. A. Torbert.	1st Brigade,	4 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. Geo. A. Custer.
	2d "	4 "	Col. Thos. C. Devin.
	3d "	5 "	Brig. Gen. Wesley Merritt.
Second Division, Brig. Gen. David McM. Gregg.	1st Brigade,	4 Reg'ts,	Brig. Gen. Hen. E. Davies, Jr
	2d "	7 "	Col. J. Irwin Gregg.
Third Division, Brig. Gen. James H. Wilson.	1st Brigade,	4 Reg'ts,	Col. Tim. M. Bryan, Jr.
	2d "	4 "	Col. Geo. H. Chapman.

NINTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

(Not under Meade, but operating with Army of the Potomac.)

First Division, Brig. Gen. Thos. G. Stevenson.	1st Brigade,	6 Reg'ts,	Col. Sumner Carruth.
	2d "	3 "	Col. Daniel Leasure.

Two Batteries of Artillery.

Second Division, Brig. Gen. Robert B. Potter.	1st Brigade,	6 Reg'ts,	Col. Zenas R. Bliss
	2d "	6 "	Col. Simon G. Griffin

Two Batteries of Artillery.

Third Division, Brig. Gen. Orlando B. Wilcox.	1st Brigade,	6 Reg'ts,	Col. John F. Hartranft.
	2d "	5 "	Col. Benj. C. Christ.

Two Batteries of Artillery.

Fourth Division, Brig. Gen. Edward Ferrero.	1st Brigade,	4 Reg'ts,	Col. Joshua K. Siefried.
	2d "	3 "	Col. Hen. G. Thomas.

Two Batteries of Artillery.

Corps Artillery (Reserve), 6 Batteries.

Cavalry, 3 Regiments

Provisional Brigade, 3 Regiments, Col. Elisha G. Marshall.

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The preponderance of men and artillery was, therefore, on the Federal side. The advantage of defensive lines, made almost impervious by art and nature; of short inner movements nearer the centre of a military circle· of familiarity with topography and strategical positions, was with the Confederates; quite enough so, be it supposed, to equalize the numerical strength of the two armies.

Grant's decision to move by Lee's right plunged him directly into the "Wilderness." It was not an attempt to pass the enemy's right flank and to avoid it It was a threat upon it with the intention of forcing Lee to change his front, and of engaging him in battle away from the fortifications on the immediate south side of the Rapidan. Grant knew that Lee could not possibly remain within his works when the Federals were marching by his right, without abandoning his lines of communications and supplies. Either battle would become compulsory, or Lee's retreat inevitable. For the former, Grant was fully prepared, and that he invited, even amid the obstacles of the Wilderness.

It should be understood that Grant's superintendence of operations was general. All orders for the Army of the Potomac were passed to and through Meade, and he was left as free as possible to provide for details. Thus the precise order in which the army should cross the Rapidan was arranged by Meade. The points selected were Germanna and Ely Fords, and the march was to be into the Wilderness by the roads nearest to the Confederate lines. The troops were to carry fifty rounds of ammunition each, three days' rations, and to take along three days' beef on the hoof. The supply trains were loaded with ten days' forage and subsistence.

About one o'clock on the morning of May 4th, Wilson's cavalry Division (3d) was ordered to move from Stevensburg, cross the Rapidan at Germanna Ford, cover the construction of pontoons at that point, and clear the way for Warren's coming.

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As soon as Warren's corps (5th) was across, Wilson was to push to the old Wilderness Tavern and thence to Parker's Store, scouting the country in all directions, and gathering all the information possible of the enemy's movements. Warren followed closely with his corp, and by noon his advance had reached Wilderness Tavern at the crossing of the Orange Turnpike and Germanna Ford roads, where he bivouacked for the night.

Warren's corps was followed closely by Sedgwick's (6th), which crossed the pontoons during the afternoon of the 4th, and encamped before dark a mile beyond the river.

Gregg's division of cavalry (2d) was ordered to move to Ely's Ford, further down, cross, and do the same for Hancock's corps that Wilson had done for Warren and Sedgwick. Hancock followed him closely, found the pontoons laid, and crossed without opposition, encamping on Hooker's old battle ground, near Chancellorsville. Torbert's division of cavalry (1st) was to cover the trains in the rear of the army, which were all well across by nightfall. Then he was to report to Sheridan at Chancellorsville.

At 8 A. M. of the 4th, Grant left his head-quarters at Culpeper, and rode toward Germanna Ford, which he crossed after the Fifth Corps had passed. His appearance in the midst of his moving troops was the signal for almost continuous cheering. The day was fine, the marching smooth and the men in excellent spirits. They would fight under their new commander, or else all signs go for naught.

The movement was evidently a surprise to the Confederates. But it did not take so able a general as Lee, long to understand the situation. By mid-day his signals from an elevated station were read by the Federals. They ran to the effect that Mine Run must become their line of operations. This would make the Confederate army face east instead of north, and while it rendered the Rapidan defences useless, would give them a

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strong front on Mine Run and the Wilderness. Grant's whole move along the Germanna Ford road had taken place about ten miles distant from, and quite parallel with, Mine Run.

As soon as Grant discovered Lee's design, he knew it meant fight. But that was what he was there for. He dispatched to Burnside at 1.15 P. M. to start from Warrenton with his corps (9th) immediately and "make forced march until you reach this place. Start your troops now, the rear as soon as they can be got off, and require them to make a night march." And at the same time one to Halleck, "Crossing the Rapidan effected. Forty-eight hours will demonstrate whether the enemy intends giving us battle this side of Richmond. Telegraph Butler that we have crossed the Rapidan."

Grant considered this successful crossing as of great importance. He had not expected to cross without stout opposition, which the Confederates were in every way situated to make. Three times before, the Federal armies had been on the south side of that stream, each time to meet disaster. What would the fourth time bring? The first great obstacle had been surmounted. The morning of the 5th of May awoke on ninety thousand to one hundred thousand men in a Wilderness, to be sure, and not in order of battle, yet so disposed that to prepare would be easy and to support each other a matter of certainty. There were no dangerous gaps in the columns, no treacherous loop-holes for an enemy to crawl through, no fag ends to be picked up in an unguarded moment. Even the heavy trains and weightier artillery had not been allowed to cut up the roads and clog the marching by crossing at the two fords, but had crossed, and were still crossing, on a heavier bridge at Culpeper Mine Ford, so that the army should be well between them and the enemy.

On the night of the 4th, Grant and Meade, whose headquarters were contiguous, discussed the plans of the morrow. What a thrill must have passed through the severely knit

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frame of the General-in-chief as despatches arrived from Sherman, Butler and Crook, announcing that they too were on the move! The silent, directory spirit of four armies, separated by thousands of miles, each with a momentous duty to perform, and all aggregating hundreds of thousands of men, must have received a new inspiration amid the lonesome shadows of the Virginia pines, as it realized that at last the powers of the country were grandly co-operating for its preservation.

Grant's position was doubly dangerous. The natural obstacles were formidable. If Lee should suddenly face eastward and attack, he would strike the Federals on their flank, and sever their corps and divisions. It was therefore very necessary to observe Lee closely. It was ascertained that on the afternoon of the 4th his army was well in motion, Ewell marching eastward on the Orange Turnpike, and Hill on the plank road, while Longstreet was coming from his camp near Gordonville. By nightfall Ewell had crossed Mine Run and bivouacked four miles beyond and within five miles of Warren's corps.

Grant's orders for the 5th did not contemplate a battle on that day, but they changed the original line of march, and amounted to a disposition of forces for a fight. The whole army was faced westward to resist attack should it come. Wilson, with his cavalry, moved at 5 A. M. to Craig's Meeting House on the Catharpen road. Warren moved his corps at the same hour toward Parker's Store, with orders to connect his right with Sedgwick, who was to march up to the old Wilderness Tavern. Hancock was ordered to move from Chancellorsville to Shady Grove Church, at the junction of the Catharpen and Pamunkey roads. Burnside, when he arrived, was to occupy the space between Sedgwick's right and the Rapidan. Sheridan was to throw the main body of his cavalry well to the left and rear of Hancock. The army

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GRANT AND MEADE AT THE WILDERNESS. 247

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would then be in a position to receive an attack, make one, or resume its southerly march.

Even before this disposition of forces could be completed, it was discovered that Lee had bent every energy to strike Grant's flank ere he could dispose himself for battle. The roads running eastward from Orange Court House, and crossing Grant's line of march at right angles, favored his design. Warren's forward movement had scarcely begun before the enemy were uncovered in force. One regiment of Wilson's cavalry had been swept away. Warren's covering division, Crawford's, was quickly deployed for action. Information of the situation was sent to the rear.

Orders came from Meade to Warren to force the fighting and develop Lee's strength and intention. Word was sent to Hancock to halt at Todd's Tavern and await developments. Sedgwick was ordered to push westward from the Germanna road and connect with the Fifth Corps, on the Orange pike. Grant came to the front with Meade, and the two took position on a knoll in an open space near Wilderness Tavern.

By noon the position of the enemy was sufficiently made out to warrant attack. Warren ordered Griffin's and Wadsworth's divisions into action. The enemy's force in front was Ewell's. The Federal assault was determined and successful, though made through thickets that prevented any kind of order. The Confederates were driven back nearly a mile, pursued by Griffin's division. But Sedgwick's corps, owing to the density of the woods, had not yet pushed forward sufficiently to connect with Warren's right, occupied by Griffin. This officer, therefore, found his flank exposed, especially, since he had gone on in advance of the lines. The Confederates seized this opportunity to rally and attack. They made a merciless onslaught on Griffin's exposed right, forced him back rapidly, and captured two guns and a number of prisoners. Wadsworth was also driven back, and Crawford was thus left in a nearly

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isolated position, and suffered a severe loss of men, mostly as prisoners. There was a decidedly panicky condition throughout the divisions of Warren's corps at this juncture. Everything was rendered very uncertain by the peculiarity of the ground, and the impossibility of alignment and concert, owing to the thick dwarf pines and absence of roads. But, fortunately, the Confederates were in no condition to follow their advantage. They had evidently been surprised at finding a battle forced on them, while, as yet, unprepared for it. They stopped pursuit and began to entrench for the purpose of holding what they had recovered. As it turned out they were in really a desperate strait, for Ewell was on the Confederate left, and had it been turned as the Federal assault presaged, Lee's whole army would have been in danger.

When Grant was informed of the Federal repulse, he rode immediately to Warren's position. Such a glance as could be had through thicket and overhanging smoke told the necessity of holding it at all hazards. The lines must close promptly there. It would be a centre commanding the Orange turnpike. Sedgwick could make it strong on the right. Hancock, who was already past Todd's Tavern on his way to Shady Grove Church, could be whirled in on the left by way of the Brock road, and thus the lines would stretch across the Orange plank road. Burnside would make a strong reserve as soon as he was entirely across the Rapidan. Therefore, Grant issued urgent orders through Meade to all these corps commanders—to Warren to hold his central position, to Sedgwick to make strong and prompt connection on Warren's right, to Burnside to make all haste with his reserve corps, but especially to Hancock to push with all energy back and westward, so as to close the ugly gap which existed between Warren's left and his right. The Orange plank road ran directly through this gap, and along it the Confederate Hill was driving his corps with great rapidity. The only obstacle to him was Getty's division

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of the Sixth Corps, which had been thrown out along the Orange plank road, to its junction with the Brock road, with orders to resist the Confederate advance as stoutly as possible, and until Hancock should have time to come up to his support.

GEN. A. P. HILL.

Hill dashed ahead, expecting to completely turn the Federal left at this point, but he encountered Getty, who stood obstinately in his way, and fought him with such desperation as to prevent him reaching the Brock cross road and marching north against Warren's left as he had designed. This gave Hancock time to get up. He fortified and held the line of the Brock road and made close connection with Warren, thus becoming the left of the Federal army, and presenting a firm obstacle to Hill's further advance along the Orange plank. It was now 4.15 in the afternoon. Word came to Getty to attack Hill, and to Hancock to support him with his entire corps. Then began a determined advance through thicket and over brush. The lines of battle were close, and friend and foe were often mixed in the dense forest mazes. Birney's and Mott's divisions were ordered in by Hancock at once, and soon his entire corps was in the midst of the fray, and entirely outside of its line of works on the Brock road. Hays was killed and Getty was wounded, but refused to leave the field. For hours the infantry firing was incessant, and the issue doubtful. It was apparently a life and death struggle with muskets and rifles in that lonely forest, for neither cavalry nor artillery could be brought into effective service.

And it was not only on Grant's left and with Hill that the battle raged. Warren's corps breasted a fresh storm from Ewell, and Sedgwick's on the right had been ordered in to turn the Confederate left, just as Hill was attempting to turn

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the Federal left. Night was coming and neither force was making headway. Grant ordered Wadsworth's division, and Baxter's brigade of Robinson's division, toward Parker's Store to relieve the pressure on Hancock. Guided only by the compass or the sound of battle where apparently hottest, they made tedious and imperilled headway, as a band of skirmishers rather than a formidable force. It was night when they arrived in front of Hill, and the sounds of battle had ceased.

Wilson, with his cavalry, had been isolated by Hill's march along the Orange plank. Sheridan expected he would return by a detour to Todd's Tavern. He sent Gregg there to meet him. It was a fortunate move. The Confederate cavalry, moving from Hamilton crossing on the railroad running south from Fredericksburg, had struck Wilson on his detour, and a hot fight had taken place. Wilson had cut his way through, and was pushing for the tavern, followed by the enemy. On Gregg's arrival, they turned on the pursuers, and after a severe action drove them entirely off. Sheridan now concentrated so as to hold the country from Shady Grove Church to Todd's Tavern, proceeded to cover the roads running to Spottsylvania Court House, protect the Federal left, and guard the supply trains in the rear.

GEN. WILSON.

Thus this day of hard conflict and great uncertainty ended. Night gave time for reflection, consultation and much needed rest. It was evident that two stubborn armies were firmly set face to face, and that hours of hard fighting had yielded nothing that looked like decided advantage to either. Yet there were results of mighty moment to Grant and his army,

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as well as to the country. The Lieutenant-General had been in contact with the ablest Confederate leader, and had not been sent back across the Rapidan, but was yet squarely before him, a match for him in daring and speed of execution, a foil upon his wisest strategy, an equally daring, speedy and original propounder of counter tactics. The movement across the Rapidan had brought Lee out of his works with his entire strength and rendered them useless, had forced him into new positions, had reduced his advantages to a minimum. And then when he attempted to strike Grant's flank by rushing Ewell along the Orange pike, he was anticipated and checked. He was equally foiled when he attempted to push Hill by way of the Orange plank road on to what was supposed to be an undefended and open Federal left. Every gap had been filled in time, and every flank had been converted into a serried front. But there was one advantage yet with the Confederates; they knew this terrible fighting ground.

What of the morrow—the 6th? Grant and Meade came together after nightfall. Both were well aware that the battle had only begun. Word came in that Longstreet was making forced marches along the Orange plank road to support Hill. It was therefore Lee's intention to overwhelm the Federal left and turn the army in a disorganized mass back upon the Rapidan. But Burnside too was coming up to the Federal support with the fresh Ninth Corps. It was even now coming. By morning it would be nearly all there, or ought to be. As fast as it came it was thrown into position between Warren's left and Wadsworth's right, so as to pierce the Confederate centre at a time when it was thought it would be weakened to support Hill, or perhaps to prevent his being reinforced. Getty was to remain with the Second Corps while Hancock attacked with his entire line, Wadsworth was to attack Hill's left, Warren and Sedgwick were to engage along their entire front, to prevent reinforcements being sent to Hill. It made all the

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difference in the world who attacked first. At least this was Grant's theory. His tactics had ever been to make his moves a counter to the enemy's designs. Persuaded beyond all peradventure of Lee's intent to make a morning onset upon Hancock and the left, he would anticipate it by an onset upon Hill and the Confederate right. He would make it early, first. The order therefore was to attack at half past four. It began at five.

But Longstreet was not yet quite in position. In order to disguise this fact Lee ordered Ewell to attack the Federal right at an hour quite as early. Wright's division of the Sixth Corps withstood him. The battle swept rapidly along Sedgwick's lines to Warren's. The Federals gained ground, and Sedgwick's whole corps advanced some two hundred yards where it encountered the enemy behind a line of temporary breastworks thrown up the night before. This checked further advance, but the battle was kept up throughout the day on this part of the lines, amid all the uncertainties of a veiled situation.

Off to the left things were more desperate. Hancock had moved with precision along both sides of the Orange plank road. He was not in such force as he expected to be, for it had been found that Longstreet had turned off the Orange plank road and was coming on the Catharpen road, further south, and almost directly on his flank. Barlow's division and all the artillery were detached to stop this and protect the defences on the Brock road. Still Hancock moved promptly with his remaining force, and Getty's division first struck Hill's columns directly. After a fierce and general encounter the Confederates were driven back toward Parker's Store, in great confusion. Many prisoners and flags were captured, and the enemy's dead strewed the ground. Hancock halted to reform his troops, disordered by the pursuit through the pines and scrub-oaks. This halt unfortunately gave Longstreet time to swing back to Hill's aid.

The most anxious moments of the day were now on. Sedgwick

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on the right was holding tenaciously. Warren in the centre had been involved and one of his brigades had given way, but the disaster had been quickly repaired. Burnside was coming tardily up with his corps, so that the gap between the Second and Fifth, Hancock's and Warren's, was not, as yet, strongly bridged. Stuart's cavalry was in hot action with Sheridan, off to the extreme left at Todd's Tavern, which fact served to keep up the impression in Hancock's mind that a part of Longstreet's force was still bent on attacking his flank from the Catharpen road. Grant and Meade were intent on studying the situation, the former unmoved, but supreme in intuitional perception and decisive action.

If only Burnside would crowd that centre and make it strong for aggressive purposes the day might end gloriously, for Lee's centre must now be weak, since everything was turned to Hill's account. It was not to be so. Longstreet was now up and on Hill's right. He moved directly on Hancock's left front. When that officer perceived this he ordered Gibbon to bring in his left, which extended back to the Brock road, and come to his support. But too much time had been lost by the halt. Longstreet's attack was furious and persistent, or rather the attack of Hill reinforced by Longstreet. Mott's division to the left caught its full force and fury, then Getty's, and so the entire line of the Second Corps, including Wadsworth's division of Warren's Sixth Corps. For hours it was a determined and bloody struggle, the Federals slowly and stubbornly receding. Little by little, step by step, they lost the ground gained in the morning, and found themselves back on the line of the Brock road, which, as has been seen, Hancock had happily fortified with temporary breastworks. During this contest Wadsworth was killed and Longstreet badly wounded. Lee took Longstreet's place in person and, consolidating his forces, again hurled them with reckless impetuosity against Hancock. The woods in front were on fire, through which, and the dense

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smoke, the Confederates pushed, resolved to capture the Brock road defences. They broke them in one or two places held

GENERAL LONGSTREET.

by parts of Mott's and Birney's divisions, but not sufficiently to prevent Hancock reforming his tired and shat-

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tered forces and checking further Confederate advance. Carroll's brigade dashed in from a reserve position, swept the enemy from the breastworks, and inspired fresh confidence in the Federals. Still the front was uncertain by reason of undergrowth and smoke, to which approaching darkness added gloom. Hancock therefore ordered Leasure's brigade of the Ninth Corps, then temporarily under him, to sweep the entire front. This he did with great spirit and success, marching along the entire front, at a distance of one hundred paces from the Federal breastworks, till he crossed the Orange plank road.

Hancock's front was now clear. Yet the long, anxious day's work was not done. It will be remembered that as Burnside crossed the Rapidan he would naturally fill the space between Sedgwick's right and the river. But the order for him to march up and take position in the centre, between Warren and Hancock, left Sedgwick's right in the air. To be sure Grant had ordered him to fortify it so as to make it strong. But just before sunset Ewell centered upon its extremity and made a bold push to turn it. The fighting was desperate for nearly an hour. Seymour's and Shaler's brigades were thrown into confusion and both generals captured with a large number of prisoners. For a few moments it looked as if Sedgwick could not save his corps. But he lost no time in throwing his imperilled right back and re-establishing his line so that it stopped the fury of the onset. This ends the events of the 6th in the deep mazes of the Wilderness, if we except the fact that Sheridan, after a sharp engagement with Stuart, off in the direction of Todd's Store, had been ordered not to risk too much, but rather to hold well to Chancellorsville in order to keep the trains and supplies in the rear well covered; and the further fact that during the day Grant had ordered the destruction of all the bridges across the Rapidan except that at Germanna ford. The army had come south of the river to stay. Knowledge of a safe bridge in the rear is an

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awful inducement to panicky retreat in case of defeat, and a terrible invitation to a scouting enemy.

Now darkness settled down and put a stop to the carnage. It had been a day of heavy losses to both armies. The hosts lay confronting each other on nearly the same ground they had occupied for twenty-four hours. Grant was not through the Wilderness, but neither was he back over the Rapidan. Lee had not pierced his flanks nor turned his wings, but was compelled, himself, to draw away from the front and back behind his breastworks. His brilliant designs of the morning had come to naught by night. The fighting had been the fiercest of the war. Grant admitted that he had seen nothing like it, not even at Shiloh.

While there was not that about the day which could be called a victory by either combatant, Grant was satisfied. After ordering support to Sedgwick, he went to sleep as contentedly as if all his cohorts had been victorious. He had defeated all the cherished plans of the able Confederate leader. He did not expect to annihilate his army on its own ground, but he knew that he had inflicted losses on it equal to his own. It was no place for either rapid or brilliant results, no place for manœuvres and tactical experiments. The thing was to anticipate an offensive enemy, and if possible run counter to it, which Grant had done on both the 5th and 6th; and after that to hold every force well in hand and keep it in solid mass so that to beat against it would be like charging unto death.

In hauling off his forces along his entire line and placing them well away from the Federal front and behind their defences, Lee confessed that his plans had been thwarted, that he had found his superior in pluck and generalship, and that offensive operations must be turned into something more wary and conservative. The 6th of May may be said to have disillusioned him as to Grant's genius and power, and he never afterward undertook a movement on so rash and bold a scale as

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that designed to crush Grant in the Wilderness and to make an end of his army and campaign at a single blow.

On the morning of the 7th, at an early hour, Grant threw out skirmishers a distance of a mile and a half to feel for the enemy, but they discovered no aggressive movement from Sedgwick's right to Hancock's left. The entire Confederate army had withdrawn behind its works and showed no disposition to renew the contest. Sheridan sent Wilson from Chancellorsville toward Germanna Ford to see if the enemy were interjecting himself between Sedgwick and the river. This space was clear. By noon Warren pushed his corps forward to reconnoitre in force. There was some sharp firing, but no firm opposition. Lee had definitely abandoned his offensive movements. He, of course, could not be attacked in his invisible entrenchments. The battle of the Wilderness was over.

The losses on the Federal side in this three days' fight made up from regimental returns, as stated by both General Badeau and Humphreys, were 2,265 killed, 10,220 wounded, 2,902 missing, most of the latter being prisoners. The Confederate losses are not definitely known, but there is no reason to suppose they were less than those of the Federal force.

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CHAPTER XIV.

SPOTTSYLVANIA.

AFTER feeling the Confederate lines on the 7th of May, 1864, and finding that Lee did not accept the offer of battle, Grant was at liberty to think that his front was free from further danger. He could not hope to assume a successful offensive with those interminable fastnesses of pines and scrub oaks before him, in the midst of which, and beyond, the Confederates were safely ensconced behind breastworks.

What should be done now? To retain that position was useless. It was no part of Grant's plans to remain idle. He had set his head toward Richmond. He must not give Lee a chance to escape him, nor to out-manœuvre him. He must not be thrown on the defensive. Confident of his strength, he must have opportunity to wield it on an open and more favorable field. He had drawn Lee from his stronghold south of the Rapidan, and neutralized his fortifications. He would again draw him from his stronghold in the "Wilderness," and along Mine Run, and thus neutralize his natural advantages of position. It was a bold scheme and full of danger.

Was anything transpiring to help his determination? Yes. Word came that Butler had landed his whole force at City Point, completely surprising the enemy; also that Sherman was advancing on Johnston and expected to give battle on the 7th. Knowing that Lee would not remain long inactive, thinking it possible that he might be inclined to hasten to Richmond on account of the threatening aspect of affairs on the south of the James and determined to not let him escape with his army,

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Grant resolved to swing his whole army to the left and south, one step nearer the James, into a more open country, and past the enemy's extreme right. He could thus insert himself between the Confederates and their capital, a thing they could not afford to permit. He could, further, hasten his proposed co-operation with Butler.

On May 8th he wrote: "My effort will be to form a junction with Butler as early as possible, and be prepared to meet any enemy interposing. My exact route to the James, I have not yet distinctly marked out." It should be always in mind that Grant was constantly receiving word of the movements of Sherman, Butler, Sigel and his other generals at remote points, and that the movements of the army, under his own eye, were as co-operative with those of his other armies as their's were expected to be with his.

The orders for this gigantic and perilous movement went forth at 3 P. M., of May 7th. Success depended on secrecy and dispatch. Warren's Fifth Corps was again to take the lead. He was to withdraw from his central position and move by the Brock road, in the rear of Hancock, who was to hold his place till the corps was entirely past. Then Hancock was to follow, while Sedgwick and Burnside were to move by way of Chancellorsville and Piney Branch Church. The trains, which were centred at Chancellorsville, were to move to the left of all. Sheridan had been sent during the afternoon toward Todd's Tavern to clear the way for Warren, and had had a severe and successful engagement with Stuart's cavalry. In the evening, Grant and Meade made their way along the Brock road, where Hancock's corps lay. Their presence was the signal for cheering by the tired and wounded veterans, who now realized that they were not to retreat, but that the movement was to be in the direction of Richmond.

All were now ready. Spottsylvania Court House was the destination, fifteen miles south. All night the troops and

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trains engaged in tedious, slow march, for the ways were few and crowded, and Sheridan, owing to the length and sharpness of the cavalry contest with Stuart, had not succeeded in getting possession of the salient points along either the Catharpen road, or that running from Shady Grove to Spottsylvania. What was worse, the movement of the trains in the afternoon, which had been reported to Lee, gave him the impression that Grant was about to retreat to Fredericksburg. In anticipation of this, he hurried Anderson, now commanding Longstreet's corps, toward Spottsylvania from Shady Grove Church, and even ordered Ewell to Todd's Tavern by way of the Catharpen road. Thus he had ordered his corps to the very destinations and partly over the same roads that Grant had his. This, Sheridan, partly through opposition from Stuart, and partly through change of orders from Meade, did not discover in time to prevent Merritt, who covered Warren's advance, from coming in contact with Stuart's cavalry in such force as to stop all progress until relief came through Warren's head division under Robinson.

By this time Anderson had reached a point just north of Spottsylvania, where the Brock road and that from Shady Grove meet. This obliged Wilson's cavalry to evacuate Spottsylvania. Anderson fortified his point, and lay in wait for the Federal approach. Soon Robinson appeared, and was met with a murderous fire, which drove him back in confusion. Warren came upon the scene to find the enemy in force and strongly posted right across his path to Spottsylvania. Jaded as his troops were with their all night march, and almost continuous fighting since daybreak, he threw Griffin's division forward on Robinson's right. This division met with the same hot reception. Crawford's division and Cutler's (formerly Wadsworth's) were now brought into line, the gallant Warren heading a brigade in person, and after a severe fight the Confederates were repulsed on both their wings. Warren then straight-

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ened his lines and made them firm, preferring not to risk another assault till he should be reinforced.

Hancock had been halted at Todd's Tavern to guard it against Hill's approach up the Catharpen road. Sedgwick had arrived at Piney Branch Church. Burnside was at Aldrich's on the left. When it became known that Warren was confronted, Sedgwick was sent to his support with all haste, and with the hope that he and Warren would be able to crush Anderson before the rest of Lee's army could get to him. Burnside and Hancock were also notified to be ready to move.

Early's division of Ewell's corps was reported as close to Todd's Tavern on the Catharpen road. Hancock at once sent out a force to meet him and protect his flank. He succeeded in checking his progress, and Early, finding his point of destination occupied, withdrew. When Sedgwick reached Warren, an attack on Anderson was ordered. But it was late and the attack feeble, so nothing was gained by it. By this time Lee had become aware of the intent and magnitude of Grant's movement. He knew that Spottsylvania and not Fredericksburg was his objective, and that a daring flank movement and not a retreat was in progress. As Anderson was, by sheer accident, directly across Grant's line of march to Spottsylvania, that was the point for concentration, that the line to sustain. It was a good one for defence, and would force the Federals to assume a most difficult offensive, if they ever got through it at all.

Meade was very apprehensive of his flank at Todd's Store. He kept Hancock there so long that Lee's work of concentration went on rapidly and without further molestation, faster even than that of the Federals after it once began in earnest. The evening of the 9th of May, 1864, closed with Lee making all haste to occupy the position so happily secured by Anderson, and Grant using every endeavor to bring his army into a solid confronting line.

The scene was some two miles north of Spottsylvania.

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A ridge stretched from the Ny to the Po, which are here about four miles apart. It was not a rugged ridge, but rolling and heavily timbered, affording excellent opportunity for purely defensive operations. The two rivers formed safe barriers for the flanks. The morning of the 9th would find the enemy in possession of this formidable barrier to further southern progress.

It was not as Grant nor any of his men would have had it. That all felt a sense of disappointment over the prospect was nothing more than natural. But it could not be helped now. Grant was not discouraged. He was not even put out with the delays and errors of the previous day nor with the greater blunders of the enemy which fate had turned to their profit. He faced the situation with a full sense of its gravity and with that same command of self and all the forces and energies of the hour which had ever characterized him amid emergency. As occasions rose, no matter how desperate, he always rose with them. In all his military history he was never outgeneraled by adversity.

When the morning of the 9th came Lee lay stretched from the Ny to the Po, in a semi-circle about Spottsylvania, commanding every northern road to the town. Anderson held his left extending to the Po with Longstreet's old corps. Ewell held the centre, facing north and east. Hill came in on the right so as to guard the Fredericksburg road and the Ny crossings.

Warren remained in his position of the day before, opposite Anderson. Sedgwick lay to his left, and Hancock occupied the Federal right, though holding rearward along the Brock road as far as Todd's Tavern. Burnside left one division at Piney Branch Church to guard the trains. The rest of his corps was moved toward Gate's so as to cover the extreme Federal left. This disposition brought the two armies into close fighting proximity. Lee was busy fortifying, Grant

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looking out for a weak spot to strike. The former was clearly on the defensive, the latter actively offensive, or soon to be.

Where now was Sheridan? At noon on the 8th he had been placed under orders to strike Lee's rear, cut communications, and when out of forage, to make for the James, replenish out of Butler's stores, and return to the Army of the Potomac. There was to be neither peace nor safety for Richmond and the enemy's rear so long as Grant was in command.

Grant's headquarters were immediately in Warren's rear. During the afternoon of the 9th, while engaged in examining the Confederate lines, General Sedgwick of the Sixth Corps was killed by being struck full in the face with a bullet. The grief throughout the entire army occasioned by this loss was profound, for he was a steady, brave and able soldier and one much beloved. Grant regarded his death as a greater disaster than if he had lost an integral part of his army. He was succeeded by General H. G. Wright of the First Division.

GEN. SEDGWICK.

Early's disappearance from the Catharpen road and Hancock's flank or right, enabled that officer to extend and strengthen his position. He swung his right wing around till it struck the Po. Burnside pushed Wilcox's division down to the Fredericksburg crossing of the Ny, on the extreme left. It succeeded in getting south of the stream, and soon had a good position there. The wings of the enemy were thus well enveloped and for a very wise purpose.

Grant had perceived all day that Lee was gradually pushing troops toward his right on the Ny and in the direction of Fredericksburg. He interpreted this to mean that Lee was anxious to turn his left and throw himself between Grant and

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Fredericksburg. This would have been disastrous to the Federal trains and supplies. With equal skill, and as a perfect counter, Grant, over and above the precaution of preventing this disaster by pushing Burnside well to the left, resolved on the demonstration on his right, which Hancock so vigorously executed. It had the desired effect, for it brought Early from Lee's right to his left. Lee saw quite too plainly that any advantage to him by being between Grant and Fredericksburg would be far more than counterbalanced by permitting the Federal army to whirl by his left and on to Richmond.

On the morning of the 10th, Hancock forced his demonstration on the right by crossing the Po with Brook's brigade of Barlow's division and parts of Birney's and Gibbons' divisions. They found the enemy strongly posted on the rising ground beyond the river and did not attack. Meanwhile it had been decided to attack from the centre. Therefore Hancock called in his forces beyond the Po. This was the signal for a furious charge upon them by the Confederates. But the charge was resisted, and the difficult task of crossing a deep stream on a retreat and under fire was successfully achieved, though not without heavy losses on both sides.

In order to relieve the struggling forces of Hancock, Warren made an assault on the Confederate centre, aided by Wright, which was unsuccessful except for the information gained of the ground. He tried another diversion intended to clear the ground in his front of the almost impenetrable underbrush. But this too failed. Yet his voice favored the third and grand assault for which all were ready by 4 P. M.

The brunt of this was to be borne by Wright's and Warren's corps and Gibbon's and Mott's divisions of Hancock's corps. The point of attack was a densely wooded hill in front of Warren, crowned with earthworks and subject to cross and enfilading fires of both musketry and artillery. The approach was

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through a dense growth of dead cedars whose sharp, interlacing branches made progress almost impossible. Grant and Meade stood on an elevation to watch the charge, but, as in the Wilderness, the thicket and smoke obscured everything. Warren's men struggled manfully through the forest depths amid a fearful fire. At one or two points they scaled the heights and entered the enemy's breastworks. But the fire was too terrific to be withstood. They wavered, fell back through enfilading volleys, and were lost in retreat through the thick woods which, to add to the horror of the situation, suddenly took fire, smothering the wounded in smoke or burning them to death. Fortunately the enemy showed no disposition to pursue, but hugged their works closely.

Further to the left and in front of Wright's corps was an impenetrable morass. A little to the left of this and in front of Russell's division a weak spot was discovered in the enemy's lines. A storming party of twelve picked regiments was formed for an attack on this point. It was led by Col. Upton of the 120th N. Y. Volunteers, supported by Mott's division of the Second Corps. Late in the afternoon he led them on, formed in four lines. The men rushed forward as if inspired, climbed the hill in the face of an incessant fire, broke through the enemy's breastworks, and captured a brigade of infantry and a battery of artillery. Here Upton turned his victorious forces right and left, and drove the enemy along his entrenchments for a quarter of a mile either way. But Mott was too slow with his support. Upton held on till nightfall and then withdrew, his gallant soldiers weeping at the thought of losing what they had so hardly earned. He brought his prisoners off, but left the captured guns behind.

Hancock now came to the centre with Birney's division. A furious cannonade was kept up all the time that Warren was reforming his broken forces. At half past six the undaunted Fifth with two divisions of the Sixth were led to another

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assault. Again they penetrated the pine recesses, again emerged in front of the enemy's breastworks, and again broke them in many places, only to be forced into retreat. Generals Stevenson and Rice were killed, and the losses were heavy on both sides. This assault was made before Upton withdrew, and it was designed to help him to save what he had gained.

On the extreme left Burnside had pushed his Ninth Corps well up on the Confederate right, and had in reality turned it. But he had thus isolated himself from the other corps, and was forced to contract his lines, thus losing what might have been a grand opportunity to demoralize the enemy's flank.

When the shades of the 10th of May, 1864, settled on that ghastly field, there was little room for congratulation over successes by either of the armies. True, Lee was in his breastworks, but they had been broken again and again. He had made no offensive movement, had not even overwhelmed Barlow, when only two brigades with a deep stream to cross were exposed to his whole left wing. Grant's confidence remained unshaken. He knew the full meaning of Lee's caution, and felt that it was a confession of his inability to cope with the Federal forces in an open field. He was more than ever convinced of the bravery and sterling qualities of his trusted officers and their commands. Nothing could have exceeded the gallantry, persistency and impetuosity of their repeated charges, and but for the drawback of Mott's failure to come to time, and Burnside's tardiness in pushing his advantage on the left, Upton's splendid conquest would have been sustained, and both Warren and Hancock would have swept the Confederate breastworks in their last assault.

On the morning of May 11th Grant sent the celebrated dispatch to Halleck which gave the country the assurance that there was a master in the field south of the Rapidan. It ran: "We have now ended the sixth day of very hard

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fighting. The result to this time is much in our favor, but our losses have been heavy as well as those of the enemy. We have lost to this time eleven general officers, and probably twenty thousand men killed, wounded and missing. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater. We have taken over four thousand prisoners, while he has taken from us but few, except a few stragglers. I am now sending back to Belle Plain all my wagons for a fresh supply of provisions and ammunition, *and propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.* . . . I am satisfied that the enemy is very shaky, and are only kept up to the mark by the greatest exertions on the part of their officers, and by keeping them entrenched in every position they take."

And fight it out he did, against obstacles which to almost any other general would have seemed insurmountable. There came in on this day inspiriting news from Butler, to the effect that he had cut the communications south of Petersburg and had defeated Hill at that place. "General Grant will not be troubled with any further reinforcements to Lee from Beauregard's forces." But what if Lee should fall back rapidly and strike an overwhelming blow at Butler? To keep him everlastingly engaged was Grant's first preventive. Second, Sheridan must, by this time, have greatly interfered with the possibility of such a disaster. Yes, for word came at a later hour that the cavalry had destroyed ten miles of the Virginia Central Railroad, with cars, engines, telegraph wires, a million and a half of rations, and nearly all the medical stores of Lee's command.

The 11th was spent in reconnoitering. Lee's right swung off so as to conform to the direction of the Ny. Hancock was ordered to move his corps, as soon as night came on, to the rear of Warren and Wright and over to the left, so as to join Burnside in a morning attack on the angle in Lee's right. Burnside was notified and urged to be ready. Warren and

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BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT HOUSE.

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Wright were to keep their corps as close to the enemy as possible, so as to take advantage of any weakening of his lines in their front.

Hancock formed with Barlow's and Birney's divisions in front, the latter supported by Mott's, with Gibbon's in reserve. The front was a steep and thickly wooded slope, with a clearing about the angle in Lee's line. The direction had to be taken by the compass. At 4.35 on the morning of the 12th the order to advance was given. Barlow's columns marched solidly over the enemy's pickets without firing a shot. Birney's made way with more difficulty through marsh and wood, but kept well up. Once through these difficult approaches. the two columns pushed at quick time up the slope, and when half way up, burst into tremendous cheers. Then taking the double quick without orders, they rolled like an avalanche over the breastworks, tearing away the abattis, engaging in fierce combat with bayonet and clubbed musket, and finally establishing themselves within the fortified lines. Barlow and Birney entered simultaneously. They captured thirty field guns, four thousand prisoners, including two generals, Johnson and Stewart, several thousand stand of arms, and upwards of thirty colors. The Confederate surprise was complete. Their broken columns fled, pursued by the Federals toward Spottsylvania, till checked by an inner line of entrenchments. Hancock quickly apprised Grant of his success. This was at 5.45 A. M.

Grant immediately sent the news to Burnside and urged haste. That officer was on the move as early as Hancock, with Potter's division in front, supported by Crittenden, and with Wilcox in reserve. Potter had forced the fighting up to the Confederate lines, beyond the angle, and had carried a portion, but could not hold them. By 6.15 Burnside reported that he had made a connection with the Second Corps on the left face of the angle. Hancock, from the other face, sent for

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reinforcements. But Grant had anticipated him by ordering the Sixth to his support. Now Johnson was brought a prisoner to Grant. While talking with him, word came from Hancock, "I have finished up Johnson and am now going for Early." Soon another came, "Have taken three thousand prisoners and turned the enemy's guns on themselves." An entire division had been captured, including the famous "Stonewall" brigade.

GEN. "STONEWALL" JACKSON.

Again Grant urged Burnside to push so as to keep up connection with Hancock. And when informed that he (Burnside) had lost connection with Hancock, Grant hastily pencilled the reply: "Push the enemy; that's the best way to

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connect." Hancock's corps needed repairing for further action. Perhaps the Sixth should have been up by this time, or near enough to have made its presence felt. This would have simplified Hancock's task of reforming; at least, it would have prevented Lee from doing the same. Lee got his men in line again, heavily reinforced, and knowing the critical nature of the situation hurled them mercilessly on Hancock. The Federals fell back to the breastworks they had captured in the morning, and lined either side of the salient or triangle, where they turned the works the enemy had constructed against the builders. Here they held defiantly against repeated assaults. Wright came upon the scene with his corps. He at once occupied the captured works on the right of the salient, and his men were hardly in position when they too became the object of a furious assault. Mott's division, which formed Hancock's right, joined the Sixth at the salient, Birney holding the captured entrenchments on Mott's left, with Gibbon next and Barlow on the extreme left. Hancock brought his artillery up and, posting it on a high spot behind, played it over the heads of his own men into the enemy's ranks. Still the Confederates assaulted again and again, and the Federal troops at length ran out of ammunition. They were relieved by fresh ones, and held on to the breastworks in spite of the fierce and reckless charges of their foes.

When Grant dispatched Wright directly to Hancock's aid, he at the same time, as has been seen, urged Burnside to co-operate with all his might. Warren too had been ordered to attack along his front as a means of relief to Hancock. Though this order was issued soon after Hancock had notified Grant and Meade of his success of the morning, Warren seemed to drag in his preparations and onset. Both these generals were greatly chagrined at this delay, and at 10.40 A. M. Grant directed Meade in writing: "If Warren fails to attack

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promptly, send Humpreys to command his corps, and relieve him."

This unusual manifestation of anxiety on the part of Grant showed how keenly alive he was to the situation and how much he appreciated the importance of Hancock's foothold within the enemy's lines. As Sherman said at Chattanooga: "The secret of the confidence your officers repose in you (Grant) is that they know you are thinking of them wherever they may be." A dispatch of a very peremptory kind was also sent to Burnside, to the effect that he should advance at once or send his troops directly to Hancock. But Burnside was really doing better than any one knew. He had found his ground difficult, and a strong and well-protected enemy in his front, whom he resolutely engaged and against whom he had made headway notwithstanding one or two repulses. He held the foe to their front all the morning and afternoon, and thus kept them from concentrating against the Federal centre.

Warren was at last ready and made, at first, a formidable demonstration on the enemy's left, but without success. This was followed by three other less spirited charges, none of which made an impression on the enemy's strong lines. Grant now broke up the Fifth Corps for the day, sending Cutler's division directly to Wright and Griffin's to Hancock, leaving Warren with the rest to hold what was now the right of the Federal army. Strange to say the enemy took no advantage of this new disposition of forces, which confirmed Grant in the impression that their left had been really weakened for the purpose of concentrating against Hancock and Wright.

Lee made five distinct assaults on Hancock's and Wright's positions during the day. Fighting was never closer nor harder. Flags were often borne to within a few paces of each other, and the fire was so sharp and concentrated as to riddle the trunks of large trees till they fell. The whole forest was blighted, and the dead were piled up three and four deep

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where the lines came in close contact. Night did not bring cessation. The assaults weakened, but a murderous fire was kept up till near midnight, when the Confederates sullenly retired to their inner lines, leaving the Federals to hold the positions they had gained in the morning. It was raining now, and both armies sought such rest as they could find, after an incessant musketry fire of nearly twenty-four hours.

The losses of the 12th were heavy on both sides, and probably equal. Lee lost four thousand prisoners and thirty cannon. He made his inner line strong, so that the Federal successes were moral rather than tactical. Yet the day had given strong proof to Grant of the quality of his men and especially of his officers. His dispatch to Washington ran: "The eighth day of the battle closes, leaving between three and four thousand prisoners in our hands for the day's (12th of May) work, including two general officers and over thirty pieces of artillery. The enemy are obstinate, and seem to have found their last ditch. We have lost no organization, not even that of a company, whilst we have destroyed and captured one division (Johnson's), one brigade (Dole's), and one regiment entire of the enemy."

The next day Grant nominated Wright, Gibbon and Humphreys major-generals of volunteers, and Caroll and Upton as brigadiers; while Hancock was named for the grade of brigadier-general in the regular army. The same letter said: "General Meade has more than met my most sanguine expectations. He and Sherman are the fittest officers for large commands I have come in contact with." He then advised their promotion to major-generals in the regular army.

General Grant did not rest on that night of May 12th, nor any of his staff, till orders for the 13th were issued. His mind was quickly made up what to do. If Lee was about to slip away, he would know it. If not, he must fight on a new line. His partly turned right must be wholly turned. The main

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ON TO RICHMOND.

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roads from Spottsylvania to Richmond must be threatened—captured if possible. The fact is, Grant was going to Richmond. Lee was in the way. He could not march over him. Therefore he would fight him and march or manœuvre round him. Headway must be made somehow, for were not all Grant's armies moving to one point—the Confederate capital?

Burnside was ordered to try the enemy's right at half-past three in the morning. Meade was instructed to "push to see what they were doing." Therefore, the whole Federal front made as lively and early a move as was possible under the circumstances. It was found that the Confederates were busy strengthening their inner lines. The remainder of the 13th was dedicated to burying the dead and caring for the wounded. Mott's division was consolidated with Birney's.

Meade was ordered to withdraw Wright and Warren, after dark, from their positions on Hancock's right, and send them to the left of Burnside, the two corps to attack as soon as they were in line. Now, Burnside had crossed the Ny, and was really facing westward. To throw two corps on his left would change the whole Federal line to a north and south one, extending from the salient held by Hancock to, possibly, the river Po, with Spottsylvania westward from its centre.

The two corps moved amid a terrific rain storm, which swelled the Ny, filled the marshes, and made the roads almost impassable. The Ny had to be forded in its swollen condition, for there were no bridges. It was daylight before these commands reached their destination, and by this time the ground was so sodden, and the rain was beating so mercilessly, that an assault was out of the question. Warren took position on Burnside's left, and the Sixth Corps held the extreme left of the army. Wright had some fighting to get his lines established, but succeeded without much loss.

Here, then, was an entirely new position for the day (May 14th). The movement forced Lee to shift his strength toward

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his right to meet the threat. This left the lines in front of Hancock comparatively deserted. Taking advantage of this, Grant threw Hancock to the rear of his centre, as a reserve, and with orders to move either to the right or left, as emergency might require. Birney's division, however, still remained on Burnside's right. On the 15th and 16th, all army operations were suspended, on account of the rains and terrible condition of the ground.

But good word was coming in to Grant from other fields. On May 15th, word came from Averill that he had cut the East Tennessee railroad at New river, and destroyed a depot of supplies at Dublin, West Virginia. Also, from Butler, that he had carried the works at Drury's Bluff, an important outpost of Richmond. On the 16th, Sherman reported the evacuation of Dalton by Johnston, and that he was in pursuit. Sheridan reported that he had destroyed both the Virginia Central and Fredericksburg railroads for miles in the rear of Lee; had fought, routed and killed Stuart, the best cavalry leader of the Confederacy, and had carried the outer lines of Richmond. There was consternation in Confederate circles. The authorities were not only frightened, but fell to accusing one another of incompetency and treachery. The President prepared for flight.

On May 17th, Wright was ordered to demonstrate on the left, and if ground were gained Hancock was to swing to his support, or, if possible, further around on Lee's right. But the country in front was found too difficult, on account of dense undergrowth. So both the Second and Sixth were ordered to make an all-night march to the right again, and an early attack, on the 18th, from the position captured on the 12th. Burnside was to support and Warren to enfilade with his artillery. The enemy had made his inner line of defences unexpectedly strong. The assaulting corps made a gallant charge, but could not break the slashings, or penetrate the abattis.

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They made several gallant attempts to break the obstructions, but were forced to give up the impossible task. By 10 A. M.

GEN. J. E. B. STUART.

of the 18th, the action was over. The base of supplies had been changed to Acquia Creek Landing, the northern terminus

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of the Fredericksburg railroad. This bespoke the use of that road for some purpose.

The 18th was a gloomy day for General Grant. Do his best, he could not budge Lee from his strong defensive and inner lines. Word came that Sigel had been beaten at New Market, in the Shenandoah Valley, and was retreating to Strasburg. Though Halleck, when sending this word, advised Sigel's removal, Grant simply asked that all the forces he (Sigel) could spare be taken from him and sent to the Army of the Potomac, leaving only enough behind for strictly defensive operations in the Valley. Sigel's defeat was a source of great regret to Grant, for he had just sent word to Halleck to order him to push to Staunton, and effect a junction with either Crook or Averill.

GEN. SIGEL.

Butler reported that he had been attacked at Drury's Bluff, and forced back to his fortified lines. Here was a list of misfortunes calculated to unnerve the strongest. They gave rise to a series of new emergencies, which called for the wisest generalship and most heroic action. On May 18th, after the unsuccessful assault by his right, he mapped to Meade the work of the 19th. Wright and Burnside should hug the enemy's works as closely as possible, and as if about to attack. On the night of the 19th, Hancock should swing to the entire left, strike the line of the Fredericksburg railroad, and, in connection with a strong cavalry force, make his way as far toward Richmond as possible, fighting, if need be. This would draw Lee out of his works. Then the other three corps were to follow as quickly as possible, and to attack before the enemy had time to entrench. Strategy was to do what direct assault could not achieve.

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Lee evidently surmised something of the kind. At any rate, he made a strong counter movement on Grant's right, by means of Ewell's corps, which came out of its fortifications, crossed the Ny, and made a furious attack on Tyler's division, which was in reserve, and was composed of untried troops. A wagon train was captured, and Tyler's forces were at first thrown into confusion. But he quickly rallied them and, assisted by parts of the Second and Fifth, which were promptly sent to his relief, and by Ferrero's division of colored troops, drove the enemy back into his lines again, retaking the lost wagons.

Again Grant was overwhelmed with bad news, and this time from Banks. He ordered that he be superceded. But his order had been anticipated by creating a new district in Louisiana and Texas, and placing Major-General Canby in command. Worse news, too, came from Butler. This made Grant most anxious to reach the James, to look into the situation himself, and make his co-operation as speedy and effective as possible. Hunter was placed in charge of affairs in the Shenandoah Valley, with orders to defend it, and push to Staunton, if possible.

As it was not until nightfall of the 19th that Ewell was repelled and things straightened upon the Federal right, this postponed the contemplated movement to the left that night. Hancock therefore appeared, on the morning of the 20th, in his old place on the enemy's front. The army was glad for a day's rest. It had been on the move, amid all kinds of obstacles, and through terrific fighting, for fifteen days, with very few opportunities for even brief repose.

The Federal losses around Spottsylvania, from the 8th to the 21st of May, were 2271 killed, 9360 wounded, 1970 missing. Those of Lee's army, outside of the 4000 prisoners taken, are unknown. That they were heavy must be conceded, and probably they very nearly equalled the Federal losses.

Sheridan's operations had meanwhile been perfectly success-

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ful; he had scoured the country south of Lee, destroyed railroads and supplies, fought and defeated Stuart, ridden into the outer fortifications of Richmond, and dashed through White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, and on to Haxall's Landing, where he communicated with Butler at Bermuda Hundred. The raid proved that the Federal cavalry was under good leadership—superior to that of the Confederates—and it improved the tone and fighting qualities of the troopers, so as to fit them for that conspicuous part they were to play in the after history of the war.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE NORTH ANNA.

GRANT'S greatest fear was now, and had been for some days, that the defeat of Sigel and Butler would enable the enemy to detach reinforcements from in front of these officers to Lee. We shall see how well he counted.

The Fredericksburg railroad runs from Aquia creek landing on the Potomac, through Fredericksburg, to Richmond. Two miles south of the North Anna river it crosses the Virginia Central, also running to Richmond. The point of crossing is Hanover Junction, one full of strategy, for it commanded the line of Confederate supplies from the West and South. Lee could reach this point by the telegraph road in twenty-two miles. Grant would have to deflect eastward till he reached the Fredericksburg railroad, and march by it to the North Anna, a distance of thirty-three miles. Lee's line of march would therefore again be an inner one, and the shorter by ten to fifteen miles.

The orders for the morning of the 20th were reissued for the morning of the 21st of May. The Ninth and Sixth were to hold hard to Lee's front, while Hancock's Second and Warren's Fifth swung to the left and got far enough to the south to interpose between the enemy and the North Anna. Hancock was to strike the railroad at Guinea Station and march to Bowling Green, then to Milford, and take a position south of the Mattapony, fighting his way, if need be. He started at daylight and arrived at Milford before night. Here he met a brigade of Beauregard's command on its way from

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Richmond to join Lee. The defeat of Butler at Drury's Bluff had made this possible. The brigade was quickly driven back and the bridge across the Mattapony secured. Warren followed as closely as possible. Lee was on the alert, but was not bold to take advantage of this daring movement. He knew the value of his inner lines and of a studied defensive, and on these the Wilderness and Spottsylvania had taught him to rely as his only means of safety—these and a Fabian policy.

On the night of the 21st Grant's headquarters were at Guinea Station. At this exposed point, with no corps near except Warren's, in danger of being cut off by Confederate cavalry, he read Lee's signals, which told him that his movements had been discovered, and that even now steps were being taken to circumvent them. The utmost skill and precision were therefore necessary on Grant's part, for of all army movements that of a flanking operation in the presence of an enemy is the most hazardous.

GEN. HANCOCK.

Where were his other two corps? Burnside had been ordered to leave the Spottsylvania front as soon after Warren as he could, and to march directly south to Thornburg on the Ta. But if the enemy opposed his crossing of the Po at Stannard's Mill, as was expected, he was to deflect to the left and follow Hancock and Warren. Burnside found a strong Confederate force at Stannard's, and so turned to the left on the route taken by the Second and Fifth. It was now evident that Lee was making the most of his inner line of march, and would in all probability reach the North Anna first.

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Meanwhile, at Spottsylvania, an attack had been made on the Sixth Corps, which remained to hold the old Federal lines. It was doubtless a trial of their front by the enemy to see what force yet opposed them there, for it was not a determined attack, and was easily repulsed by Russell's division. On the morning of the 22d, Burnside reported at Guinea Station, and Wright's Sixth was following as the rear guard of the army.

Hancock had been halted at Milford till all the corps could get up. Once within supporting distance, Warren's Fifth was thrown off to the right toward the direct telegraph road, which it struck and found free from the enemy, Lee having already passed along it. Burnside was thrown out to the left. On this date Lee telegraphed to Richmond that he was at Hanover Junction and had heard nothing of the enemy east of the Mattapony. The enemy were already south and west of that stream and close on his rear. He was evidently massing to dispute a passage of the Pamunkey, whereas Grant was striking for the North Anna. He (Lee) was also now in receipt of valuable reinforcements both from the Shenandoah Valley and Richmond.

On the 23d the Federal army moved for the river. There were three known crossings, one at the telegraph road, half a mile west of the Fredericksburg railroad, one at Oxford three miles above, and one at Jericho, three miles above Oxford. Warren was to cross at Jericho ford; Hancock at the telegraph road bridge and extend his line east to the Fredericksburg railroad, while Burnside was to take the Oxford crossing. Wright was to follow and support Warren. It was known that Lee was south of the river, and a battle for the crossing was expected. But Lee had massed below, expecting Grant to strike the Pamunkey, which is formed by the junction of the North and South Anna below Hanover Junction. He therefore barely got up in time to dispute the passage of the North Anna.

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At noon Warren crossed, partly on a pontoon and partly fording, at Jericho. The opposition was brisk but soon overcome. By 5 P. M. he was well into position on the south bank, with Crawford on his left and Griffin in the centre. But as Cutler was taking position on the right, he was furiously assailed by Hill's entire corps. Meredith's brigade broke, and a general rout was threatened. But the broken columns were rallied and the attack was returned with such vigor as to repulse the Confederates with heavy losses in killed and wounded, and several hundred prisoners. The Fifth was then let alone.

As soon as the firing of the Fifth was heard, Hancock was ordered to advance and cross the telegraph road, or *County*, bridge. The Confederates had covered the bridge with a heavy line of breastworks. But the road and field in front were open. Birney was directed to clear the way. A splendid charge by Pierce's and Eagan's brigades, under cover of a heavy fire from the artillery of the corps, carried the entrenchments and sent the enemy pell-mell across the bridge. Many of them were drowned and hundreds taken prisoners. But it was now dark and Hancock did not force a crossing.

GEN. BIRNEY.

Burnside got tediously to Oxford crossing, but did not go over. He entrenched so as to hold the fording, and remained under orders to go either to Hancock or cross in the morning. Wright found his way to Jericho during the night and was prepared to support Warren. That night Grant telegraphed: "In the face of the enemy it is doubtful whether troops can be crossed, except where the Fifth and Sixth Corps now are."

But on the morning of the 24th there was a better outlook.

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The Confederates had withdrawn from Hancock's front and he crossed the bridge without opposition, taking his designated position with his left on the railroad, a half-mile below. Burnside could not cross owing to a heavy and advantageously posted force on the opposite side. Warren was directed to send Crawford's division down the southern side, and Hancock a force upward, to drive the enemy from Burnside's front. But these two forces could not effect a junction. Lee had assumed an exceedingly strong position, shaped like the letter V, with one side toward Warren, the other toward Hancock, and the apex toward Burnside and the Oxford fording.

Here another ford was discovered half way between Oxford and Jericho called Quarle's. Burnside was ordered to send Crittenden's division across it, which was to move down, in conjunction with Crawford of the Fifth, and drive back Lee's centre. Potter was to co-operate from Hancock's side. They found Hill's corps strongly entrenched at the apex of the V, and made a terrific assault upon it, but were repulsed with heavy loss, Leslie's brigade alone losing six hundred and fifty men, killed, wounded or captured. But the Confederates declined to pursue. Grant's position was now precarious. He could not bring his wings together, and either might be attacked. He therefore did not hesitate to throw away the results of the passage of the river, thus far, and issued orders to withdraw to the north side for a move in another direction. Just here, Lee played a poor part in what had hitherto been a magnificent game between the ablest generals of the respective armies. He had Grant's forces divided and on the hostile side of a difficult river. Not only this, but those divided forces were about to withdraw, and recross in retreat, the most difficult of all war operations, with an unbeaten foe lying behind breastworks close in their rear. Could it be? The withdrawal took place, and the recrossing, under the very eyes of Lee and his army, and they were not disturbed. The Federal losses

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from the 20th to the 26th were nearly twelve hundred in killed, wounded and missing.

Sheridan now appeared, after an absence of sixteen days, during which he had reached the James river, as has been seen. His return march was uneventful, and on the 24th of May he reported to Meade at Chesterfield, where the railroad crosses the North Anna. On the 25th he sent Wilson's division across the river on Warren's right to attract Lee's attention while the recrossing took place. The next day, May 26th, Torbert's and Gregg's divisions, supported by Russell's division of the Sixth, were sent down the North Anna to seize the crossings of the Pamunkey. By rapidly and skillfully executed movements they possessed and covered the principal fordings, and made such a demonstration as greatly favored the operations of the army. By the morning of the 27th the entire army was on the north side of the North Anna and in motion toward the new crossings on the Pamunkey, the Sixth leading, followed closely by the Fifth, Ninth and Second, in order, the whole covered by Wilson's cavalry. The main crossing selected was at Hanover ferry, close to Hanover town, which Sheridan and Russell already occupied. But other crossings were used. The distance from Grant's first crossing of the North Anna to Hanover ferry is thirty miles by the route taken. The distance from Lee's position to Hanover town is less than twenty miles. His inner line advantage was therefore a great one. He was aware of Grant's movement on the 27th, according to his own dispatches.

By nightfall of the 27th Grant's army, and its train of four thousand wagons, were within easy reach of the respective crossings of the Pamunkey. By noon of the 28th three corps were across, without an action, so perfectly had the preliminary operations been conducted. A line was formed a mile and a half out from the river, the Sixth holding the right, Hancock the centre, Warren's Fifth the left, and Burnside's Ninth, which

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had been consolidated with the Army of the Potomac and placed under Meade on the 24th of May, remaining on the north of the river to be near the trains. Thus the Federal army a third time executed with complete success one of the most difficult operations in war. In sight and within musket range of a powerful enemy it recrossed a difficult river in retreat, marched for forty hours by night and day, through dust and heat, and by unknown and dangerous roads, until it struck another stream, where its foe was unprepared, crossed without dispute, assumed a new position which compelled its adversary to abandon impregnable breastworks and fall back in haste to protect his communications and his capital.

This was strategy of the first order and, mingled as it was with dash and persistency, it is calculated to lift Grant's generalship to a height unreached by any officer of modern times.

The base of supplies, hitherto at Port Royal, was now ordered to White House on the Pamunkey, whither boats could come. White House is twenty-five miles down from Hanover town. In front of the army was a curious country, bottom lands chiefly, much of them covered with low pines, with swamps on either side of the sluggish streams, and especially to the south as the Chickahominy is approached. Just south of Hanover town is the Totopotomoy region, through which that creek winds slowly amid swampy surroundings.

From Hanover two fair roads run to Richmond, twenty miles away. Lee had lost every river barrier, except the Chickahominy. The great question with Grant now was whether he (Lee) would offer battle between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, or, falling behind the latter, fight only within the defences of Richmond.

A glance at the south side of the James is now in place. We know how rapidly Grant has been pushing thither, how he has been "fighting it out on this line," how he has been filling his part of the contract to keep Lee so busy as to prevent his

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sending any reinforcements to the army operating against Butler. How has Butler been prospering? How filling his part of the contract not to let reinforcements get from his front to Lee? How sustaining his boast that Grant need not fear any aid Beauregard could send to his opponent? How severing the railroads south of Richmond and capturing the place?

Before leaving Fortress Monroe Butler's force was thirty thousand strong, composed of two corps, Gillmore's Tenth, and W. F. Smith's Eighteenth; the former embracing Perry's, Ames' and Turner's divisions, the latter Weitzel's and Brook's divisions and Hink's brigade of colored troops. With a feint to the north side of the James, it was to move to the south side against Richmond, with a possibility of capturing it, for its defences were weakest in that direction, with the determination of cutting the railroads and holding Petersburg, and above all with the object of so engaging Confederate attention in that direction as to prevent Lee from receiving support. By and by Grant was to cut his way through to the James and unite with Butler, thus investing Richmond on its weak and vital side.

GEN. B. F. BUTLER.

All went well till he (Butler) was established at Bermuda Hundred. Here he lost his head. Instead of taking and holding Petersburg and controlling the numerous roads centreing there, he heard of Lee's retreat before Grant, and resolved to try for Richmond direct. This brought on the disastrous affair of Drury's Bluff by which Beauregard was enabled to drive him back to, and shut him up in, Bermuda Hundred for the season. This was on May 16th. Thus Richmond was entirely relieved, and Lee's army could be reinforced almost

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at will. Add to this the advantage received by Sigel's defeat in the Shenandoah valley, and one can imagine that Lee's heavy losses were being constantly made up to him. Grant therefore had to depend on his own genius and determination to get through with his herculean task. There was, however, a little gleam from the Valley, for Hunter, Sigel's successor, had taken the offensive, and pushed as far as Staunton where he joined Crook and Averill. The three destroyed many railroads and an immense amount of supplies, and their diversion would have been of great permanent value, but for Hunter's long and circuitous march and retreat by way of the Kanawha to the upper end of the Valley again, where he found all in confusion as before his start.

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CHAPTER XVI.

COLD HARBOR.

GRANT was in line south of the Pamunkey, on May 28th, and twenty miles from Richmond. He knew that Lee, having the inner lines of march on him, could confront him at any moment. Was he now to expect battle? Very likely; and if so, a severe one; for Lee could now draw on all his resources, and must act under the spur of desperation, for his capital was almost within sight.

The Federals must lose no time. If battle impended, it were best to give it before the Confederates could consolidate too heavily and entrench too strongly. The natural features of the country; the thick, bushy woods; the marshes of the Totopotomoy and, beyond, those of the Chickahominy, presented obstacles sufficiently formidable for the Federals to overcome, without the addition of long and secret lines of fortifications. So Sheridan was promptly (May 28th) ordered to make a demonstration in the direction of Hawe's Shop, and on toward Mechanicsville, to discover Lee's position. From this time on it will be noticed how admirably Grant handled the cavalry branch of his army, and what effective work it did under the intrepid leadership of Sheridan. Near Hawe's the

GEN. CUSTER.

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Confederate cavalry was encountered, under Hampton, Stuart's successor. Gregg's division attacked with vigor, and was roughly handled. Davies and Custer came to the rescue, and a sanguinary battle ensued, both sides fighting dismounted. The battle lasted until dark, and the losses were heavy on both sides. The enemy were driven off the field, leaving their dead behind. The army was pushed promptly forward to hold the conquered ground, which proved to be a valuable acquisition, as it controlled the road from Mechanicsville to Hanover Court House and Hanover Town. The same evening Lee was reported at Atlee's Station, evidently bent on keeping Grant north of the Totopotomoy.

On May 29th, the Sixth moved westward to Hanover Court House. No enemy was found. Hancock advanced toward the Totopotomoy; Burnside crossed the Pamunkey, and came up between the Fifth and Second. The whole front of the army had advanced three miles since morning. Lee was in force north of the Chickahominy, and covering the two railroads and three country roads leading to Richmond. There was to be battle, or else bright games of strategy. Already the latter had begun. Lee was slipping southeastward toward Cold Harbor and in the direction of the White House, Grant's base of supplies. This diversion on his left must be stopped. Sheridan was sent with two divisions of his cavalry to watch the enemy vigilantly. Grant had ordered to his support all the troops that could be spared from the south side of the James, and these, under Smith, were expected by way of the White House. It was therefore imperative that this point should be protected.

On May 30th, the Federal advance continued, with a slight shifting of positions. Lee lay behind the Totopotomoy, his lines extending from Atlee's Station, on the Virginia Central, well down toward Cold Harbor, which is half way from Richmond to the Pamunkey, and not far from the Chickahominy.

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The Sixth swung from Hanover Court House close up to Hancock's right. The two corps then pushed to the Totopotomoy creek; Burnside crossed, and Warren moved on the Mechanicsville road. Skirmishing was brisk all day. In the afternoon Warren struck Early near Bethesda Church. It was Lee's right. Early attacked furiously, in order to turn Warren's left. Grant saw it, and ordered Hancock forward as a relief. He advanced and carried an important line of rifle pits, which the enemy could not recapture. Warren recovered from his first staggering blow, made a spirited advance, carried Early's position, and drove him back a mile and a half. All the manœuvering and fighting of this day may be regarded as preliminary to the great struggle which both commanders knew to be close at hand. Positions were being developed and fronts ascertained. It was evident that there was a gradual shifting of scenes southeastward—Lee, in order to turn Grant's left and endanger his supplies; Grant, in order to circumvent it and get nearer to the James, his destination.

On the same day (May 30th), Halleck was ordered to have engineers and bridges sent to Fortress Monroe for use on the James; and on that date Smith arrived at the White House. He was ordered to march promptly up the south side of the Pamunkey, and join the Army of the Potomac. The Fifth now held the left of Grant's army on the Mechanicsville road; the Ninth was next; the Second next; the Sixth on the right, six miles south of Hanover Court House. Thus Lee's front was covered. The two armies fully confronted each other. The direction was northwest to southeast, the respective fronts extending about nine miles. Each commander was on the alert.

On May 31st, Cold Harbor became a conspicuous objective, a pivot of the respective wings of both armies. Sheridan advanced upon it with two divisions, and found it strongly defended by Confederate cavalry and infantry behind breastworks of logs

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and rails. He attacked, and after a severe fight drove them out. But they returned the attack with such vigor as to cause him to think it best to retire. Just then word came to him from Grant to hold Cold Harbor at all hazards. He immediately re-entered the contest, fought dismounted, turned the enemy's breastworks against them, and by nightfall was in full possession of the place again.

On hearing of this, Grant, who had expected an infantry battle for the point, ordered the Sixth from his right to Sheridan's support. Smith, now coming up the Pamunkey, was ordered to the same point, and to take position between Warren's Fifth and Wright's Sixth, the latter now being on the extreme left. The Sixth marched all night. Lee saw the manœuvre, and sent Anderson's corps from his left to his right at Cold Harbor. Thus, on the morning of June 1st, the two armies again confronted each other, and the lines were so close that the slightest changes could be detected, and even the giving of orders heard.

At a very early hour (June 1st), the Confederates renewed their assault on Sheridan in Cold Harbor. They were driven back twice, and Sheridan held on. By nine o'clock, Wright's Sixth put in an appearance, and Sheridan's conquest was made secure. Anderson's corps of Lee's army was now seen sweeping toward his right, past the front of the Fifth. Warren was ordered to set upon its flank. It was regarded as a good opportunity to destroy it. But Warren attacked only with artillery. Wright was to meet it in front, by swinging his left round. There was a loss of precious time, and the enemy took advantage of it to fall back and fortify, after withstanding a severe fire for a time, and losing a number of prisoners, as soon as they saw that Cold Harbor was effectually lost to them. Their lines were felt, and found to be strong. Grant was much disappointed at the results of the day thus far. It was well on in the afternoon. He had fully expected to thwart Lee's move-

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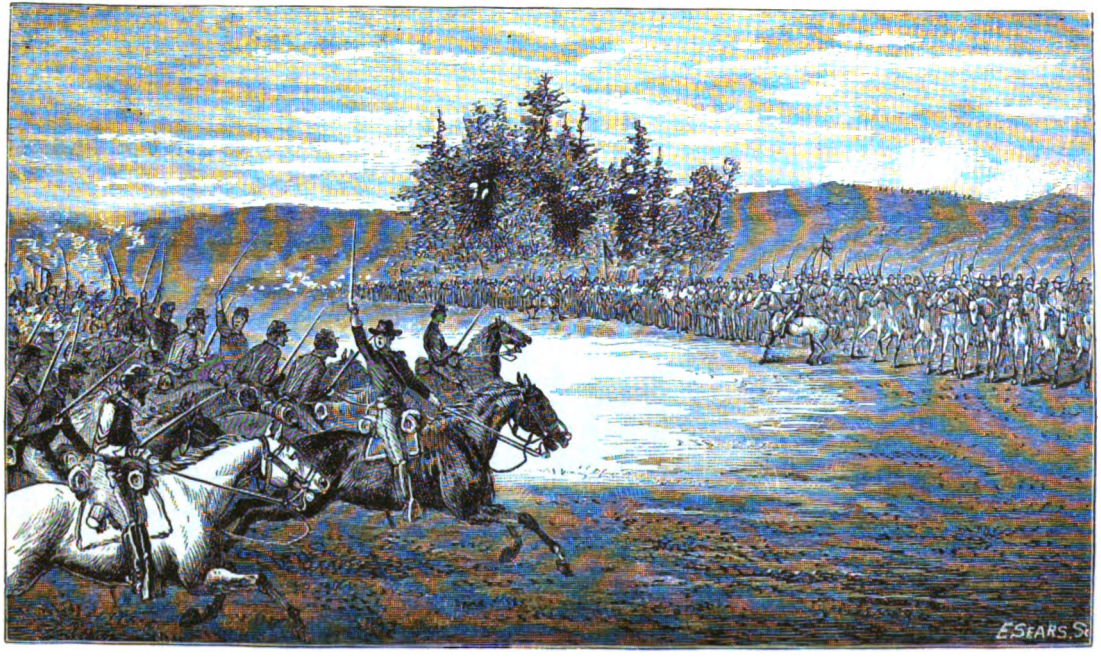

CAVALRY CHARGE.

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ment of Anderson to his right, by having Warren attack it in flank, and Wright and Smith in front. But the opportunity was lost. Smith was not even up yet, with his ten thousand troops. He had marched to New Castle, hugging the river, instead of to Cold Harbor. The wrong name had been inserted in the order by the dispatching officer. However, he did his best to recover lost time, and came upon the scene at three in the afternoon, after a rapid and hot march of twenty-five miles.

Lee had further extended his right by posting Hoke beyond Anderson. At five, Grant felt that his left, since the accession of Smith, was stronger than Lee's right. There was an open space in front, and Hoke and Anderson were not closely joined. Therefore a hopeful point of attack was presented. Wright's and Smith's forces were disposed and ordered to advance. They swept the open space in the face of a galling front and enfilading fire, and dashed upon both Anderson and Hoke. Wright captured the works in his front and five hundred prisoners, and sent back word that he hoped to extend his lines to the Chickahominy. Smith carried the line of rifle pits in his front, and captured two hundred and fifty prisoners. But both officers were now met by a second line of breastworks, which they could not force.

As a set off to these demonstrations the Confederates had made a determined attack on Warren's Fifth, and also on Hancock and Burnside. But all these corps held their ground solidly and administered terrible punishment to the enemy with grape and canister. Lee's efforts to regain the lost ground on his right, and if possible turn Grant's left, did not cease at nightfall, but were kept up till well toward morning. They however amounted to nothing in the way of conquest, and that skillful leader was forced to face the grim fact that he had permanently lost Cold Harbor and valuable ground beside. The gain to the Federals was momentous. They had saved their left, which Lee would have given half his army to have

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turned successfully. They had gradually narrowed the enemy's fighting ground north of the Chickahominy. They had secured the roads leading to the James below Richmond. The losses had been heavy, but the advantages far more than compensated for them.

Grant was quick to push his opportunity. That night Hancock was ordered to the left of Wright's Sixth. This would stretch the left of the army almost, if not quite, to the Chickahominy. But the weather was hot, the roads dusty and unknown, and the march was confused. Not until daylight of June 2d did he reach Cold Harbor, twelve miles from his starting point. His men were worn out and rest was necessary. Therefore the attack by the left which was projected for the early morning was forcibly suspended till the afternoon. This continued subtraction of force from the right of the army left it at Bethesda Church, which Burnside's Ninth held. It was marching southward by the curious and tedious process of swinging an extreme right wing continually to the extreme left. The fighting too was almost continuous, for the Confederates were always trying Grant's front to find out what he was doing. To be sure they tried cautiously, and never very effectively, yet often insignificant skirmishes rose to the dignity of sharp battles between opposing brigades and divisions. All in all it was simply wonderful how Lee adhered to his system of fighting only under cover and retaining a shrewd and stubborn defensive. In this generalship he was so persistent as to lose many brilliant opportunities, and it was to overcome this that Grant was compelled to resort to that splendid series of movements by his respective flanks which have no parallel in military history and by means of which he was constantly nearing his destination and effecting his daring purposes.

On June 2d Wilson returned to Grant's right from an expedition to destroy the Virginia Central as far as Hanover Court House, and thus to prevent any accession of strength to Lee

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from the Valley. Sheridan was well to the left, covering all approaches to the White House, and seizing and holding the crossings of the lower Chickahominy. Lee detected again Grant's movement to the left, and again he shifted to counteract it. Breckinridge's command, which had some time before reinforced him from the west, was thrown to his right, with parts of Hill's corps. Hoke and Anderson held his centre, and Early and Heth his left. His lines reached six miles from the Totopotomoy to New Cold Harbor, a mile and a half nearer Richmond than Old Cold Harbor, or Cold Harbor proper. Grant's lines were a little longer, reaching from Bethesda Church where Burnside lay, through Warren's, Smith's and Wright's commands respectively, to the left at and below Old Cold Harbor held by Hancock. Hunter was approaching Staunton in the Valley, and his condition had to be looked to before Grant could make another swing to the left and leave all northern and inland communications behind.

Grant's left was now on the ground which McClellan had made historic in 1862 during the Peninsular campaign. There was Gaine's Mill, with the entrenchments behind which the Federals had fought, in numbers greater than those which Grant now commanded, Lee then being the attacking party. Now Lee was on the defensive there and behind even stronger entrenchments, from which he dare not sally to assume the aggressive. Armies and commanders were not the same as before, at least not in spirit.

As Lee's right approached the Chickahominy it gained the protection afforded by the thickets and marshes of that stream. There was therefore almost an end to further hope of turning it. But Grant was not dissuaded from a blow by this consideration. Though the attack designed for the afternoon of June 2d, which it was hoped Hancock would be sufficiently rested to make, was postponed, one of a more general and formidable character was projected for the next day, June 3d.

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Hancock was to move in the early morning. Barlow and Gibbon were pushed forward through the mists and swamps, supported by Birney. The enemy's fire was terrific, the jungle thick, the marshes deep. Still the Federals pushed on undauntedly. Barlow struck the Confederates in a hollow road and drove them out. Pursuing them into their entrenchments he captured several hundred prisoners and three pieces of artillery. But his success was short-lived. He was not supported by a second line with sufficient promptitude. The Confederates rallied, raked the entrenchments with an enfilading fire and drove Barlow out, but only back to a friendly knoll close by, which he entrenched and held. Gibbon, on Barlow's right was equally successful at first in gaining the enemy's breastworks, but met with a similar fate in the end. Wright's Sixth moved simultaneously with Hancock. His charge was gallant and determined. He cleared the enemy's rifle pits, but could make no impression on the principal works. Smith had an open front. He pushed Martindale and Brooks upon the enemy with great bravery, but lost his connection with the Sixth and had to re-establish it. His men suffered terribly during the first assault. But they were reformed, the lost connection with the Sixth was made, and a second assault attempted. The fire was enfilading, destructive, and could not be silenced. By eleven o'clock he announced to Meade that his last four regiments were in line, but he dared not order them to attack till supported by Warren on their right. Warren had not attacked vigorously owing to the length of his

GENERAL WRIGHT.

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lines. Burnside was to support him, but he had pushed further to the right, not without advantage, however, for both Griffin of the Fifth and Wilcox of the Ninth, had struck a strongly fortified enemy in that direction.

While these assaults were extending from left to right, they were being repeated again on the left. The investment of the enemy's lines was close in the extreme, and the tenacity with which he clung to his cover was something marvelous. Not even the inducement to pursue and capture the columns which battered in vain against his breastworks, and retired broken into shreds, could bring him from behind his barriers. But while flashes of battle broke out here and there along those close lines, there was no other general assault on June 3d. At noon Grant took a view of the situation, heard the opinions of all the corps commanders, and made up his mind what to do. It was evident that the enemy's lines could not be broken, unless better opportunity offered. If such existed, the Federal army was in a condition to find it. Its position was not dangerous, for Lee would not attack. As long as Lee's fortifications were hugged so tightly, he could not withdraw with safety. And then—singular determination—Lee was far more harmless, hampered and tied up where he was, than if behind the fortifications of Richmond. This pre-eminently wise conclusion was not reached by simple study of the local situation, but after consulting the entire field of operations. Grant had to look to every point of responsibility, to widely distant fields, to other generals, armies, and projects than those under his immediate eye. He had to think for those in remote sections, and plan incessantly that a common success might ensue. He would therefore hold Lee there for the time being, watch vigilantly, and attack at any and every opportunity. "It is necessary to keep him here till Hunter can reach Lynchburg from Staunton." Halleck had proposed to reinforce him by sending him the Nineteenth Corps. He refused it, and said

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that if there were any spare troops in the west they should be organized and sent against Mobile. He sent plans, however, for organizing the Sixteenth Corps in West Tennessee, and directed the repairs of the railroad from the White House to his army.

All the corps commanders were ordered to entrench and hold their fronts. Firing continued all day, sometimes fiercely, then dying away to desultory volleys of musketry. Once during the afternoon, a severe battle was on along Burnside's front, during which he punished the enemy severely, causing him to retreat, leaving his dead on the field. The losses of the day were heavy on the Federal side. Officers and men fought with reckless daring, and the mortality among the former was very marked. The total losses to the Federals, killed, wounded and missing, on June 3d, were seven thousand, and the losses since crossing the Pamunkey footed up ten thousand. Those of the Confederates were less, since they fought only on the defensive and under cover. They probably did not exceed three thousand on June 3d, and five thousand since the crossing of the Pumunkey. Grant himself reported "his own loss as heavy, that of the enemy light, as I think. It was the only attack made, from the Rapidan to the James, which did not inflict upon the enemy losses to compensate for our own."

General Grant has been censured for this battle But he knew the situation better than any one else. Every defensive position Lee took was a challenge. Grant accepted, tried the fortunes of war; if not able to conquer, tried the power of strategy. Lee was now at the Chickahominy, his last natural defence, the watery ditch which protected Richmond on the north. If crushed here, he might be followed, and in the rout, his capital taken. If avoided by a further flank movement—and the next movement of that kind was to find Grant on the south side of the James, as he hoped—then the army was in for a siege of Richmond. Grant never entered upon a

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siege till he had tried the strength of his enemy thoroughly. To have refused battle at Cold Harbor would have been to open a storm of criticism by the same authors, and in quite as violent a vein, as that which befell his positive and heroic action. He was repulsed, but not defeated. His repulses he turned to practical account. He knew better what to do after than before. The moral, the intellectual results of Cold Harbor, were all for his advantage, that of his army, and the country. We have seen how they concerned Hunter, and the armies in other fields. Grant's eye was not local; his judgments were for the general situation, not for a speck on the map, not for a petty victory. He was commander of all the Federal forces, and in fighting, holding, and playing his game with Lee, was fighting equally for his other generals and their commands. Lee never sent reinforcements to help crush other Federal generals. It was Grant's design that he (Lee) should never receive any from in front of any Federal general. Therefore, his (Grant's) persistency, his hardihood, his constancy. He remitted nothing his judgment sanctioned. That his judgment was best, let the end bear witness. It was best because his attacks on Lee and the constant uncovering of his strength and plans made it so.

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CHAPTER XVII.

OVER THE JAMES TO PETERSBURG.

AFTER Cold Harbor, June 3d, 1864, there was respite from hard fighting, but no relaxation of vigilance by either foe. They were as if locked together in tight embrace. Lee could not be driven, Grant would not be. It was a time for thought and strategy. On June 5th Birney was returned to the Second Corps and extended its left till it reached the Chickahominy, where the pickets on either side, notwithstanding the fact that they had so long and often engaged in bloody strife, frequently exchanged salutations and not infrequently tobacco, drugs and relishes.

On the 7th, Griffin's and Cutler's divisions extended this left from the Chickahominy to Dispatch Station on the Richmond and York River railroad. Thus Grant was gradually moving by side marches in accordance with his original design to throw himself south of the James, and cut the Confederate capital off from all communication with the Confederacy. Would not this open Washington to attack by Lee? Not if Richmond were as dear to the Confederates as Washington was to the Federals. Grant was at the door of Richmond. He could capture, if Lee diverted any of his strength elsewhere, and then he could pursue faster than Lee could advance back through the fastnesses of that region which both armies had just traversed. Washington contained a protecting force, and possibly an impeding force if thrown out to the line of the Rappahannock and Rapidan. "Vicksburg is vulnerable only from the south" had been Grant's firm conclusion after long

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TRADING ON THE CHICKAHOMINY.

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deliberation and repeated trial. "There," said he before the Wilderness, "there," placing his finger on the map where Petersburg is located, "is the vital point of the Confederacy. Richmond will fall when we are there." Petersburg was a congeries of railroads. The life of the Confederacy, its commerce, its resource, flowed out and in through this centre.

On the 6th Lee felt the Federal right with Early's corps. He moved on the north side of the Matadequin, but got entangled in the swamps. On the 7th he repeated the movement south of the Matadequin, but failed, for the same reason. These were his only attempts to disturb Grant. A proposition now came from Halleck to invest Richmond on the north, in order to keep Washington secure. Grant's statement of the situation runs thus: "I was (after June 3d) still in a position to move by his (Lee's) left flank and invest Richmond from the North side, or continue my move by his right flank to the south side of the James. While the former might have been better as a covering for Washington, yet a full survey of all the ground satisfied me that it would be impracticable to hold a line north and east of Richmond that would protect the Fredericksburg railroad—a long vulnerable line that would exhaust much of our strength to guard, and that would have to be protected to supply the army, and would leave open to the enemy all his lines of communication on the south side of the James. *My idea from the start had been to beat Lee's army north of Richmond if possible. Then after destroying his lines of communication north of the James, to transfer the army to the south side and besiege Lee in Richmond, or follow him south if he should retreat.* After the battle of the Wilderness, it was evident that the enemy deemed it of the first importance to run no risks with the army he then had. He acted purely on the defensive behind breastworks, or feebly on the offensive immediately in front of them; and when, in case of repulse, he could easily retire to them. Without a greater sacrifice of life

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than I was willing to make, all could not be accomplished that I had designed north of Richmond. I therefore determined to continue to hold substantially the ground we then occupied, taking advantage of any favorable circumstances that might present themselves, until cavalry could be sent to Charlottesville and Gordonville to effectually break up the railroad connection between Richmond, the Shenandoah Valley and Lynchburg; and when the cavalry got well off, to move the army to the south side of the James by the enemy's right flank, when I felt I could cut off his source of supplies except by canal."

And these delicate cavalry operations were now under way. On June 5th Sheridan had orders to move to Charlottesville—he started on the 7th—to destroy the bridge there, and returning to Hanover Junction, to destroy the line of the Central railroad. Hunter was to meet him there. But Hunter, who had met Jones' Cavalry at Piedmont and defeated him, formed a junction with Crook and Averill (June 8th) at Staunton and the three were moving in the direction of Lexington and Lynchburg. Lee ordered Hampton to pursue Sheridan, sent Breckenridge into the now open Valley, and on the 12th dispatched Early, to follow, the two to join at Harper's Ferry and make a demonstration on Washington. This was designed to recall the Federal movement against Lynchburg.

GEN. BRECKINRIDGE.

From the 9th to the 11th the Federals were busy building entrenchments back of their position near Cold Harbor, to be held while the army was withdrawing from Lee's front. Butler was ordered to send a strong cavalry force under Gillmore and Kautz to break up the railroads around Petersburg and capture the place if possible. He made a determined attack,

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but failed to accomplish his object. That part of Smith's command which had been left at the White House was sent back again to Butler to co-operate with the cavalry move on Petersburg. Grant regarded the capture of this place as of great importance and lost no opportunity to consummate it.

Matters were now rapidly shaping for the daring and final swing of the army to the south of the James. The right had been gradually and quietly shifted to the left, till the lower crossings of the Chickahominy were under control. These, however, were not the only things to be considered. The James was beyond. Crossing of the one stream involved the crossing of the other. The point selected for the James was Wilcox's Landing, amply protected, except to the rearward, where engineers had been for some time looking out for good covering positions. Steamers, boats of various kinds, and pontoons had come up from Fortress Monroe, or would be up in time. To cross so large an army with all its artillery, ammunition, subsistence, hospital trains, and paraphernalia, over a wide, deep river, and with an enemy within striking distance, was a difficult and daring undertaking.

The crossings of the Chickahominy below Lee's position were Bottom Bridge, eight miles from Cold Harbor; Long Bridge, fifteen miles; Jones' Bridge, twenty miles, and Windsor Shades, twenty-four miles. The bridges at all these crossings were destroyed. The river is deep, sluggish, oozy, swampy. Two miles below Bottom Bridge, the White Oak Swamp enters the Chickahominy on the south. It, too, is a winding, sleepy, swampy stream, difficult to cross. To cross at Bottom Bridge would, therefore, necessitate a crossing of White Oak Swamp. Beside, it was too near to Lee for safety. Long Bridge was the first available crossing. Here Warren and Hancock should cross. Wright and Burnside should cross at Jones' Bridge. The trains, moving from White House, should cross at Windsor Shades, and still lower, at Coles' Ferry. Smith was to

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make all haste to the White House, and thence by transport to Bermuda Hundred to report to Butler.

Wilson's cavalry was to precede Warren. Secrecy and dispatch were grave essentials, both to save attack on Grant's rear, and to secure a strong situation on the south side, with a sufficient force to cover all operations. By the night of June 12th, everything was in readiness to push forward in quest of new fields and a better fortune than had lately cheered the sorely tried veterans. A body of cavalry, dismounted, struggled through the swamps, and crossed the deep, oozy waters, as best they could, driving the Confederate guard before them. The Fifth Corps pontoon was quickly laid, and soon Chapman's brigade of cavalry was across. It dashed out toward Riddle's Shop, in the direction of Richmond, an important cross road point which Warren was to occupy, so that Lee might think Grant's object was to move on Richmond, between the Chickahominy and James. The cavalry met with stout opposition, but succeeded in securing Riddle's Shop and White Oak Bridge.

Warren's Fifth followed closely, and part of it relieved the cavalry, while the rest remained to cover the crossing. Burnside pushed for Jones' Bridge and got safely across. Hancock and Wright were left to the last to hold the Federal front. Hancock now followed Warren, and, when across, deflected to the left in the direction af Wilcox's Landing on the James. Wright followed Burnside. By morning of the 13th, Grant was south of the Chickahominy, and Lee faced an empty line of entrenchments. Then came hard, exhaustive marches for the Federals, in the direction of Wilcox's and Charles City. Hancock reached the vicinity by five, on the afternoon of the 13th, after a march of twenty-five miles. The Sixth and Ninth came in on the 14th, after a march of thirty miles. The Fifth fell back from Riddle's on the night of the 13th, and came up with the main body on the 14th. So successful had Warren, in

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connection with the cavalry, been in deceiving the enemy into the belief that a movement on Richmond was intended from the south side of the Chickahominy, that Lee was in the dark as to the real objective of the Federal army up till the 17th of June.

By midnight of the 14th, the bridge across the James was laid and the approaches were ready. The artillery of the Ninth, Fifth and Sixth Corps was crossed first, and in the order named. Grant now left everything to Meade, and took a steamer for Bermuda Hundred to consult with Butler. Smith was already there with his force from the White House. He was ordered at once to march for Petersburg, and invest and attack. He was off on the 15th with all the force he could gather, and by evening was ready to attack. It was Grant's hope to capture it before Lee could avail himself of his short line and reach it for defence. At 7 o'clock in the evening, Smith's lines moved in resolute, impetuous attack, carrying everything before them, capturing two and a half miles of rifle pits, fifteen pieces of artillery, and three hundred prisoners. Lee was not yet up. The Confederate troops in Petersburg were not used to severe attack or a sustained fire. The night was moonlight and favorable for continued operations. There were no inner lines of defence. Notwithstanding this, Smith halted to reform his troops and wait till morning. At midnight Hancock reached him with two divisions, which he offered to him. Instead of using them to push his way into Petersburg, he manned his trenches with them. That night Lee's advance reached the city, though he had not yet fully made out Grant's intentions, nor thrown his main army across the James. Fortifications went rapidly up. By morning there were strong inner lines, bristling with bayonets and mounted with guns. Smith had lost a grand opportunity, one for which Grant had longed, and of which he at last felt sure. He had gone down the river to Wilcox's on the 15th, but on the 16th returned to Smith, to

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see him confronted with invincible works, and to feel that nothing could be done for the time being. Great was his mortification to witness a loss which an hour of prompt work could have saved, but which now months could not retrieve. He had actually won, moving in a circle of miles, against Lee moving on a radius, but the crowning movement had slipped through failure of a trusted officer to realize its importance.

But to go back a step. When Lee discovered that Grant was no longer before him, but across the Chickahominy, he too threw his army across, and by the 14th it was stretched from White Oak Swamp to Malvern Hill on the James, ready to confront Grant on his expected march upon Richmond. Grant's cavalry kept up an active series of operations on this front to further the supposition that a genuine movement was intended in this direction. Meanwhile the Federal army was crossing the James down at Wilcox's Landing. By means of boats and other appliances, Hancock had gotten across by the morning of the 15th, and was under orders to march to Petersburg. The other corps used the pontoon bridge mainly, a marvel of its kind, laid down by Major Duane. The crossing of the respective corps occupied most of the 15th and 16th. Every corps arrived on the south side of the James safely and under orders. Hancock, as we have seen, went immediately to Petersburg, and two divisions arrived in time to assist Smith on the night of the 15th, if he had used them. Wright's corps was divided, and part sent to Butler at Bermuda Hundred. Warren and Burnside were to march toward Petersburg, the former directly to the aid of Hancock and Smith.

Both armies were now very active, and a series of important movements were in operation. Beauregard knew the weakness of Petersburg, and had become convinced that Grant was about to move upon it from the south side of the James. He appealed to Lee for aid, but that officer sent only Hoke's command. He

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refused to send more, saying he could not spare more from the north of the James till he knew of Grant's whereabouts and intentions. It was enough, however, and its arrival was timely, as has been seen. By the evening of the 16th, Burnside was at Petersburg. Grant determined to try another attack. It began in the evening and was continued with varying success till six the next morning. Several of the enemy's redoubts were captured, with many pieces of artillery, and four hundred prisoners. On the 17th, Warren's Fifth came up. The fighting was renewed, and continued that day and the next, without appreciable results, save as the enemy was forced to contract his lines.

All this time Beauregard was receiving reinforcements from other points. Johnston had been drawn in from in front of Butler at Bermuda Hundred, and Butler had been ordered to advance. But Johnston quickly returned, and after a severe engagement retook his old lines. Lee, too, having now made out Grant's designs, was pushing his best troops into Petersburg. It was, even under attack, fast becoming a formidable place, and it certainly rose to a mighty height of importance as the full purport of Grant's magnificent strategy dawned on the Confederate mind. It was close to and right under Richmond, entrepot for the capital on the south, centre of a line stretching along the Appomattox which would be to Richmond what the Chickahominy, the Pamunkey, and the Rappahannock had for four years been on the north.

By the 18th of June, Lee's forces were well on the south side of the James, along the railroad to Petersburg, and within the fortifications of that place. Yet on that day the Federal army made the most determined of its series of assaults, and forced itself close against the enemy's lines. Birney, in temporary command of the Second Corps, General Hancock being disabled by the opening of an old wound, made two splendid attacks to the right of the Prince George Court House road,

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but was repulsed with severe loss. Burnside attacked a strong position in the railroad cut, and drove the enemy out with heavy losses. Warren's assault was gallantly made, and many of his men reached the enemy's works. All the other troops that participated fought with a desperation which was unchecked by danger and repulse.

At the close of this day, General Grant expressed himself as perfectly satisfied that all had been done that could be done toward capturing the place by direct assault. His troops had been constantly on the alert for days before crossing the Chickahominy and James, they had marched over long distances by day and night, and now for three days had been engaged in terrific clash with a strongly entrenched enemy. There had been a large mortality among officers, who literally led their men into action. The commands were reduced and in need of recruitment or reorganization. Rest was imperative for all. Therefore orders came to fortify and cover the lines as they existed. These became the historic lines around Petersburg. They remained substantially the same throughout the subsequent months of the war. Their elaboration for purposes of siege resulted in that stupendous system of works and wonderful plan of environment which came to rank as a monument to modern engineering skill and to the industry, patience and sacrificial spirit of an American soldiery.

The vantage ground which Grant had hoped to secure by brilliant manœuvre, judicious combination and rapid marching was not in his grasp. But he was around and upon it. It was not his nature to brood over failure. Exigency quickened his energies and stirred his inexhaustible fountains of resource. He lost not a moment in parleying with fate, but sought means to achieve the end he had started to reach by new application of the powers at his command. There were yet victories to win, triumphs of an order differing in some respects from those he had formerly shaped, yet involving the

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same bravery of action, heroic endurance, certainty of combination, originality of design.

His attempts on Petersburg led to the assurance that Lee's army was now with Beauregard, and that they would hold the place as the key to Richmond. Thus there was coincidence of views between the two commanders and their armies as to its strategic worth. This information was momentous. It centred effort on a single point or line. It simplified situations. It retained Lee on a new front, which relieved the country of a pervading fear that as soon as Grant uncovered Washington, Lee would march directly upon it. It is hardly possible to overrate that military prescience which grasped this delicate problem from the beginning. To say that Grant could not foreknow what Lee's tactics would be is not to discredit him. He did not know, did not need to know; what he *did* know was that Lee should not be master of his own independent tactics for a single hour after the two armies were brought together south of the Rapidan. And it was so. And never was the sublime assurance of his ability to control Lee's operations against Washington more fully illustrated than in an anecdote then current. Grant was remonstrated with by a prominent officer for putting himself in a position which permitted an enemy to take advantage of his rear. After apparently serious study for a moment he said, "Well, wont I then be in Lee's rear?"

The Federal losses had been heavy in these assaults on Petersburg. The number of killed footed up 1298; wounded, 7474; missing, 1814. There are no official statements of Lee's losses, but they were severe. The entire losses to Grant's army up to this time are thus stated in "Humphrey's Virginia Campaign of 1864–65." "May 4th to June 19th, including the Eighteenth Corps at Cold Harbor and Petersburg, killed, 8802; wounded, 40,518; missing, 9544; total, 58,864." Of the Confederate losses he says, "It was evidently their policy not

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to make them public. The few official data to be got concerning them do not afford the means of making comparative statements." Of those wounded on the Federal side, Dana estimates that twenty-five thousand returned to the army, leaving the actual loss thirty-three thousand, eight hundred and sixty-four. It is perfectly fair to assume that the Confederate losses in the Wilderness were equal to the Federal, and that in all subsequent engagements, up to this time, they were less, though relatively large. It is hard to determine this relation, but from the precision and general character of Grant's attacks there is no good reason to change the rule that an enemy's losses fighting behind field breastworks equal one-half of those suffered by the attacking party. The Confederate losses thus far would therefore aggregate something like thirty-five thousand; or twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand, supposing that a full proportion of their wounded returned to the ranks.

Lee's losses had been very nearly made up to him by reinforcements, and recruitments, and now that he was back amid the important garrisons of his capital and surroundings, he was stronger than when he started from the Rapidan. Grant's army had not been recruited in proportion to its losses, but now that it was with that of Butler, it was perhaps numerically stronger than when it crossed the Rapidan. Relatively, therefore, the strength of the respective foes was as before. The Confederates had their old advantage of inner lines, they were at home, so to speak, and their fortifications were more permanent and highly defensive than ever before. The Federals could operate with greater certainty, for the ground was not so cumbered with forests, but was still difficult on account of its irregularities. They had a short supply line and full control of the James below City Point.

Under these circumstances Grant was again to join issue with Lee, the strife not being so much for Richmond as for

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Petersburg, which controlled Richmond, for the communications with the south and west without which Lee could not hope to support his army for a month or even a week, in a word, for Lee's army.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

SIEGE OF PETERSBURG.

BY June 20th, the army around Petersburg had made its position secure. On that night Butler was ordered to throw a pontoon across the James, so that a crossing might be made to Deep Bottom, into which a strong brigade was thrown. The base of supplies came to City Point, whence a railroad ran to Petersburg. Grant's lines now extended from Deep Bottom, north of the James, to the Appomattox. His forces were well in hand for future operations. It is twenty miles from Richmond, due south to Petersburg. They are connected by railway. South-west from Richmond runs the Richmond and Danville railway. Out of Petersburg runs the Petersburg and Norfolk railway, southeasterly, the Weldon railroad, southerly, and the Southside railroad, southwesterly. To gain all these was to gain Petersburg, at least make its investment complete. To prevent their capture was the supreme object of the enemy.

Grant's operations involved both his cavalry and infantry. The latter were hard at work building entrenchments, erecting forts, digging mines, and pushing secret approaches, toward the strong works of the enemy which encircled the city. By means of them the lines of investment were pushed southerly and westerly with the hope of capturing the Weldon railroad, the Petersburg and Norfolk railroad having already passed into Federal hands. Perhaps no works in any age of warfare ever assumed the proportions of these. They were not only elaborate and strong in themselves, but their fronts were abat-

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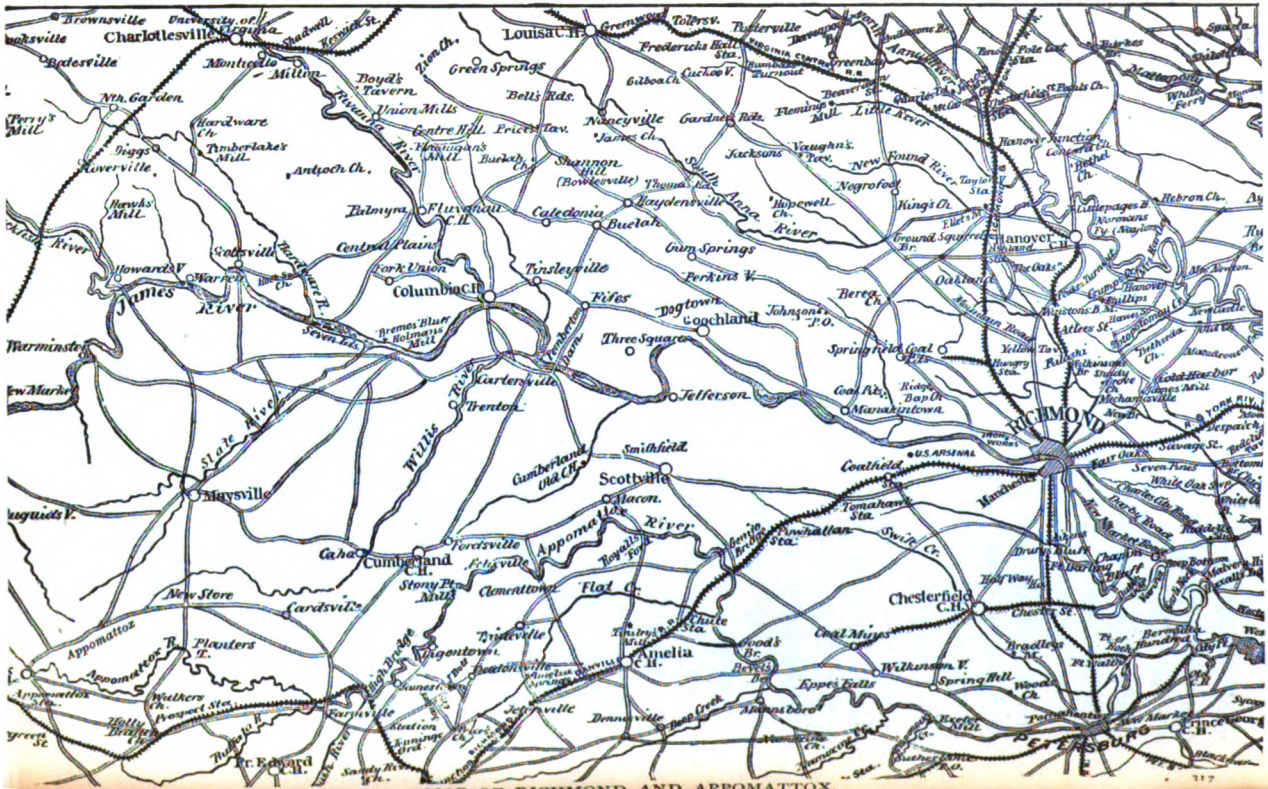

MAP OF RICHMOND AND APPOMATTOX.

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tised and interlaced so that a small force could hold them, should the larger part be required for other operations.

While these operations were going on, Grant dispatched Wilson, with all the cavalry at command, to cut the Southside, and then the Richmond and Danville railroad. Joined by Kautz's division of Butler's army, he crossed the Weldon road at Ream's Station, and destroyed it. He then struck the Southside road, fifteen miles west of Petersburg, which he destroyed for miles. At Notaway Court House he encountered a division of Confederate cavalry, and entered on a severe, but victorious engagement. He followed the road and carried his work of destruction to Burkesville junction. Taking the Danville road he did the same as far as Roanoke crossing, where he met a force of Confederate infantry. Returning, he pushed rapidly for the south side of Petersburg, but met, at the crossing of Stony Creek, Hampton's cavalry in force. This was unexpected, for it was known that Hampton had been sent after Sheridan, on the north of the James, and his return had not been announced. A bloody engagement ensued, which lasted from late in the afternoon till daylight the next day. Wilson found he could not force the crossing, so made a detour and came to the Weldon road at Ream's Station, where to his surprise he found a strong force of Confederate infantry. Before he could turn he was attacked with great fury, and lost part of his artillery at the crossing of Hatcher's Run. Kautz made his way through a wood and succeeded in reaching the army that night. Wilson made a wide circuit, and came in on July 2d, after a march of three hundred miles in ten and a half days.

We have seen that Sheridan was sent north and west before Grant moved from Cold Harbor (June 7th). What had he been doing? On the 10th he crossed the North Anna at Carpenter's Ford. Here he learned that Breckinridge, who had been detached from Lee's army to take advantage of

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Hunter's absence from the Shenandoah Valley, was moving up the railroad toward Gordonville, and that Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee were near Louisa Court House. On the 11th, he sent Custer to Trevylian Station, on the railroad. Torbert's division struck Hampton about three miles away, and before he could join with Fitzhugh Lee. Torbert attacked Hampton in a dense woods, and drove him back in confusion on Custer, who received him with a hot fire, capturing many of his men. Gregg attacked Fitzhugh Lee, drove him through Louisa Court House, and pursued him till nightfall. Both Hampton and Lee now made their way to Gordonville by round-about marches.

GEN. GREGG.

Sheridan now learned that Hunter, whom he expected to meet at Charlotteville, was beyond Staunton, and moving toward Lynchburg. He was also informed that Lee was moving an infantry force in that direction. He therefore determined to return to the army, tearing up the railroads on his way. On the 12th, he recrossed the North Anna. On the 21st, he reached the White House, and a source of much needed ammunition and supplies, followed by Hampton. On the 22d, the last of Grant's wagon trains left the White House, under Sheridan's escort. The route lay across the Chickahominy at Jones' Bridge, and thence to Malvern Hill, with the intention of crossing the James to Bermuda Hundred. Hampton and Lee both turned up at Malvern Hill. Gregg fortified at St. Mary's Church, and was there attacked by both Hampton and Lee, on his flanks. The fight was a stubborn one, lasting till night. Gregg was forced to give way, and retreated, pursued by the enemy, to Charles City Court House.

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The trains were turned to Douthard's Landing, where they were ferried over the James. On June 26th, Meade directed Sheridan to take position on his left, along the line of the Jerusalem plank road, which runs south between the Petersburg and Norfolk and Weldon railroads. As soon as Hampton and Lee found that Sheridan was safely south of the James, they pushed on their short line to Petersburg, and were thus enabled to cut off Wilson on his return, as already seen.

Notwithstanding these efforts to cut off the enemy's supplies, they still remained sufficient for their wants, though it cost them much time and trouble to make repairs. The weather was now exceedingly hot, and much sickness prevailed in the army. Energetic work, or any movement of troops, caused severe suffering. The earth was parched and dusty. Springs and surface waters were dry. Fortunately the strata underneath were such that quite shallow wells gave an artificial supply of very pure water.

On the 1st of July, the general position of the Federal army before Petersburg was the line already mentioned, stretching from Bermuda Hundred to the east and south of the town as far as the Jerusalem plank road. This was now a succession of fortifications, getting stronger as the town was approached and encircled. To make them stronger, to mount them more heavily, to push them closer, and especially to drive them westward to the Weldon railroad, which the Confederates were holding with grim determination, occupied the most of the month of July.

In the meantime, the North was receiving a scare. We have seen both Breckinridge and Early detached from Lee's army to operate against Hunter, and, if possible, make a diversion upon Washington. Lynchburg being a valuable point, and Hunter having gone toward it, Early made it his objective. When Breckinridge arrived at Gordonville, and learned of Hunter's destination, he, too, proceeded thither. This threw

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Hunter westward, and he made his celebrated, but seemingly useless, retreat back to the valley by way of the Kanawha river and Baltimore and Ohio railroad. This left the Shenandoah Valley practically open. Early moved down it toward Shepherdstown, meeting with no opposition, except such as Sigel offered with a small command. He crossed the Potomac, delayed somewhat at Hagerstown and Frederick (July 6th–8th), and then turned to cross the Monocacy.

This move carried consternation with it. It is hardly possible that Lee thought it would eventuate in the capture of Washington. Yet it might answer the purpose of subtracting some strength from Grant, and further in redeeming for a time at least, the rich feeding ground of the Shenandoah Valley, which became more vital to him the more his other Richmond communications were threatened. As was expected, the authorities at Washington called loudly on Grant for help, which he was now fortunately able to send promptly. Ricketts' division of the Sixth Corps was sent direct, by water, to Baltimore. Wright himself, with two other divisions, was sent by transports to Washington. The Nineteenth, then arriving at Fortress Monroe from the West, was also ordered to Washington.

Wallace, in command of the Department of Maryland, had a motley army made up of hastily gathered garrisons and emergency men, all unused to discipline and fighting. He formed on the Monocacy, four miles south of Frederick, to resist Early. Fortunately, Ricketts got from Baltimore with his division, in time to make the opposition of some account. On the 9th, Early attacked, and was gallantly but ineffectually resisted by Ricketts, who fell wounded. The entire Federal force was driven back upon Baltimore.

Early now turned toward Washington, and arrived at a point north of the city, on July 11th. Wright was up with his two divisions, Getty's and Russell's, in time, and with full authority

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to act. He threw them between Early and the city. On the morning of the 12th, Early was ready to attack, but a reconnoisance by Wright brought on an engagement, which resulted in driving the Confederates back a mile, with a loss of some three or four hundred men. Early retreated to the Potomac, and recrossed at Edwards' Ferry. As soon as Grant heard of the safety of Washington, he ordered Wright to take command of all the troops about Washington, and to "get outside of the trenches with all the force he could, and push Early to the last moment." Early was pushed rapidly south. Then, when it was thought that his destination might be Richmond or Lynchburg, Wright was recalled and ordered to reinforce Grant, before Early could reinforce Lee. But Early turned toward the Potomac again, and Wright was compelled to stay in the Valley to guard the Potomac.

The Valley was now a source of terrible annoyance to Grant. Though Averill had (July 18th) captured four hundred Confederates and four field pieces at Winchester, McCausland had crossed the Potomac and burned Chambersburg (July 30th). There were too many departments, and confusion was rife. Telegraphic orders got mixed. There was no possibility of securing concerted action. Therefore, on August 2d, Grant sent Sheridan to Washington to take general command, and in a few days went himself. He proceeded at once to the Monocacy, where he met Hunter, now back from his long West Virginia retreat. After getting an understanding of the situation from him, he issued a ringing order to distribute his troops so as to clear the Valley of all intruders, infantry or cavalry. He proceeded to carry out the order with spirit, but on August 7th the various departments were consolidated into one, called the Middle Military Department, which was placed in charge of General Sheridan. Grant remained long enough to firmly fix his young lieutenant in command, and then returned to his army before Petersburg, with the assurance that things

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would move with less friction about Washington and in the Valley.

What did Sheridan do? He immediately threw together the active forces at his disposal, consisting of the Sixth Corps, two small divisions under Crook, one division of the Nineteenth Corps, and a division of cavalry under Averill. These were soon joined by Torbert's and Wilson's divisions of cavalry from Petersburg. Taking the offensive at Halltown he pushed Early rapidly southward beyond Cedar Creek. Here he learned that a strong body of infantry and cavalry, with twenty field pieces, was moving by way of Culpeper and Front Royal to reinforce Early. Sheridan therefore assumed a defensive attitude with Halltown as a base. On the 16th of August the Confederate reinforcements, which turned out to be a part of Longstreet's Corps from Lee's army, attacked Merritt's division at Front Royal, but were repulsed, losing two standards and three hundred prisoners. Sheridan retired slowly to Halltown, the retreat being a succession of brisk skirmishes. By the 19th he was firmly entrenched and awaiting developments. On the 25th, Torbert, Merritt and Wilson were ordered to fall upon Fitzhugh Lee at Kerneysville. Instead of Lee, they encountered the Confederate infantry under Breckinridge making for Shepherdstown with a view to crossing the Potomac again. A determined battle took place, which resulted in the recall of Breckinridge by Early, and the retreat of his entire army, the next day, south of the Opequan, pursued by Sheridan.

Word now came that Early had been stripped of part of his force to aid Lee. Grant thought this the time for Sheridan to strike, but fearing to trust to telegraph orders in a matter so momentous, he again made a personal visit to the scene, September 16th. Finding that Sheridan had grasped the situation and was confident of his ability to handle Early, he instructed him, in the language of his official report, to "Go

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in." By September 19th Sheridan was on the move, Wilson on his left, Torbert on the right, the infantry between the two. Wilson forced a crossing of the Opequan, dashed through a heavily wooded ravine, and struck the right of Ramseur's division two miles from Winchester. The attack was sudden and impetuous, and the enemy's entrenchments were carried. They returned to re-capture them, but were again defeated. The ground was held by Wilson till Upton's brigade of the Sixth Corps came to his relief. The rest of the Federal army now came into position rapidly. Torbert supported by Merritt's division, advancing from Summit Point to cross the Opequan, was delayed by opposition, but finally reached the scene. The Sixth and Nineteenth moved resolutely into action. Early was making all haste to concentrate and form on the ridge east of Winchester.

The two armies met squarely and without cover. Fighting soon became general and obstinate. The mortality was great on both sides. The Federal advance was sustained till Early concentrated on Sheridan's centre and drove it back momentarily. Upton, with a brigade of Russell's division, was thrown forward, and catching Early on his flank, broke his attack and drove him from the field. Russell was slain and Upton badly wounded. Crook, who was in reserve, with designs on the enemy's left, was whirled rapidly to the right with orders to find and crush it. Aided by Torbert, with Merritt's and Averill's horse, this movement told with terriffic effect. Both of Early's flanks were crowded upon his demoralized centre, and his rout became complete. Night saved his army from destruction. Under cover of the timely darkness he retreated southward. The next day Sheridan engaged in hot pursuit, and found him entrenched at Fisher's Hill.

Crook turned his left and got position in the woods near Strasburg. On September 22d the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps confronted Early. Rickett's division and Averill's cavalry

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advanced in impetuous charge, and began a battle which engaged all of Early's attention. When at its height, Crook suddenly descended from the wooded hillside on his flank and rear, swept away his entire lines, captured many guns and prisoners, and threw his army into confusion. In anticipation of his further retreat, Torbert had been sent up the Luray Valley to intercept him, but he found the way obstructed. Early fell rapidly back through New Market, Harrisonburg, Port Republic, and thence to Brown's Gap in the Blue-Ridge. Sheridan, having cleared the Valley, withdrew to Harrisonburg and thence to a point beyond Strasburg.

Wilson was now sent west to reorganize the cavalry in Sherman's department. The Sixth and Nineteenth Corps were under orders to return to Petersburg as soon as they could be spared. Sheridan was unmolested except by the Confederate cavalry under Rossa, whom he attacked with Custer's Third at Tom's Creek, and after a sharp fight captured eleven guns and four hundred prisoners, pursuing him twenty-six miles. On October 10th Sheridan was called to Washington to confer about future operations. In the meantime Early had been reinforced, and on October 19th had again passed northward through Strasburg, marching rapidly and secretly. Crossing the Shenandoah in order to avoid the Federal army, making a forced night march, and then suddenly recrossing again under cover of a fog, he completely turned Crook's left, and drove him, and the whole army, toward Middletown, with the loss of many men as prisoners and nearly all the artillery. The Confederates were overcome with their success. Stopping too long to take an account of their booty, Wright got his forces partially reorganized and was ready for further action. Sheridan had just arrived at Winchester from Washington. Hearing the cannonading in the distance, he started under spur on that famous trip of twenty miles which has since become embalmed in poetry as "Sheridan's Ride."

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On his way he met bands of demoralized fugitives from his army, sight of whom increased his apprehension and urged to swifter motion. Riding upon the field, he hastily shoved his rearward troops to the positions held by Getty and Torbert, and ordered them to entrench as rapidly as possible. His staff officers were started to the rear to check the fugitives and reform them. Merritt's cavalry was placed on the left, Custer's on the right, Powell's (formerly Averill's) on the Front Royal pike. By the vigor of his generalship, and the inspiration of his presence, he soon had his forces in hand, and sufficiently restored to confidence to warrant an offensive movement. The movement began at 4 P. M. It was not impetuous, but resolute, steady, and co-operative. The Confederates resisted stubbornly from behind fences, hedges and improvised breastworks. Once they threw a part of the Nineteenth Corps into confusion, but Sheridan dashed to the head of McMillan's brigade and, leading it in person, broke the Confederate onset and re-established order. Custer now charged in from the right, simultaneously with a rapid and more determined assault along the entire infantry lines. The Confederate columns began to stagger and break, and then confusion set in. Soon they were in rout and disastrous retreat, leaving their own artillery and that they had captured, together with a great number of prisoners and other trophies of war.

This victory, snatched so opportunely from a flushed and audacious foe by the spirit and dash of the gallant cavalryman, ended Early's campaigns in the Valley, and, very nearly, his military career. He lurked amid the mountain passes, and occasionally made timid raids into the open, but never again assumed an offensive with a regularly organized force. Sheridan now disposed of his cavalry so as to drive out guerrillas during the winter. The Sixth Corps was returned to Petersburg. The Nineteenth was divided and one part sent to the Army of the James (Butler's), the other to Savannah to wel-

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SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

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come and reinforce Sherman, when he should appear after his march from "Atlanta to the Sea."

During these splendid and thrilling operations in the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan's forces never exceeded thirty thousand effectives. Early's forces were quite as numerous. The Federal losses in all the engagements footed, 1938 killed; 11,893 wounded; 3121 missing; total, 16,952. Early's losses in killed and wounded were doubtless as many, while he lost thirteen thousand as prisoners; making a total of, say twenty-seven thousand. He lost in addition one hundred pieces of artillery and five thousand small arms, besides other valuable property. The campaign fully vindicated Grant's choice of a lieutenant, and his wisdom in consolidating the hitherto discordant departments around Washington. It gave further evidence of his ability to cope with Lee in that strategy which was designed to distract attention from Petersburg or to take advantage of the absence of northern armies from the vicinity of Washington. Not a single probability, or actual phase of the situation had been overlooked, and every contingency was met as fast as it arose. More than all, it had been so met as to count infinitely against Lee, by the crippling of his cavalry, the virtual breaking up of one of his largest *corps de armée*, and the loss of enough artillery to supply two or three efficient corps.

We must now return to the operations around Petersburg. During the compulsory absence of the Sixth Corps and most of the cavalry from the Army of the Potomac, military operations about the beleaguered city, and indeed on the south side of the James, were mostly of a defensive character. We have seen what these were up to July, or in other words, up till the time of the withdrawal of forces for the protection of Washington and for the Valley campaigns. In general, July and August were devoted to strengthening the entrenchments from the Appomattox to the Jerusalem plank road on the south of Petersburg. Siege batteries were erected and strongly mounted,

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redoubts were built at commanding points, and by September 12th the railroad from City Point supplied the entire lines with ammunition and supplies.

But the monotony of the situation was often broken by sudden and startling events and by strategic tests and trials of strength. For days, at times, the firing from some newly erected fort, or from all, would be almost incessant. To dig, to build, to push, on the south of Petersburg till the Weldon railroad was reached was a supreme object on the part of Grant. But the enemy had cut off hope of getting much beyond the Jerusalem plank road by a system of formidable works. The strength of these must however be tried—not directly, to be sure, but perhaps they could be turned and rendered useless. The trial fell on the Second Corps. Mott and Barlow were thrown forward. Their movement left a gap between the Second and Sixth which the Confederates took advantage of. Swarming from behind their works into the opening, they struck the flanks of these two advancing divisions and virtually swept them away. Rushing on, they rolled up Gibbon's division, capturing guns, works and two thousand five hundred prisoners. This vigorous onslaught forced a contraction of the Federal left, and a strict defensive in that quarter for several weeks.

Again the work of building, mining and besieging went on, more methodically, if possible, than ever. The operations against the Petersburg front, opposed by the Ninth and Fifth Corps, were ordered to be conducted by regular approaches. In Burnside's corps was a regiment of Pennsylvania miners, under Colonel Pleasants. These sunk a shaft and drove a gallery one hundred and fifty yards to the front, and directly under a Confederate work on Cemetery Hill. Lateral galleries were run into it making a system of mines, which were loaded with gunpowder. There were eight magazines in all, each primed with four thousand pounds of powder. Grant thought advantage might be taken of the explosion to storm success-

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fully the Confederate works. But he would first weaken their force by a diversion, and perhaps do more.

The Second Corps was (July 26th) quietly withdrawn from the investing lines and crossed over the pontoon bridges (July 27th) to the north side of the James at Deep Bottom. Sheridan, with two divisions of cavalry, followed it. Foster of the Tenth held the bridges. Bailey's creek runs into the James on the north side at Deep Bottom. The enemy were found in force behind and on the Richmond side of this creek. Hancock deployed with Sheridan on his right. Foster was asked to swing in on the left, which he did very swiftly, driving the enemy and capturing four guns. Sheridan forced the fighting on the right and was equally successful. He captured four hundred prisoners. The enemy were now behind their breastworks and fully protected. It was the night of July 28th. Lee now hurried all the troops he could spare, cavalry and infantry, to the endangered point. On the morning of July 29th, Hancock was confronted by an entrenched force, three times the number of his own. While it was intended that Sheridan should make a dash upon Richmond, supported by Hancock, if the way proved open, or an unsupported raid upon the railroads to the north, the real object of the expedition was now accomplished, viz.: the diversion of Lee's strength to the north side of the James. Therefore, on the night of the 29th of July, Hancock and Sheridan both speedily and quietly withdrew to the south side of the river, and took their places about Petersburg.

At the same time Ord, now in command of the Eighteenth Corps, and Turner's division of the Tenth, were given a place in the lines. The explosion of the mine and the assault were fixed for morning of July 30th, at half-past three. Full and express orders were issued to all the corps commanders when to move and what to do. Burnside was to prepare his parapets and abattis for the passage of columns, have his pioneers

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equipped to open passages for artillery, destroy the enemy's abattis, and secure lodgments. Warren was to support Burnside's assault. Ord was to put Mott's division in the entrenchments of the Eighteenth Corps, and form his troops in the rear of the Ninth. Hancock was to be up from Deep Bottom, and in position in Mott's rear ready to follow up the assault. Sheridan was to operate on the enemy's left against the roads leading to Petersburg from the south As soon as the explosion took place, Burnside was to move rapidly on the breach, seize the crest, and effect a lodgment. Ord was to follow on the right and Warren on the left. All the artillery within range was to open on those points of the enemy's works whose fire covered the ground over which the assaulting columns must move.

These orders were carried out strictly by all the commanders, except Burnside. His parapets and abattis were not prepared for the columns of attack. His pioneers were not ready for effective work, nor were his entrenching tools distributed. Meade, in an interview with Burnside, Wilcox, Potter and Ledlie, on the 29th, impressed on them the necessity of taking advantage of the enemy's confusion to gain the crest beyond, that the holding of the crater would be of no possible use, and that if the assault was unsuccessful, the troops must be withdrawn at once.

The mine was on the Confederate General Johnson's front at the centre of Elliott's brigade. Wise's brigade was on Elliott's right, Ransom's on his left, Gracie's on Ransom's left. A defect in the fuse delayed the firing of the mine till twenty-minutes to five. Then the earth shivered and broke, an entire battery and part of two regiments vanished, and a great chasm yawned. The Confederates were surprised and fled in dismay from that part of the line, not knowing when the next explosion might take place, nor where. Now the Federal heavy guns and mortars, eighty-one in all, and an equal number of

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field guns opened and kept down the fire of the enemy's salients and batteries at all points.

The moment for assault was at hand. Precious minutes were lost in getting the assaulting columns through improperly prepared debouches on Burnside's front. Ledlie's division, headed by the Second Brigade, at last moved into the crater, and became a fixed, confused mass there. Ledlie did not accompany it. A resolute commander would have been on the crest in fifteen minutes, and before opposition could have been made. Meade expected that the whole Ninth Corps would advance quickly on the right and left of its leading division. The Confederates had time to recover from their surprise. They returned to their posts and began a musketry fire on Ledlie's men in the crater, and on Elliott, who was endeavoring to form on the crest beyond. Elliott fell, wounded, and Colonel McMaster took his place. All the while the musketry fire was waxing warmer on the men in the crater. But two or three hundred at a time could be gotten upon the crest beyond, and these melted away before they could be made effective. Thus nearly an hour passed, with no point gained and with sad loss of life. At length a Confederate battery of field guns (Wright's), some six hundred yards to the right of the mine, and in a protected spot, opened an enfilading fire, sweeping all the ground between the Federal entrenchments and the crater. This was soon seconded by another on the left, equally protected. All this was fast precluding the possibility of successful assault according to any prearranged plan. Yet in the midst of it, Potter's division, pressing forward by the flank, and Griffin's brigade, took the enemy's entrenchments for a considerable space, driving Elliott back on Ransom. A brigade of Wilcox's division fought its way to the left of the crater, and also gained a foothold in the entrenchments after hard fighting. Every forward movement was hampered by the unremoved obstructions on Burnside's

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front, by the indecision occasioned by confused commands, by the dread uncertainties of the situation. The other corps commanders found no weakening of the enemy in their fronts and saw no opportunity for co-operative attack. Burnside could not get his attacking forces to move in concert, and some made fatal delays. The operating spaces were small, which only served to mix the commands and beget disconcert. There was no orderly, united, determined assault, but a series of daring dashes which, being unsupported, came to nought or ended in disaster.

At 6 o'clock, Lee heard of the explosion. He at once reinforced the points opposite the crater, and prepared to recapture the entrenchments taken by the Federals. Potter's position was first assailed, and he was driven back with the loss of all he had gained. A terrific fire was now centred on the confused masses in and about the crater, or upon the crest in front. The slaughter was fearful for a time. Satisfied that the time for success had passed, and that further attempt would only result in useless sacrifice, Meade, with the concurrence of Grant, withdrew the troops to their respective lines. The Federal losses during the day were 419 killed, 1679 wounded, and 1910 missing. The Confederate losses were 400 killed, 600 wounded, and 200 missing.

"Thus," says General Grant, "terminated in disaster what promised to be the most successful assault of the campaign." The combination and direction of forces had been made with consummate ability. Lee was completely deceived and had been induced to part with half his strength to resist a feint on his capital. Grant had his entire force at command and under orders to take advantage of the surprise occasioned by the explosion. The explosion had rid the enemy's works of defenders for several hundred yards. The failure was due to inefficient preparation by a set of officers who had no confidence in the project. Said the report of the Court of Inquiry,

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in substance, "The assault failed from mismanagement and misbehavior on the part of several of the chief actors."

The Confederates were elated over the failure, and Lee availed himself of the deadlock which followed to make his demonstrations in the Valley and upon Washington, which we have already read about. Grant was bitterly disappointed, but lost no faith in ultimate success. The failure only matured in his mind that scheme by which, should the end not sooner come, he would boldly cut loose from his base at City Point, throw himself into the interior below and beyond Petersburg and, operating directly on the enemy's communications, compel him to abandon his strong fortifications, and give or receive battle on equal terms.

On July 20th, after Lee had detached Early for operations about Washington, and Grant had detached the Sixth Corps, the relative strength of the forces in and about Petersburg was as follows: Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, infantry, 39,295; cavalry, 8436. Army of the Potomac, infantry, 37,984; cavalry, 10,280. Army of James, at Bermuda Hundred, infantry, 24,009; cavalry, 1880. The two armies went on perfecting their works, and as their respective lines could be held by small forces, the larger portions were free for movement.

The reader must now recall what has been said of the Valley campaign, and of Early's retreat to Brown's Gap, pursued by Sheridan. Early was reinforced and returned to the Valley. Three divisions of infantry were sent to him, and one of cavalry. As a counter to this, Grant sent Hancock, in command of his own and part of the Tenth Corps, together with Gregg's cavalry, north of the James to demonstrate on Richmond. Secrecy was of moment. The Second was sent by boat to the lower pontoon at Deep Bottom, on the night of August 13th. The cavalry and artillery went by land. Marching up toward Richmond, the enemy was found in his strong position at Bailey's creek. Mott held the centre,

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Birney the left, and Barlow was sent well to the right to attack and turn the Confederate left. He made several unsuccessful assaults on their entrenched lines, to hold which they weakened their right. Birney took advantage of this and made a dashing assault, capturing six guns and several hundred prisoners. It was the night of the 14th, and operations had to be suspended, though with orders to resume attack early in the morning. That night the enemy received reinforcements from south of the James. Hancock therefore made a new disposition of his forces, and sent Birney to find and turn the enemy's left. It existed nowhere short of Richmond. Yet on the 16th, he ordered Birney to attack at a weak point, which he did, capturing some prisoners and colors. But he was soon driven back. Hancock found every point too well guarded to hope for success from further trial. The Confederates concentrated on their extreme left against Gregg and Miles and drove them back across Deep creek. They had thus cleared their entire front. Hancock maintained his position till the night of the 20th, when he was withdrawn. The casualties during this demonstration were 321 killed, 1840 wounded and 625 missing.

The effect of these movements on Lee was to weaken his right covering the southern railroads. Warren was therefore drawn from the entrenchments at Petersburg and sent, on the morning of August 18th, well around the enemy's right to strike the Weldon railroad. He struck it by noon, planted his forces firmly across it and began a march in the direction of Petersburg. In a short time he found the enemy well posted and disposed to resist. Ayres' and Crawford's divisions were formed in line of battle, the former on the left, the latter on the right. The Confederates suddenly assailed Ayres' extreme left and threw it into confusion, but it was speedily rallied, and by free use of musketry and artillery the Confederate onset was checked; not, however, until the Federal losses

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amounted to a thousand men in killed wounded and prisoners. The enemy's losses were even heavier, and his dead and wounded were left on the ground. On the morning of the 19th, Bragg, of Cutler's division, was sent to Crawford's right to see if he could not force a connection with the Ninth Corps in the regular entrenchments. The ground was irregular and woods thick. Progress was slow and almost impossible. Lee had gotten word of Warren's occupancy of the railroad, and had hurried down two divisions from the north of the James. In the afternoon one of these divisions (Mahone's) broke through Bragg's lines, faced to the right and swept down on Crawford's right flank, carrying his skirmishers and parts of his rear line of battle. The front lines had to fall back, with a part of Ayres' left. At this moment Heth made a furious attack on Ayres', but Warren brought up all the receded lines and regained the ground temporarily lost. Mahone was driven inside of his entrenchments and Heth was repulsed, but not driven. The Federal losses were three hundred and eighty-two in killed and wounded and two thousand five hundred and eighteen missing, most of which were prisoners. The enemy lost very heavily in killed and wounded, for the action, though brief, was close and determined. Warren now fell back a mile out of the dense woods and entrenched on the line of the railroad.

GEN. FITZHUGH LEE.

Lee now found that Hancock had been withdrawn from the north side of the James. He accordingly withdrew the forces sent thither and organized an attack on Warren, to be conducted by Hill's corps, Hoke's division and Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry. This was August 21st. It opened with thirty guns on Warren's right and front, followed by an assault, which

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was everywhere repulsed. Warren's loss was three hundred and one killed, wounded and missing. The enemy left two hundred and eleven dead on the field, among them General Sanders. Warren also captured five hundred and seventeen officers and men and six flags, the greater part of Hagood's brigade.

Warren's position on theWeldon railroad now seemed secure. The Ninth Corps pushed their entrenchments from the Jerusalem plank road so as to connect with his right. It was a great point gained, for it cut off one direct and important communication with Petersburg. But the enemy could use the road below. On August 22d, Hancock, with two divisions of his corps and Gregg's cavalry, was sent to Warren's rear to destroy the railroad southward to Rowanty creek. By night of the 24th, they had accomplished their work as far as Ream's Station and had five more miles to destroy.

But this kind of work would prove too fatal to Lee to admit of its going on without a desperate effort to stop it. Hill's corps, with Anderson's division of Longstreet's, and Hampton's two cavalry divisions were sent out to drive Hancock off. That officer hastily improvised rather awkward entrenchments at Ream's Station, and placed Gibbon's Second Division on the left and Miles' First Division on the right. It was August 25th. At five in the afternoon, Hill opened a heavy artillery fire on Hancock's position, which did little damage. He then massed and assaulted Miles' front, part of which, composed of new troops, gave way. Hancock ordered a reserve of the Second Division to Mile's support but it failed to respond. Murphy's brigade of the Second, on the left of the break, was driven back and lost two batteries. Hancock ordered Gibbon to retake the guns, but his forces seemed to be demoralized. The moment was a critical one, and would have ended in a complete rout but for the steadiness of the remaining portions of Miles' First Division. Miles rallied the

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Sixty-First New York regiment at right angles with his own breastworks, swept the enemy off his entire front, retook the lost guns, and re-established a considerable part of his broken lines. Hampton now attacked Gibbon's position on the left with his cavalry, dismounted, and drove him from his defences, almost without a struggle. Passing on with cheers, the victorious troopers suddenly met a heavy flank fire from Gregg's cavalry, also dismounted, which checked their advance. They then fell upon Gregg and drove him back to a new line, which Gibbon had by this time formed in the rear. Miles and Gregg then stubbornly held on till dark, and even offered to retake their original lines, but Gibbon stated that his division could not retake theirs. Mott and Wilcox had been sent to reinforce Hancock, but neither of them had yet come. Therefore, Hancock withdrew from his exposed position. The enemy did not molest him nor follow, but returned to Petersburg, leaving Hampton to hold Ream's Station. Hancock lamented his want of success, and attributed it to failure of promised reinforcement and the bad condition of his men on account of the oppressive weather and large number of raw recruits. He lost six hundred and ten killed and wounded and one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two missing; also nine guns. A very large per cent. of the killed were officers. Hill reported his losses at seven hundred and twenty killed and wounded, and his captures at twelve flags, nine guns, ten caissons, two thousand one hundred and fifty prisoners, three thousand and one hundred small arms.

September was consumed in entrenching the newly acquired front south of Petersburg. On September 28th, another expedition against Richmond was ordered under Ord of the Eighteenth and Birney of the Tenth Corps. The moving force was ten thousand strong, and accompanied by Kautz's cavalry. It crossed the James by night at Aiken's and marched to Chapin's farm, in the direction of Richmond.

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Here it struck the enemy's entrenchments. Ord received a heavy artillery fire from Fort Harrison, and quickly made his disposition for attack. Pushing Stannard's division to the foot of the hill on which the fort stood, Burnham's brigade ran, under a severe fire, up the slope, and after a short and determined encounter captured the works with sixteen guns and a number of prisoners. Burnham was killed in the assault. The Federals now charged right and left and captured two outer works with six guns. Ord now endeavored to sweep toward the river to capture the remaining redan, and a pontoon bridge, but they were covered by the enemy's gunboats and the attempt was unsuccessful. Ord was severely wounded and the command devolved on General Heckmann, who immediately attacked Fort Gilmer, but was repulsed. Birney had been for some time driving the enemy back on the New Market road. He now threw out his left and connected with Heckmann. Law's brigade came to the fort in the afternoon to help hold it. Grant now came upon the scene, and ordered both corps to advance. Birney's corps received the brunt of the fire from Ft. Gilmer, which his brigade of colored troops attempted to take by repeated assaults. There was hard fighting over difficult ground and against strong and intricate entrenchments for a long time, but without further decided results.

Ewell and Lee both came upon the scene with heavy reinforcements. It was at once determined to retake Ft. Harrison. All night and till the next afternoon reinforcements were coming up from Petersburg and disposition was being made for the attack. The Federals were busy strengthening it. The assault began at two o'clock on the afternoon of September 30th. The Confederates advanced in strong column and under cover of a heavy artillery fire, till they were quite close. The Federals then opened a hot musketry fire and drove them back. They reformed and attacked a second

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and third time, but were again repulsed with great loss. The Federal losses during the two days' operations were, killed, 394; wounded, 1554; missing, 324; total, 2272. The Confederate losses must have been even heavier.

This entire move north of the James was with a view of attracting enough of Lee's strength from the south of Petersburg to warrant another effort to extend the Federal lines beyond the Weldon railroad, and as far as the Boydton Plank-road. Accordingly, Warren pushed out Griffin's and Ayres' divisions on his left, General Parke (Parke had succeeded Burnside as commander of the Ninth Corps) with Wilcox's and Potter's divisions following. Griffin soon struck a heavy line of entrenchments which he carried. Ayres' division carried a redoubt on Griffin's right. These two captures gave them the entire line of entrenchments at this point. Potter's division advanced to Griffin's left, and Wilcox's to Potter's left. Thus formed, they moved toward the Boydton road. Potter came upon the enemy's main line of entrenchments first. They extended from Petersburg to Hatcher's Run and covered both the Boydton plank and Southside railroad. Potter advanced to attack, but was met by a counter attack and driven back, as well as one of Wilcox's brigades. A new line was quickly formed which checked the enemy's advance.

On the afternoon of October 1st Mott's division arrived on Parke's left. On the 2d Parke advanced his entire lines, by dint of hard fighting, and entrenched within a mile of the enemy's works. These were connected on the right with works crossing the Weldon railroad, and made secure by redoubts and batteries. The casualties were six hundred and sixty-one killed and wounded, and one thousand three hundred and forty-eight missing. The result was a material extension of the Federal lines westward, and so as to threaten the Southside railroad.

On October 7th, Kautz's cavalry, on the north of the James,

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was driven from its position on the Darby road, and fell back upon the Tenth Corps, with the loss of its two batteries and two hundred and seventy-four men killed, wounded and missing. On October 24th, Grant issued orders to Meade to make preparations to gain possession of the Southside railroad. All these operations of the Federal army on the south of Petersburg were telling disastrously on the Confederates. The loss of the Weldon road was a blow which carried consternation into both military and political circles. Every movement of Grant westward increased the apprehension. Lee saw that it was like drawing a deadly cordon about him. Hence his herculean efforts to forestall Grant's westward progress, and to keep his communications open both for purposes of supply and retreat, which last was fast becoming inevitable by reason of the industry, skill and pertinacity evinced by the Federal leader.

GEN. KAUTZ.

Lee accordingly threw all his available forces out along the Southside railroad to protect it. Meade organized his advance for the morning of October 27th. The point was to turn the enemy's flank at the crossing of the Boydton plank road and Hatcher's Run. Parke's Ninth was to make a feint on the entrenchments. Warren was to cross the run and push for the Southside railroad. Hancock was to do the same, but to recross the run above and strike the railroad at Sutherland Station. Both Parke and Warren soon struck the enemy's pickets, and found strong defensive works ahead of them. It was therefore late when Warren got Crawford's division across the run to connect with Hancock, already over.

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The woods were thick and every way obstructed. But by most persevering effort, the forces came into the open, only to meet a heavy artillery fire, and find themselves the object of direct attack, which at one time threatened to sever Hancock from Crawford. There was severe, but uncertain fighting for a long time, with the nearest point on the Southside railroad yet four miles away. Further to the left Hampton made a sweep down upon Gregg's cavalry and would have driven it but for prompt assistance rendered by Hancock.

Night descended on a region as gloomy and uncertain as the "Wilderness" had been. Grant and Meade had both been on the scene during the afternoon. They agreed that the Federal entrenchments were not yet extended sufficiently westward to warrant an attempt to take and hold the Southside railroad at a point so near to Petersburg as Sutherland Station. The corps were therefore recalled and assigned to their old positions. The losses were one thousand six hundred in killed, wounded and missing.

As a diversion to this movement, Butler had been ordered to move from Bermuda Hundred direct against Richmond and on the north side of the James. He found the fortifications invincible, and returned. The season for active campaigning was now over. Both armies built huts and made themselves comfortable for the winter, though no opportunity was lost to shell the enemy's weak points and gain an advantage. The Federals in particular kept busy on the south side of Petersburg pushing their fortifications westward to Hatcher's Run. The Valley campaigns were over, and the forces that had been subtracted to carry them on were returning to their old commands. There went on, too, a reorganization of the army corps. Hancock was sent to Washington to organize a new First Corps. Ord organized the Twenty-Fourth, and Weitzel the Twenty-Fifth. The Tenth and Eighteenth were discontinued.

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The winter of 1864–5 was severe. Picket duty on either side was full of suffering. The Confederate army especially was uncomfortable on account of dearth of supplies. Virginia had been exhausted. The rolling stock of the open railroads was well worn. Finding that the Weldon road was still used up to a certain point, with which connection was made from Richmond by wagon train, it was destroyed still further south, and in February a strenuous effort was made to push the Federal left well beyond Hatcher's Run so as to cut the wagon roads running toward Richmond. The effort was only partially successful and entailed a loss of two thousand men. It was among the last of those persistent efforts made by Grant to turn the Confederate right and reach the Southside railroad by successive and fortified extensions of his left.

And now two mighty minds were at work on very nearly the same problem though for different purposes. Grant knew that his investment of Petersburg and his repeated raids on the Richmond communications were operating with deadly effect on the Confederate army and carrying demoralization to the Confederacy. He felt that Lee must, ere long, abandon both Petersburg and Richmond, not only to seek a new field of supplies, but to join his fortunes with Johnston whom Sherman was pushing eastward and northward. It was never his purpose to let an enemy escape if he could help it. Therefore his spring campaign would take on new and original features. Already (February 27th) Sheridan was abroad, moving from Winchester up the Valley. He passed through Staunton, Charlotteville, Gordonville, and to within a short distance of Lynchburg, destroying railroads and supplies. He also destroyed the James river canal for miles, completely annihilating it as a supply line. By March 27th he was back with the army.

The problem of how to get away became more prominent with Lee. There were but two lines left, the Richmond and

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Danville, and the Southside railroads. At a conference between Jefferson Davis and Lee, in March, it was agreed that Richmond and Petersburg should be abandoned, and the Army of Northern Virginia moved to Danville to unite with Johnston and attack Sherman. Preparations were made accordingly. They involved an attack on the Federal right where it crossed the Appomattox, in order to draw Grant's strength from his left. The object selected was Fort Stedman. An assault was made upon it, on March 25th, by Gordon's corps, and a part of A. P. Hill's. The attack was well planned. At half-past four in the morning, the enemy broke the trench guard, and then the main line between batteries 9 and 10. Turning right and left, they captured the garrison of Stedman, after a spirited resistance, and also the adjacent batteries. The Federals were in great confusion, and could not distinguish friend from foe. General McLaughlin's brigade recaptured battery 11 at the point of the bayonet, but on entering Fort Stedman in ignorance of the situation, he was taken prisoner. General Parke now got his corps (Ninth) in order, and directed Wilcox, supported by Hartranft, to retake the works. By half-past seven, all had been regained, after most obstinate fighting, except battery 10 and Fort Stedman. Hartranft charged gallantly upon these and carried the fort, capturing two thousand prisoners and nine stand of colors. The total losses of the Ninth Corps were four hundred and ninety-four killed and wounded, and five hundred and twenty-three missing. The Second and Six Corps were also involved, and met with serious losses. The total Federal losses were two thousand killed, wounded and missing. Those of the enemy nearly four thousand, including the prisoners.

This opening of the spring campaign was not auspicious for Lee. He had not even so much as disturbed the onward flow of those preparations which Grant now had well under way, and which would culminate in a few days. In so far as

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they relate to Petersburg and to the armies south of the James, we must drop them for a few moments to get a view of the general situation.

Two outside matters of great moment bore directly on Grant's spring campaign of 1865. The first was the fact that the port of Wilmington, N. C., was still open to the Confederacy, and a rendezvous for hostile cruisers and blockade-runners. Arms, ammunition, clothing and food were landed there and shipped thence into the interior in exchange for cotton. As a part of the policy of cutting off all supplies from the Confederate army at Richmond, and as an especial blow at the enemy's forces which were fast gathering into an army under Johnston and gravitating eastward and northward before Sherman, Grant deemed it prudent to signalize his spring operations by closing this port. In November, 1864, he went to Fortress Monroe to consult with Admiral Porter. An expedition was agreed upon, to consist of the naval vessels under Porter, and an army of sixty-five hundred men, the same to sail in December. That time was selected as opportune because Bragg had sent his North Carolina command to Georgia for the purpose of making head against Sherman. Butler furnished the necessary land forces from his army, and placed them under General Weitzel. On December 6th, Grant wrote: "The first object of the expedition under Weitzel is to close to the enemy the port of Wilmington. If successful in this, the second will be to capture Wilmington itself."

On December 16th, the expedition was ready, and Butler himself chose to retain command of it. It arrived before Fort Fisher, the key to the situation, on December 15th, but owing to rough weather, an attack was delayed. On the 24th, a hulk laden with gunpowder was run under the fort, and exploded without effect. On the 25th, the troops were landed, under cover of a heavy fire from the fleet, and reconnoissances were made by Curtis and Weitzel. Though they both got

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good positions, and Curtis was anxious to attack. Butler declared an assault impolitic. He had not agreed with Porter as to details. The expedition returned empty-handed to Fortress Monroe.

Grant was much chagrined at this failure, due to foolish conservatism, petty disagreements, excessive timidity, or perhaps something worse. But on learning that only the land forces had returned, and that Porter was still off the entrance to Wilmington with his fleet, and anxious to attack if properly supported, Grant wrote him: "Please hold on wherever you are for a few days, and I will endeavor to be back again with an increased force, and without the former commander." Bragg had in the meantime recalled his forces to North Carolina, and Lee had sent down reinforcements from Richmond. Wilmington must be held, and the port kept open at whatever cost.

Porter got Grant's letter on December 30th. On January 1st, 1865, he replied: "Have just received yours? I shall be ready. Thank God we are not to leave here with so easy a victory in hand. Thank you for so promptly trying to rectify the blunder so lately committed. I knew you would do it . . . ." The former force was strengthened by the addition of fifteen hundred men, and General Terry was given command, with full and explicit sealed orders, not to be opened till at sea, to capture Fort Fisher, if possible, or to besiege it till it fell. A reserve was held at Fortress Monroe, at the call of Terry. By January 13th, the land and naval forces were together, and their respective commanders in accord. Terry's destination was not known, except to Grant himself and the authorities at Washington, for it had been given out, as a disguise, that Savannah was his objective. At daylight of the 13th, Porter formed his fleet in three lines, and stood in to cover the landing. The iron-clads opened a terrific fire, which was continued for six hours, when the landing boats were manned and pushed off. By three o'clock, nearly eight

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thousand men, with nine days' rations, and entrenching tools, were upon the beach, at a point five miles below the fort. Here they formed a line, marched to within two miles of the fort, and there entrenched. By the 14th, their foothold was secure, and the artillery was landed. Bragg ordered Hoke's division to attack the Federals, but he found their position already too strong. All day Porter was battering the fort from his fleet, on the side upon which an assault was to be made.

Terry now consulted with Porter. An assault was agreed upon for 3 P. M. of the 15th. The fleet was to open fire early in the morning and keep it up all day, diverting it to other parts of the fort after the assault began. Porter opened as agreed upon, and for six hours his mighty fleet, in three divisions, with an armament of nearly six hundred guns poured shell and metal missiles on every spot of earth about the fort. The gunners in the fort were driven from their posts and every gun was silenced. The fort contained about two thousand five hundred defenders. It was well built and admirably arranged with ditch, palisade, parapets and salients. Payne's division of colored troops and Abbott's brigade of white, in all four thousand seven hundred men, held a line between the fort and Wilmington to cover the assaulting columns. A force of marines under Capt. Breese charged the water side of the fort and held ground there to attract attention. Ames' division was selected for the real charge. It was three thousand three hundred strong, composed of Curtis', Pennypacker's and Bell's brigades. Curtis was already in an outer work gained the day before. By noon, Pennypacker and Bell were close to him, and in position, eight hundred yards from the fort. The hour was at hand, and all ready. A hundred volunteer sharpshooters rushed forward to within two hundred yards of the fort. Being provided with shovels, they soon dug pits, from which they began a deadly fire on the

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parapets. This was the signal for the fort to open. Notwithstanding the heavy cannonading from the fleet, it poured forth surprising volleys of artillery and musketry in the direction of the assaulting columns. Curtis now moved in double quick time to a position within five hundred yards of the fort, where his men scooped trenches with their tin cups to protect themselves from the murderous fire from the parapets. Pennypacker fell into Curtis' place, and Bell into Pennypacker's. Again Curtis rushed forward to a position only fifty yards in the rear of the sharpshooters, where he entrenched as before, and again the other brigades advanced to the vacated places. Axemen now rushed forward to cut the palisading; Porter was signaled to change the direction of his fire; Ames gave the word to charge. The sailors and marines on the water front rushed gallantly forward amid a deadly fire. They cleared all obstacles, and some gained the parapets. But the enemy swarmed from their bomb-proofs, and mowed them down like grass. The attack was repelled with a loss of two hundred and eighty sailors and marines killed and wounded. On the land front, Curtis' brigade sprang forward over miry ground, into which some of his men sunk, reached the palisades, dashed through them and crowded the sally ports. Here they opened fire on the Confederate gunners, shot down two entire reliefs, and then charged for the parapets. The reeling lines before them broke, and the Federals got a foothold. Pennypacker's brigade, overlapping Curtis' right, now followed in admirable charge. Forward the two brigades surged, sweeping a quarter of the land face of the fort. Bell swung round and hugged that face of the fort between the front and the river.

Thus far all was well. But to hold the parapets was not to have the fort. Now began a battle never exceeded for closeness and fury. The respective foes used the traverses for breastworks, and fired over them full in each other's faces. The bomb-proofs let out their huddled contents of desperate de-

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fenders, who swarmed on the slopes, and met their foes in hand to hand encounter. Still the Federals, cheered on by brave officers, gained ground. They scaled or turned the traverses, directed their musketry into the bomb-proofs, and fought with a desperation that o'ermatched that of the enemy. Thus, hand to hand, and from traverse to traverse, the fierce struggle continued till nine o'clock, when the bastion was almost within reach. Bell had been killed, Pennypacker wounded. Curtis sent for reinforcements. Terry sent word to stop fighting, and entrench. Curtis, inflamed with rage, exclaimed: "Then we shall lose what we have gained. The enemy will drive us from here in the morning!" A shell struck him and he fell. Word was taken to Ames that Curtis was dead, and that his last words were, that the battle should go on. Ames thought so, too. Terry caught the inspiration, and hurried Abbott to the rescue. At sight of these fresh cohorts the Confederates yielded the bastion, and Fort Fisher was carried. Wild, continuous cheers rent the night air. Curtis lived to hear the shouts of victory. The fleet burst into a blaze of rockets, and all the bands struck up the national airs. During the 16th and 17th, all the other defences of the Cape Fear river fell readily into Federal hands. Their losses were 110 killed and 536 wounded. The Confederate losses were 700 killed and wounded, 1971 prisoners, 169 heavy guns, 2000 small arms, and all their supplies and ammunition.

GEN. TERRY.

Terry moved at once against Wilmington, but was opposed by Hoke's command and compelled to wait for reinforcements. On February 15th, Schofield came from the West with his corps, and Grant gave him command in North Carolina. He

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pushed matters with such energy, that, on February 22d, he had possession of Wilmington. And now, Grant mapped for him his future operations: "Move from Wilmington or Newbern on Goldsboro'. Get together rations and forage for sixty thousand men and twenty thousand animals. Protect all interior points you gain. The first object is to give Sherman material aid in his march north. The second is to open a base of supplies for him on his line of march. Sherman may be looked for in the neighborhood of Goldsboro' any day from February 22d to February 28th. This limits your time materially."

One is almost ready to marvel at the masterly grasp of that mind which was thus making widely distant operations convergent and co-operative. For a whole year of command there had been scarcely a variation from Grant's original plans and purposes. So well matured were his judgments, so skillful his methods, that results were running, as bright seeds from the mill, in just the quantities and at the times calculated upon. There had been minor drawbacks, temporary checks, and provoking intermediate failures, but never for a moment did he run short of expedients to cure them, nor did he ever permit them to seriously wrench his plans, cloud his purposes, or diminish his faith. This we have seen over and over again, from the "Wilderness" to the James, and around Petersburg. And we shall see it again and again until the end. It could be no more conspicuous than in the Fort Fisher affair. We have seen to what account he turned victory there. Sherman was coming north to meet him. His march would be through two hostile States. A strong enemy was centered in his path, operating from Wilmington, fed there by blockade runners, prospering there on rich traffic. The obstacle was formidable. Butler started in time, and under propitious circumstances, to remove the obstacle. He failed humiliatingly, and was promptly relieved from command. Time was precious. In less than twenty days Grant had another force on the scene, stronger

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and more determined than the first. It was victorious. By February 22d, Wilmington passed into Federal hands, and what would have been a part of Grant's own army, under Schofield, was in Sherman's path to help him on his northern march.

Before returning to Petersburg, the reader must be asked to bear in mind the fact that Sherman has now reached the sea, has given Savannah to the President as a Christmas present, and is on his way through the Carolinas to co-operate with Grant. We reserve the details of his wonderful campaign eastward and northward through the heart of the Confederacy for a chapter by itself. But henceforth all of Grant's movements must be interpreted by their bearing on Sherman's fortunes, or rather upon that fortune, common to both, which should spring from closer co-operation and possible junction of their forces. Sherman was pushing Johnston ahead of him, or to be more accurate, Johnston was keeping ahead, hovering northward of him, drifting back more and more on to the line of Lee's communications, both for their protection, that Lee might retreat by them in case of an emergency, and with a view to joining the two armies. Once joined, they might hurriedly pounce on Sherman, or, retreating into the mountains, might render other campaigns necessary, and prolong the war for years. Do not forget, either, that Thomas had, before the end of the year, annihilated Hood's army in Tennessee, and virtually closed the war there. This enabled Schofield to come East with his corps.

GEN. HOOD.

Through all these grand combinations the end was visible. The mighty Confederacy was staggering beneath blows it could not return, and writhing amid toils it could not shake off. It was discordant in its councils, and hopeless over the certainty

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that the grasp would not relax, nor the will relent, nor the energy weaken, which had proved, from the beginning, so indefatigable and irresistible.

Now, with Sherman moving northward, and certain to meet Schofield with a friendly army; with Sheridan back from his Staunton raid; with Thomas moving toward the railroad passes west of the Alleghenies; with Stoneman off on another raid from Tennessee into the Carolinas and thence toward Lynchburg; with Lee's failure at Fort Stedman;—let us open Grant's spring campaign of 1865 in and around Petersburg. Previous to Lee's attack on Grant's entrenchments at Fort Stedman, March 25th, he had called the attention of his government to the immense number of deserters from his army. This added to the dismay which existed. Lee attributed it to the discouraging sentiment outside of the army. On Feb. 3d a Confederate Commission composed of Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and J. A. Campbell had met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Hampton Roads to ascertain whether negotiations for peace would be entertained in connection with some terms which might secure recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Their propositions were not agreed to, and, as Mr. Lincoln said, could not be "except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces and the recognition of the national authority throughout all the States of the Union." The President further said that "the complete restoration of the national authority everywhere was an indispensable condition to whatever form of peace might be proposed." Though Lee was not in sympathy with this Commission, he now, a month later, March 2d, 1865, wrote to Grant proposing an end of the controversy through a convention. Grant said he had no authority to accede.

On March 23d, Sherman and Schofield met at Goldsboro'. On the 22d, Lincoln paid General Grant a visit at City Point. On the 25th, Sherman, leaving Schofield in command, arrived

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also at City Point. Admiral Porter was there. On the 28th, Grant's little hut was crowded with an illustrious company, Meade, Ord, Sheridan and others having been invited. It was not a council of war, but a free talk which embraced the entire situation and resulted in a full understanding of Grant's pur-

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

poses and the part each was to bear in advancing them. These he had formulated and issued to Meade on March 24th. Sherman's first duty was to hold Johnston where he was, at Smithfield, or, if he moved, to demonstrate upon Raleigh, cross the Roanoke at Gaston, and move to Burkesville Junction of the Southside and Richmond and Danville railroads, or

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join the Army of the Potomac as he might think best. Sheridan was to operate on Grant's left and be ready to aid Sherman if needed. Grant greatly feared that Lee would evacuate Petersburg and Richmond and escape capture. He felt sure that Sherman's crossing of the Roanoke would be the signal for him to leave. He had therefore a double

GRANT'S HEADQUARTER'S.

duty on hand; first, to retain and capture him; second, to be in position for hard and successful pursuit. He did not doubt that he would be equal to either task, and so shaped his movements. Lee was yet strong. His effectives on March 1st numbered sixty-three thousand. Grant had at his immediate disposal over one hundred thousand: sixty-nine thousand in the Army of the Potomac, twenty-seven thousand in the Army of the James, and thirteen thousand cavalry under Sheridan.

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The orders to Meade involved a move on March 29th, those to Sheridan one on the 28th. The latter was to move his cavalry far enough south to avoid contact with the enemy, then turn and pass to Dinwiddie Court House on the Boydton plank road, and thence operate northward and westward against the right and rear of the enemy. To support Sheridan, Meade was to make a westward movement, keeping well covered, and if possible extending his entrenchments. Parke and Wright were to hold in front of Petersburg, Ord was to relieve the Second Corps, now commanded by Humphreys, on the extreme left of the lines. On the morning of the 29th, Warren's Fifth and Humphrey's Second were to cross Hatchers' Run and march northwesterly, with four days' rations.

Warren was in motion at 3 A. M., Humphreys at 6 A. M. At nine o'clock Grant left City Point for the scene of operations. The President wished him and his officers God speed, "Goodbye, gentlemen," he said, "God bless you all; and remember your success is my success." The Federal extreme left extended to Hatchers' Run, and Ord held it. Both Warren and Humphreys crossed the run and swung northward. Humphreys did not disconnect his right from Ord, but turned on it, faced eastward, and stretched his left to Dabny's Mill. Warren marched further northward, connected with Humphrey's left, and extended his own to and beyond the Boydton plank near Burgess' Mill. Lee did not attack. The Federal front now reached from the Appomattox at Petersburg to Hatchers' Run, and thence northward to the Boydton plank. That evening Sheridan was at Dinwiddie, five miles westward. Grant sent him word: "Our line is now unbroken from Appomattox to Dinwiddie. We are all ready, however, to give up all from Jerusalem plank road to Hatchers' Run whenever the force can be used advantageously. . . . *I feel now like ending the matter, if it is possible to do so, before going back* . . . In the morning push round the enemy and get on his right rear.

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. . . We will all act together as one army until it is seen what can be done with the enemy."

Heavy rains and bad roads almost stagnated operations. Officers and men were dejected. Some of the former suggested a return, and feared that Johnston might attack in the rear. "I wish he would," said Grant, "I would turn round and dispose of him and then be free to attack Lee." During the inaction Sheridan rode over from Dinwiddie to Grant's headquarters. He proved full of the spirit of battle, and returned with instructions to get possession of Five Forks within two miles of the Southside railroad. If this point were gained Lee could not remain in Petersburg. Warren now extended his left well across the Boydton plank. Sheridan pushed a division northward from Dinwiddie, but found the enemy in force at Five Forks. Humphreys drove the Confederates close behind their entrenchments on Hatchers' Run. All the other corps commanders felt their fronts, and Wright and Parke said they could assault successfully. This was evidence that Lee had thrown his forces to his right.

Grant now offered to detach the Fifth Corps (Warren's) and place it at Sheridan's disposal. Then an attack was to be made on the enemy, who were rapidly fortifying Five Forks. At the same time an assault should be made all along the entrenchments. But Lee knew full well the importance of Five Forks to him, and was massing on the White Oak road to attack Warren's left. Warren was ordered to contract his lines and Sheridan notified to protect his rear. But Warren extended his lines, which were attacked on the morning of March 31st. Ayres' division was struck from the north and on its left flank and hurled suddenly back upon Crawford's division. The Confederates pressed on and forced both Ayres and Crawford upon Griffin, who fortunately held his men till the other two officers could reform behind him. Humphreys sent up Miles to Warren's aid, and the Confederate onset was

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stayed, but not till Warren's left had been driven a full mile. It was now the Federal turn to attack. Miles passed by Warren's rear and, opening on the enemy's flank, drove him back. Grant moved his headquarters to the Boydton plank, ordered Warren and Humphreys to push the attack, and sent word to Sheridan to keep the enemy busy in his front, or to attack if opportunity offered. Warren moved, supported by Miles, over the ground he had lost and, driving the enemy behind his entrenchments, secured a foothold on the White Oak road.

Lee had not only been moving infantry to his right to relieve it, but had organized an immense cavalry force under Pickett and given it the support of two infantry divisions, for the purpose of overwhelming Sheridan. On this same day, March 31st, it was moving toward Dinwiddie. Sheridan pushed Merritt's and Crook's commands out to meet it, leaving Custer to guard the rear and the roads connecting with Meade. The Confederates attacked at ten o'clock, with cavalry. Their charge upon Crook was made with fearful earnestness, but was gallantly repulsed with a loss to them of five hundred men. Pickett withdrew and then massed for an attack on Merritt's line. He forced back Davies' brigade, and detached it from its command. It fought its way to the rear, and there reformed. Pickett became too intent on his advantage and exposed his flank, which Sheridan attacked with Gibbes' and Gregg's forces. This relieved Merritt. The Federal lines now fell back in good order, fighting dismounted, before great odds of combined cavalry and infantry, till they reached the slight breastworks they had previously thrown up in front of Dinwiddie.

Sheridan informed Grant of his position, of the strong force in his front, and that his losses had been four hundred and fifty men killed and wounded. Grant instantly determined to convert Sheridan's defensive into an offensive attitude. He ordered

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Warren to draw in his left to the Boydton plank, and send a division down the road to Sheridan's aid. The move was most important, for the Confederates were outside of their fortifications, and would be struck in flank. Warren suggested the taking of his entire corps along, and Grant assented, but the movement must be completed by morning. Warren was cautious and slow. His aggressive vigor was not equal to quick emergencies, though brave in action and splendid in field movement, where time could be given and the spaces were not too contracted. Grant grew anxious and urgent. He spent the whole night in hearing from Meade, Sheridan, and Warren, and in issuing stirring orders how to co-operate for attack, and what to do in case Sheridan had to fall back in the morning. Still Warren was delaying, and the suspense became almost unendurable. Daylight of April 1st was on, and only Ayres' division was sufficiently advanced to be of assistance to Sheridan. He, however, decided to advance, with the hope that Warren would be along soon. He did so, and Pickett's entire force fell back in the direction of Five Forks, followed by Merritt and Crook. Ayres met the pursuing cavalry two miles up the Boydton road, but Pickett had slipped out in time to avoid the infantry blow on his flank, and made himself secure behind the entrenchments at Five Forks.

Sheridan learned that Griffin's division of the Fifth was close behind Ayres', and that Crawford's division might be expected soon. Grant had placed the entire corps under his (Sheridan's) orders. He, therefore, halted the advance divisions where they were on the Boydton road, with orders to wait till Crawford came up, and then to be prepared to take the roads leading off the Boydton plank toward Five Forks (so named from the intersection of five main roads there). None knew better than Sheridan the advantage of Five Forks to Lee, and none shared to a greater extent Grant's desire to capture this place. When Grant had said to Sheridan, "I mean to end the business right

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here," some such point as Five Forks must have instinctively flashed across both their minds. At any rate, it was now a key to a situation which involved the fate of the Confederate army. It was right under the Southside railroad, would command that road and all the rearward of Petersburg, would give Grant the line of the Appomattox, would force Lee to the north of that river, and perhaps even the James, with still more precarious communications westward. It seldom occurs in warfare that a place so unimportant in itself becomes so conspicious and pivotal. The fortune of Lee, the fate of his army, the future of the Confederacy, hung upon the possession of a cross-road centre that had never before been honored with even so much as a spot upon the map. Grant's superb leadership, untiring zeal, and constancy of purpose, had centralized the war so that the field of action which was, a year before, as wide as the continent, was now reduced to a single point, and the result of four years of sacrifice, hung upon the issue of a battle for a country village.

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CHAPTER XIX.

FIVE FORKS AND SURRENDER.

AT the end of Chapter XVIII. we saw Pickett's combined infantry and cavalry force fall back (April 1st) from Dinwiddie to Five Forks. This was necessary in order to avoid an attack on their left flank by Warren, who was ordered to move by the Boydton plank-road to Dinwiddie and to Sheridan's support. Warren came tardily and Pickett escaped the contemplated blow on his left. It will be remembered that the Fifth Corps (Warren's) was placed at Sheridan's entire disposal. When he met Ayres' division coming and found that Griffin and Crawford were following, he halted them where they were on the Boydton plank and left the entire corps under orders to take the side roads toward Five Forks when called.

Sheridan then pursued Pickett till he brought up within the fortifications at Five Forks which were, by this time, very strong and well manned. The restless and audacious cavalryman now conceived a scheme by which he hoped to make the place his own. It was past noon, and all effort must be prompt. He had discovered that the Five Forks fortifications stopped a mile east of the place and then turned northward. This left a gap between them and the Petersburg defences. He hurried Mackenzie with one thousand eight hundred troopers beyond this gap to check any reinforcements Lee might send. Then dashing to his centre and left, he established Merritt well in front of the enemy's works, which extended about two miles, with Five Forks just back of their

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centre, and gave him orders to make a vigorous feint on Pickett's right centre, as if to turn his right. Whirling again to the right he ordered Warren, who at noon reported to him in person, to move up his corps upon the enemy's left, and attack. Warren worked all too deliberately for the impatient Sheridan. It was five o'clock before he was up and in position, and already Merritt was vigorously engaged on the enemy's front and right. Mackenzie's mission eastward on the White Oak road had proved most timely. He had met a strong reinforcement coming out from Petersburg and, falling upon it, had driven it back. Warren formed with Crawford on the right, Ayres on the left and Griffin in support. The direct object of assault was the angle in the Confederate fortifications, where they turned off and ran northward. This was to be taken and destroyed before the troops holding it could be reinforced by those from the right and opposite Merritt. Ayres and Crawford moved briskly to the attack over miry, difficult ground. Sheridan and his staff rode between their skirmishers and regular lines. Ayres was received with a heavy fire before he reached the White Oak road. His left wavered, and in shifting his front to keep his lines straight his right lost its connection with Crawford. Two regiments broke entirely, but Sheridan rode into the midst of the faltering troops and re-established the columns.

Merritt heard the firing and made his assault on the enemy's front and right more direct and furious. Crawford had crossed the White Oak road and gotten too far north to be of service in the onset upon the angle. Ayres therefore had to bear the brunt of it. Griffin had unfortunately followed Crawford with his supporting division. It was a critical moment, and Sheridan sent for Warren, who was with Crawford. He did not come promptly; and Sheridan, full of the enthusiasm of battle, rode everywhere among Ayres' men, steadying the lines and inspiring prompt and daring action. Seeing a flag fall, he

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picked it up and plunged into the charge with it, shouting to the amazed infantrymen to "Come on." Somewhere back of the lines a band struck up a rollicking Irish air, and other bands took it up. The troops caught the spirit of it. Ayres and his staff rushed to where Sheridan was dashing about and cheering the lines, unmindful of lead that was riddling flags and striking down brave officers and men about them.

Such an example spread like contagion. The men rushed ahead with wilder impetuosity, swarmed up and over the fire flashing parapets, grappled with the gunners, seized the standards, and captured one thousand five hundred prisoners, an entire brigade. Facing westward inside of the angle, Ayres now prepared to roll Pickett's flank in upon his centre. Both Griffin and Crawford had heard the sound of battle and had even caught the cheers of the victorious Federals. They knew they were too far beyond the point of attack to be of service. Wheeling their commands and facing southwestward, they charged toward the centre of the fray. Griffin struck the enemy first and just to the north and right of Ayres. He swept away their skirmishers, broke over their entrenchments, and swiftly captured one thousand five hundred more prisoners. Crawford had really passed beyond the line of the enemy's north and south entrenchments, so that when he wheeled southwestward he struck an open flank, and almost an unprotected rear. Pushing his advantage with determined vigor, he threw all before him into confusion, and captured two guns and many prisoners. Mackenzie swung back with his cavalry and kept on Crawford's right. This threw him well into Pickett's rear, where he picked up prisoners by the hundred.

After Ayres formed inside the entrenchments for a charge westward, he was halted by Sheridan, lest he might interfere with the work of Merritt's cavalry toward the centre and left. Merritt had been doing splendid work all along the enemy's

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front. Instead of simply engaging in a feint, he had assaulted in dead earnest and with such impetuosity as to capture the entrenchments in many places. He had even broken through close to where Ayres was, and connected with him.

Here the sound of Crawford's battle up to the north told that he was coming, and that too on the flank and rear of the enemy. Warren had him and Griffin in hand and was working the two divisions with his old time energy and certainty. Darkness was coming on. A victory had been won. But the situation was one which, if taken advantage of suddenly, would greatly magnify that victory. Pickett's right was holding stubbornly. The rest of his columns were falling back on Five Forks. Crawford's sweep was bringing him even to the north of Five Forks. Warren was atoning for every delay by urging the division forward with all the speed the men could muster. He was meeting with resolute opposition, and his horse was shot. Almost at this juncture he received orders from Sheridan relieving him from command. His tardiness, mistake in direction, and failure to communicate with Sheridan, had inflamed that officer, and he wrote the hasty and severe order so as to put an end to further error and confusion. Perhaps the remedy was too heroic. If slow, there never was a braver and truer man than Warren, and he was afterward exonerated from blame by a court of inquiry.

GEN. WARREN

Griffin pushed past Ayres' right and in the direction of Five Forks. Merritt drove every advantage he had gained. Pickett's right broke from its cover, and now his whole line was in retreat, with Merritt stretched clear along what was its

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front and Griffin crowding in upon and rolling up its left flank. Pickett strove bravely to hold the Forks, but Merritt was on his right and front again before he could reform, and Griffin crushed his left, absolutely breaking up his forces and dispersing them in all directions. Merritt's cavalry had all along fought dismounted, but now all that could be accommodated with horses were mounted and sent in pursuit of the flying enemy, the main part of which was escaping by westward and northward roads. Griffin picked up all who fled by the White Oak road, and Crawford and Mackenzie those who fled by the Ford road. When Griffin reached Five Forks he was given command of the Fifth Corps. The pursuit was kept up for six miles and till long after dark.

The battle of Five Forks was grandly tactical, and was planned and fought inside of eight hours, both the place and moment being of vast importance. Materially it netted six thousand prisoners and six guns, with the dispersion of a force nearly equal to one-third of Lee's army, while the Federal losses did not exceed one thousand killed and wounded. Morally it had a wonderfully inspiring effect on Grant's army and the country. It was a most auspicious opening of his spring campaign, and in enviable contrast with Lee's attempt on Ft. Stedman a few days before. History cannot undertake to measure its grewsome effects on Lee and the Confederacy, who saw the environment of Petersburg now complete and all westward ingress and egress cut off. Pickett managed to rally a few thousand of his men north of Hatchers' Run, but on that night of April 1st, 1865, Sheridan's troopers and the worn-out Fifth bivouacked in and around the now famous Five Forks, and the former sent his couriers through the darkness of night and forest to carry the glad tidings to Grant at Dabney's Mill, that he might transmit them to the President yet at City Point.

Grant was sitting in front of his tent wrapped in the blue

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overcoat of a private, when suddenly his ears were greeted with the cheers of the soldiery. Far off in the dark woods, a courier was hurrying toward headquarters, and as he passed the camps they caught up the brief words of victory he let fall, and wafted them through the night air to all the camps and forests and hills. Another officer came, and still a third, in quick succession, each a bearer of completer news, each rushing upon the General with a gladder and more excited story of victory. He was the one calm, unmoved man in the midst of a throng which was wild with joy and clamorous amid exultation. It was after eight o'clock at night. Rising, he went within the tent for a moment, then appearing, he handed a slip of paper to an orderly, remarking to those around, "It is a windy night. I have ordered an immediate assault all along the lines." To the President he dispatched, "Sheridan has carried everything before him. I have ordered everything else to advance to prevent a concentration against him."

It was a night of jubilee in the Army of the Potomac. From Hatchers' Run far around Petersburg and up to and across the James the soldiers poured from their tents, bivouacs and bomb proofs and caught and echoed the glorious tidings. The bands played for hours. At midnight the deep-mouthed cannon along those miles of fortifications belched forth in furious bombardment and kept it up till 4 A. M., the hour fixed for a general movement of the corps.

Even the day before, Grant had notified all the corps commanders to stand ready to move, for he was determined to intercept any effort Lee might make to strengthen Pickett, as well as to keep Sheridan sufficiently supported to win a victory. The responses that came from the different corps were hearty and pleasing. They were ready and anxious either to attack their fronts or go off to Sheridan's aid. Grant's instructions to Meade were detailed and covered his two lead-

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ing points of anxiety, first, lest Lee should escape; and second, lest in escaping he should strike and overwhelm Sheridan. Therefore Meade was to push the assaults wherever ground was gained, and so dispose his forces as to make them successful. A prompt beginning was urged; for, said he, "My own opinion is you will have no enemy confronting you in the morning. You may find them leaving now. I do not wish you to fight your way over difficult barriers against defensive lines. I want you to see though, if the enemy is leaving, and if so, follow him up."

And immediately after he wrote: "Start Miles down White Oak road to Sheridan, and let the Second Corps follow." Then to Sheridan: "An attack is ordered for four in the morning at three points on the Petersburg front; one by the Ninth Corps between the Appomattox and Jerusalem plank, one west of the Weldon road, a third between that and Hatchers' Run." Then followed orders to take and hold the Southside railroad. But Sheridan had already proposed to march eastward by the White Oak road, in order to attack any help Lee might be sending to Pickett.

But Lee did not reinforce Pickett. He probably anticipated Grant's assault and kept his men in the fortifications. He was still forty thousand strong and well protected. He was the Confederacy's only hope, and that hope would vanish in an open field. Yet he had heard from Five Forks, and was dazed. His right had been suddenly cut off from his centre and beaten and dismembered. He did not even call Longstreet from North of the James at this supreme moment.

At 4 A.M. on the morning of April 2d, Wright and Parke began the assault. Humphreys waited to hear from the right of the lines. Wright formed his Sixth in three divisions, with five batteries and a corps of pioneers and sharpshooters, and then began to move. Imprudent pickets commenced firing in advance, which drew stunning volleys upon the massed troops,

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who, nevertheless, retained their places and preserved quiet. By 4.40 the columns were under way in the morning twilight. They broke over the enemy's picket lines, and made their way amid a deadly musketry and artillery fire toward the parapets beyond. Abattis were cut away and the columns surged on. The enemy opposed gallantly, but finally went down before the impetuous and solid Federals. Wright gained the whole line of entrenchments in front of his corps.

Parke assaulted along the Jerusalem plank road. He formed with two assaulting columns, Hartranft on the right of the road and Potter on the left. Wilcox was to demonstrate further to the right, which he did so effectually as to break through the entrenchments and draw a heavy attack upon him from within. Parke's two columns moved steadily forward to the assault. The pioneers rushed ahead cutting abattis and warpings. The fire from cannon, mortars and muskets was concentrated and incessant. Yet the columns surged ahead, resolutely, confidently, till they struck the works, over which they poured, capturing twelve pieces of artillery and eight hundred prisoners. Wheeling to the right they drove the enemy from traverse to traverse, till an entire salient was in their possession. Turning the captured guns on the strong inner lines, they made a gallant attempt to capture them, but the resistance was too stubborn. Potter fell wounded. It was now daylight, and they turned their attention to making secure what they had captured. The inner line of Confederate works enveloped Petersburg, so that, despite the brilliant successes of the morning, the city was not yet in Federal hands.

As soon as Grant heard of these successes, he ordered Ord to send all his spare troops to Wright's assistance, and Humphreys to advance and "feel for a soft place in the entrenchments on Hatchers' Run." Sheridan was ordered to close in from the west, with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps and Miles' division of the Second. The President was notified

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of the situation, and, taking in the whole field, orders flew hither and thither to watch, to concentrate, to feint, to support, to push attack. Not a position nor command escaped the attention of that controlling and ordering mind, and not a possibility became barren till effectually tried.

The time had now come for Ord and Humphreys to move. Ord found a comparatively defenceless front and readily possessed himself of the entrenchments. Humphreys found stouter opposition, but by eight o'clock Hays' division carried a redoubt and captured three guns and the garrison. Mott's division pushed up the Boydton road, but found the enemy's lines evacuated. The outer barriers were now well broken, and there was a terrible concentration of troops on the inner circle. It was now a continuous battle field from Petersburg to Hatchers' Run, from Hatchers' Run up to the Boydton plank, and thence to Five Forks. Everything, infantry and cavalry, was in motion, and all intent on Petersburg, and on Lee should he be there.

Grant rode well to the front to direct operations. It required his disciplinary mind to save confusion among the now concentrating and overlapping corps. He spurred over the broken works and met a troop of three thousand prisoners captured by Wright's Sixth. Galloping on, his presence inspired the men to more heroic effort, and their lusty cheers assured him that they were filled with the spirit of final and glorious victory. "Forward, Wright, and Ord, and Humphreys! Hold, Parke!" This would sweep both sides of the Boydton plank, the direct road into Petersburg. Grant's position was a half mile inside of the outer entrenchments and under fire. But so anxious was he to witness the result of his last orders that discretion was laid aside for the time being. At length, being admonished, he remarked: "The enemy seem to have the range of this place. Suppose we ride away." He again telegraphed the President, describing the situation, concluding,

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"We are closing around the works of the city immediately enveloping Petersburg. All looks remarkably well."

The wreck of Lee's army was simply terrible. His left under Gordon had been driven from its outer stronghold by Parke; his centre under Hill had been crushed by Wright; Heth and Wilcox on his right had been cut off by Ord and Humphreys. Pickett tried to get back to the army by way of Sutherland Junction, but, meeting the fugitives from Heth and Wilcox, wheeled and crossed to the north of the Appomattox at Exeter's Mill. Sheridan was closing in along the White Oak road. Lee's lines had been, as he said, "stretched till they broke."

It must have been despairing work for the Confederate commander to organize for the defence of his inner lines and perhaps to save his army from capture or irretrievable ruin. Yet he strove hard to stay the victorious tide. Longstreet was ordered from the North side of the James, in anticipation of which Grant had sent word to Weitzel to assault his front as soon as he found it weakened. Gordon was ordered to force back Parke. Hill, Mahone, Lee himself, and all others were busy in gathering the broken regiments and patching up new commands. At twenty minutes to eleven he sent word to Richmond: "I see no prospect of doing more than holding on here till night; I am not certain I can do that."

GEN. EWELL.

President Davis sat in his accustomed church on that Sabbath morning, April 2d, 1865. A messenger entered and handed him a letter. It was Lee's dispatch. He read it hurriedly, rose and left the church The minister announced that the local forces had been called upon to assemble, and dismissed the congrega-

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tion. It was followed by another dispatch stating that he (Lee) would have to fall back north of the Appomattox as the only means of forming a connection with the forces cut off from him, and advising that all preparations be made to leave Richmond that night. A third came at five minutes of five, "I think the Danville road will be safe till to-morrow." That evening Davis and his cabinet fled by railway and canal, and shortly after Ewell withdrew the garrison, burning warehouses, bridges and public stores, and leaving no one to guard the helpless thousands against the excited mob to which disaster invariably gives birth.

By noon of April 2d, Lee seemed to have recovered himself sufficiently to make an offensive demonstration on the position held by Parke on either side of the Jerusalem plank. There were several determined efforts to retake the lost works here, all of which were repulsed with heavy loss. Parke's position was the closest to Petersburg, and really threatened the bridge over the Appomattox, by which Lee hoped to retreat. The enveloping Federal corps swept in closer and closer from the west. The Sixth and the Twenty-Fourth moved rapidly to connect with the Ninth. Humphreys had extended his left till it almost reached the Appomattox. Before their irresistible sweep every outer work of the enemy fell except two commanding redoubts, Fort Gregg and Fort Baldwin. At one o'clock, Ord prepared to storm Fort Gregg, with Turner's and Foster's brigades. Three hundred veteran gunners manned the parapets. They fought bravely, and several times repulsed the assaulting forces. At last the parapet was gained, and then ensued a hand to hand conflict which ended with surrender. Fifty were found dead in the fort, and two hundred and fifty were captured. Fort Baldwin was at once evacuated. The inner line of defences was now all that stood between Grant and Petersburg.

Sheridan, who was supposed to be covering all the Federal

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left, and coming eastward with the victorious forces, found something in the rear to attend to. The enemy's cavalry turned up in force beyond Hatchers' Run and would prove troublesome unless attended to. He therefore held a large part of the Fifth with him and dispersed the foe gathering in the rear. Then marching north from Five Forks to the Southside railroad, he turned eastward toward Sutherland's Station, where he arrived in time to help Miles, who had attacked a strong covered position and been twice repulsed. Hearing that Sheridan was approaching, the gallant Miles repeated the strategy of Five Forks, struck the enemy's flank while making a demonstration in front, and swept his entire line of fortifications, capturing nine hundred and fifty prisoners and two guns. This action gave the Federals control of the Southside railroad at Sutherland's Station, a point which Lee had ordered to be held at all hazards. Grant gave Miles warm personal praise for gaining this victory and important railroad point.

The momentous day wears away amid this surge and concentration of forces under the watchful supervision of that central and superbly controlling mind. Weitzel, above the James, is notified not to attack his front now. "Everything is going well here, and in a day or two I will be able to send you all the troops necessary." Sherman is written to, the situation explained, and he is directed to graduate his movements accordingly. The anxious President at City Point is not forgotten. He is notified at half past four: "We are up now, have a continuous line of troops, and in a few hours will be entrenched from the Appomattox below Petersburg to the river above." And the President is invited out to see him to-morrow. The reply came: "Allow me to tender to you, and all of you, the nation's grateful thanks for the additional and magnificient success; at your suggestion I think I will meet you to-morrow."

Evening of April 2d came on. Sheridan had forced every trace of Confederate troops north of the Appomattox, and was

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covering the rear to the river. The rest had been forced inside the inner lines of Petersburg. The investment of those lines was complete. Should they be attacked at once? If captured, Lee would have to surrender, for he could not possibly get his army over the Appomattox in time to save it. But if not captured, then he could escape, for the Federals could not, in the face of discomfiture, make successful pursuit. Meade and other officers favored immediate assault. But the troops had been eighteen hours on their feet and in heavy action. Grant felt this, and also knew that an assault must be attended with great and unnecessary loss, for he was convinced that Lee had made up his mind to abandon the works very soon, and perhaps that night. He therefore did not order an assault on the 2d, but disposed his forces so that half of them should be ready for prompt pursuit, and the rest for attack, if need be, in the morning.

Sheridan was ordered to cross to the north side of the Appomattox and be governed by the enemy's movements. Humphreys was held in readiness to cross to his support. Word went to both, "All we want is to capture or beat the enemy." Grant was judging well, he had been too long in front of Lee not to know what his tactics would be in such an emergency. Already word was coming in which sustained his views. By nine o'clock at night Sheridan reported it as his opinion that all the enemy's forces outside of Petersburg were attempting to escape his way; and Grant sent to Meade his thoughts that already Gordon's corps was the only one left in Petersburg. He therefore suggested an assault at six on the morning of the 3d, but only in case the enemy were really found to be leaving. Parke was directed to use his heavy artillery against the Appomattox bridge, for "If we can hit the bridge once it will pay."

The fact was Lee had been preparing to evacuate all day, had been sending word to the Confederate authorities in Rich-

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mond to make their escape, and at 7 P. M. he had sent his last dispatch, his full confession, his plans. "It is absolutely necessary that we should abandon our position to-night or run the risk of being cut off in the morning. I have given all the orders to officers on both sides of the river, and have taken every precaution that I can to make the movement successful. It will be a difficult operation, but I hope not impracticable. The troops will be directed to Amelia Court House." Amelia Court House is on the Richmond and Danville railroad, south of the Appomattox.

It will be seen from this notable dispatch how accurately Grant was reading Lee's mind, and divining his intentions. It was not even late on that night of April 2d, when Lee's right struck Sheridan's advance above the Appomattox, and fifteen miles from Petersburg, and when the forces from Richmond, and in front of Bermuda Hundred were on the move. Pickett had gathered up his stragglers further west, and was making a formidable vanguard for the army, in the direction of Amelia Court House. Lee's object was to reach Johnston's army, now massed at Smithfield, N. C., one hundred and fifty miles away. The first point to be made was Burkesville Junction of the Richmond and Danville and Southside railroads, fifty miles from Richmond. Thither Johnston might be able to come; at least Lee could connect with him from that place. But the great gathering point would be Amelia Court House, due west from Richmond, yet beyond the Appomattox, which would have to be crossed. Neither army had much advantage in distance, but Lee's would of course have several hours start, and the quickening inducement of flight.

After burying General A. P. Hill, who had fallen in the morning, the Confederate chieftain sadly took his position out at the junction of the Amelia and Richmond roads, and watched his dejected troops file by in midnight retreat. From ten o'clock till three in the morning, a steady stream of discomfited

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men poured silently forth from all the strong places they had built, and defended for nearly a year. Then the bridges across the Appomattox, within Petersburg, burst into a blaze. The stores and magazines throughout all that vast line of works from Petersburg to Deep Bottom, and up the fortified front to Richmond, were shattered and destroyed by thunderous explosions.

And all night the vigilant Federals were feeling the enemy's front to see what he was doing. His pickets, of course, kept up the disguise till the very last moment. The explosions in Petersburg prompted Parke to try his front seriously. At 4 A. M. of April 3d, he made a general movement, readily captured the remaining pickets and skirmishers, and in half an hour, Ely's division was in the heart of the city, and that officer had accepted its formal surrender. The Sixth Corps advanced, and the authorities surrendered to Wright also. There was a rush to the burning bridges, and after great effort, one was saved. A heavy skirmish line was at once thrown across the river, and many stragglers were captured.

Meade notified Grant of the surrender of the town, at five o'clock. Word came instantly, "March immediately with your army up the Appomattox, taking the river road, leaving one division to hold Petersburg and the railroad." And then to Sheridan, "Petersburg has fallen. Push to the Danville road with all speed, with Humphreys and Griffin, as well as cavalry." And then to Ord, "Push southwest with your command, by the Cox road. Enemy evidently moving toward Danville. The Army of the Potomac will push up the river road." And to the President, "Petersburg evacuated last night. Pursuit will be made immediately."

And yet not a corps nor command was moving in direct pursuit. That would have been to march through Petersburg, to cross the Appomattox to the north, and then recross again wherever Lee crossed. It would have been to tread on Lee's

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heels at an immense disadvantage as to time and distance. Lee had to cross, and most likely at Goode's or Bevil's bridges. The pursuit should, therefore, be by sticking to the south side of the Appomattox, and by effort to intercept him at the crossings. Therefore, the whole Federal army was whirled westward, and most of it never saw the inside of the Petersburg fortifications. Weitzel was notified to march into Richmond, which he did at 8.15 of April 3d, making large captures of guns and undestroyed materials, and finding the city on fire in many places, which his soldiers helped to extinguish.

At nine o'clock, Grant rode into Petersburg to look on the sad, deserted scene, and pick up information from citizens and prisoners respecting Lee. By twelve, word came from Sheridan that his cavalry was pressing the enemy's trains within nine miles of Namozine Creek, and that he would push to the Danville road as soon as possible. Grant's reply was to the effect that Lee must be intercepted, and Burkesville secured and held; that it was evidently the enemy's intention to hold the road between Lynchburg and Danville; and that if Lee got to Danville, Burkesville would be the point from which to direct operations against him. Then the President came up from City Point to hear from Grant's own lips of the operations of the previous day, and his plans for the immediate future.

The capture of Richmond, which had all along been so supreme an object, was lost sight of in the midst of efforts to capture Lee's army. True, the country received with overwhelming joy the announcement that "Richmond is taken," and it saw rightly in its fall the sure beginning of a welcome end, for the Confederate capital stood for the Confederacy in the minds of those unused to the study of military situations. But the Federal army saw something far more momentous in the fall of Petersburg, and they now had in view something more glorious still, the capture and surrender of the organized power of the Confederacy, and the absolute end of the war.

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Lee was pushing all his forces for Amelia Court House by three roads. Should they combine there, he would still have a formidable army of perhaps fifty thousand men. It is said, his spirits rose greatly after daylight on the 3d, when he saw his men swinging along with such a good lead of the Federals. He was evidently counting on Grant's following him directly, and on the opportunity this would give for occasionally turning around, and beating back his van. But he had forgotten the manner of man with whom he had to deal. Grant did not let armies escape him. His pursuits were always unrelenting, and his tactics most brilliant when a foe thought to outmanœuvre him. He knew men and divined situations too well to be thrown off his guard now by any ingenious by-play of a beaten and retreating enemy. His columns were all in motion as he had directed, on the south side of the Appomattox, Sheridan in advance with the cavalry, then Griffin with the Fifth, then Meade with Humphreys and Wright, while Ord marched direct for Burkesville.

Everywhere Sheridan found evidences of the haste and demoralization of the enemy, in abandoned guns and accoutrements. During the day he picked up fifteen hundred prisoners. At Deep Creek he came upon a body of Confederate infantry, posted to head off his march, but they were quickly routed. By night the Fifth encamped at Deep Creek, the Second a few miles behind at Namozine Church, and the remaining corps, with Grant and Meade at Sutherland's Station. Sherman's situation now became important. During the day Grant sent him a full account of affairs, and specific directions how to operate, not only so as to assure his own safety, but so as to co-operate most effectively with the Army of the Potomac. The battle fields of Virginia and North Carolina were fast becoming one. If Lee should succeed in joining Johnston, the armed enemy would be one. Therefore, Sherman and Grant should be one, if not by real junction, at least in hearty cooperative spirit.

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By daylight of April 4th, all the Federal troops were in motion again. They were to strike the Richmond and Danville road at Jetersville, six miles south of Amelia Court House where Lee's van was now supposed to be, and where it was understood he would stop to concentrate. He had expected also to find rations there. But they were not there, and could not be now, for soon Sheridan and the Fifth Corps were at Jetersville, cutting off all access to Burkesville and Danville. When Lee found this out he entrenched his lines and sent out foraging parties to gather supplies for the hungry, many of which were captured.

Sheridan ordered Griffin to entrench also at Jetersville, and when he was well fixed on both sides of the railroad he sent word to Grant that he had intercepted Lee. Instantly the word flew to Meade and the corps commanders, and although Meade was sick and in a soldier's bed, he arose full of the spirit of the exciting occasion, and issued a soldierly call to his officers and men to bear the fatigue of long and rapid marching and the hardship of a scanty fare a little longer, with the assurance that the desperate contest must speedily and triumphantly terminate. It was the night of the 4th, and long before morning of the 5th, Wright and Humphreys were on the march without rations, bound for Jetersville. Ord stopped that night at Wilson's on the Southside railroad, and expected to reach Burksville by a forced march on the 5th. Grant was with him, and on the 5th further notified Sherman of the situation, saying that Lee's objective was evidently Danville, and that he (Sherman) should prepare to strike; "Rebel armies are now the only strategic points to strike at." When he reached Nottaway, within ten miles of Burkesville, he received word from Sheridan that Lee's entire army was at Amelia Court House, and that Davies had struck his right flank at Painesville and captured six pieces of artillery. "We can capture the army of Northern Virginia if force enough is thrown to this point and then advance upon it."

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It was a day of hard marches, but the men were cheerful, even though their rations were slim and uncertain. By nightfall Humphreys' Second was well in position on the left of Griffin's Fifth, and a space was left on the right for Wright's Sixth as soon as it arrived. Meade was quite ill and left the arrangement of the troops to Sheridan, who was most anxious to tempt Lee to attack the position held by Humphreys, for his cavalry demonstrations on Lee's right, as far out as Painesville, told him that the Confederate leader intended to escape further westward by a flank movement. Meade was conservative and did not want to expose Humphreys, whose position was not strong, to attack till Wright's Sixth came up and got position. Meade, of course, had his way, but Sheridan sent an appealing message to Grant to come and look at the situation himself, and then stated his fears that Lee would escape westward and not stand to fight at Amelia unless promptly attacked.

Grant immediately started from Nottaway with his staff for a night journey (night of April 5th) of twenty miles to Jetersville. It was a dangerous trip over muddy roads, through deep forests, under the escort of a guide whose loyalty was not exactly trusted. He found Sheridan in a high state of excitement over the prospective escape of Lee and the failure to draw a battle the day before. Grant heard his description of the situation without show of emotion, and having learned that Wright's Sixth had gotten into position on Meade's right, the evening before at six, he notified Ord to move west from Burkesville in the morning and hold the railroad between that point and Farmville. He then ordered Meade, whose disposition of forces contemplated a movement by his right on Lee's left, to be ready to pursue Lee westward early in the morning, or to attack if he were still in front.

Not content with these orders, Grant went to see Meade in person, stated the situation to him, and fuller than ever of the belief that Lee had no intention of fighting where he was, but

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would not even be found there in the morning, he directed Meade to move westward by his left flank at daylight. And then he urged the necessity of promptitude, since Sheridan's cavalry had the day before made captures of artillery and wagon trains well out toward Painesville, and had struck a heavy body of the enemy in that direction. Though Meade's previous orders were thus modestly changed or overruled, he responded with true soldierly alacrity, and by daylight his entire army was in motion, first northward toward Amelia to feel Lee's position. The Fifth followed the railroad; the Second marched on the left; the Sixth on the right. Sheridan was sent in the direction of Deatonsville with all his cavalry except Mackenzie's, who was ordered to Ord's assistance. Ord was directed to cut the bridge over the Appomattox at Farmville, the point of crossing Lee would supposably try to make.

Thwarted in his efforts to get south from Amelia by the Federal lines he found firmly extended across his path at Jetersville, Lee made his confession by withdrawing from Amelia on the night of April 5th, as Grant had foreseen. This was fully proved before the Federal army had advanced three miles in the direction of his lines, on the morning of the 6th. And now Lee's position was worse than ever before. Deep indeed must have been his disappointment over the failure to make Burkesville Junction before Grant reached there. He must try something still more desperate, and yet with a pervading consciousness that he was being out-generalled. Lynchburg, sixty miles away, became his only hope. But to get there he must recross the Appomattox at Farmville. Would Ord be there in time to intercept him?

So the two armies swung westward by parallel roads only five miles apart, Lee's slightly in advance. His was a frantic race for life, amid the demoralization of retreat, the disintegration of failure, the fear of other failure, yet the desperation that lends energy to a dying throe. Turn his eyes southward when

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and where he would, toward Johnston, toward the fastnesses of the Carolina mountains, toward the central States of the Confederacy, he could see nothing but the remorseless lines of Federal cohorts hugging and threatening his exposed flanks, and could feel only the determined energy, appalling scrutiny, baffling skill, disappointing anticipation, and terrific vigor of that spirit which guided and ruled those interposing legions.

Lee had started from Amelia early on the night of the 5th, and by morning his advance was at Sailor's creek, beyond which the "inevitable Sheridan" turned up with his cavalry. He called a halt to let his trains pass to Farmville to cross the bridge. Ord had pushed a small advance force thither to burn the bridge, but it was attacked and almost annihilated. Yet the resolute stand it made led Lee to suppose that it was backed by a much stronger force, and he delayed his advance and began to entrench. This gave Sheridan time to catch his rear on the Deatonsville road.

Grant had changed the marching order of the corps, throwing Humphreys' Second in the centre, Griffin's Fifth on the right and Wright's Sixth on the left. Lee's halt now enabled these corps to get quite even with him. Each had orders to harass and attack under all circumstances, but now special orders were issued to Humphreys to head directly for the enemy. He struck their front at Deatonsville. Grant immediately swung Griffin around to their left and rear, where he picked up hundreds of prisoners and forced the burning of many wagons, and ordered Ord to push for Farmville with his whole corps; "the capture of the enemy is what we want."

But Lee was soon found to be again on the move, and the work of envelopment went on. Griffin found himself almost between Lee and the Appomattox, Humphreys in his rear, on the Deatonsville road, and Wright well on his left, with Sheridan. Grant hastened to Burkesville to hurry Ord up to

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Farmville. Evidence was continually found of the enemy's desperate condition. Stragglers were innumerable, and were picked up as prisoners. They were hungry and almost clotheless. Trains were burned, guns thrown away, artillery buried. Lee's movements began to point positively to Farmville as his objective. His road was straight to Rice's Station and thence to Farmville. But Ord was at the station with a strong force which he had entrenched. Lee was checked again. Sheridan ordered Crook and Merritt to close on his rear and attack at every opportunity. Humphreys was in close quarters at Deatonsville, and making harassing attacks whenever an opening favored. At four in the afternoon Wright's Sixth and Sheridan's cavalry struck the road on which Lee was moving two miles south of Deatonsville. After a spirited engagement they broke his columns and took possession of the road. This threw part of his force westward on a by-road. It was attacked by Humphreys and driven to Sailor's creek, which had been fortified, and along which a strong body of Confederates lay. The cavalry worked their way beyond the creek. Wright attacked the entrenchments in front. The entire force seemed to be surrounded, but fought with desperate bravery. They were the centre of a converging fire of artillery and musketry, and out of humanity Wright ordered the artillery fire to cease, expecting that surrender would soon follow. But to his surprise, the enemy burst suddenly upon his ranks and drove them back beyond the creek, engaging all the while in a terrific hand to hand contest. The Federals reformed, opened again with artillery and musketry, charged back over the creek and upon the entrenchments. By this time the cavalry came closing in on the rear. Merritt and Crook pushed through the pines and up to the combatants. The Confederates stood bewildered for a moment and then threw down their arms in surrender. There were seven generals, Ewell, Kershaw, Custis, Semmes,

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Corse, De Foe, and Barton, seven thousand other prisoners, fourteen guns, the entire rear guard of Lee's army.

Humphreys had deflected to the north in pursuit of another column of the enemy, and had caught up with it near the mouth of Sailor's creek. He engaged at once, and captured three pieces of artillery, thirteen flags and several hundred prisoners. His entire captures during the day were four guns, one thousand seven hundred prisoners, three hundred wagons and thirteen colors. Griffin had not been engaged during the day, but had made long marches, and stopped for the night at Ligontown on the Appomattox.

Nightfall of the 6th, saw Lee in narrower quarters than ever before. Sheridan and Wright had cut off and captured his rear, Humphreys and Griffin were hovering close on his right and rear, Ord was lying across his front. It was late when Grant met Ord, to whom he described the situation as one highly satisfactory in all respects, and as likely to reduce Lee's army to almost nothing inside of three days. To Sherman he sent a dispatch of the same tenor, and urged him to push Johnston immediately and hard so as to "finish this job all at once." Now word came to him of Sheridan's and Wright's splendid work during the day, and of the situation at nightfall. It came from Sheridan himself, and concluded with: "If the thing is pressed I think Lee will surrender." Grant sent the word to the President, then in Richmond. The laconic reply came "Let the thing be pressed."

Every day, and almost every hour brought a tumult of new situations and emergencies. Grant set about divining the morrow. Should Lee cross at Farmville now, it was plain that his southern route would lie through Prince Edward's Court House. Ord could beat him to that point, and he was notified to be ready for the race in the morning. Mackenzie was directed thither at once, with orders to hold it. Griffin was ordered to make it his destination as soon as possible. But

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Lee evidently anticipated that Grant would confront him there. So on the night of the 6th, he turned his van, which had concentrated strongly in front of Ord at Rice's Station, off to the right and made all speed for Farmville, to which point trains of supplies had been sent down from Lynchburg. Ord made the discovery early, and pressed him so hard that he could not unload his supplies, but sent them back to Appomattox Court House, whither he followed them. It was twenty miles to Appomattox Court House. His direction and destination were now determined for another day at least.

Sheridan also made the discovery early. He put Crook directly in Lee's rear, and sent Merritt to move westward with two divisions through Prince Edward's Court House. Humphreys' Second was abroad early, and he struck Lee's rear at High bridge, five miles east of Farmville, where both high-road and railroad cross the Appomattox. Both bridges were burning when he arrived, and the enemy were strongly posted to dispute his passage. It was necessary to save the wagon bridge, at least, for the river was not fordable. A charge was made at once, and the bridge was cleared and saved. Artillery was brought to bear on the position beyond, but there was no response. The enemy moved off, abandoning eighteen pieces of artillery in all. Humphreys kept up the pursuit to Farmville, where the bridges were found burned, as well as one hundred and thirty train wagons. Yet he crossed the river promptly, and kept up the pursuit.

Lee marched directly north by the curved road running to Appomattox Court House, and to its junction with the road from High bridge. Here he stopped and fortified to give his trains time to pass and get beyond, and here Humphreys found him. As soon as Humphreys ascertained that the whole Confederate army was in his front, he sent back word to Meade to support his Second with all his force. But, unfortunately, the corps had all pushed past High bridge and on to Farmville,

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where the bridges had been burned, and where delay in crossing would ensue. Humphreys was now in a predicament. His was the only force on the north side of the river. Grant happily arrived in Farmville, from Burkesville. He at once ordered Crook's cavalry and Mott's division of the Second to ford the river and go to Humphreys' aid. Wright was directed to build a foot bridge and throw his Sixth across. Pontoons were laid for the artillery and trains. Before night of the 7th, Humphreys had a strong force with him. But he had had, in the meantime, a severe battle, in which one of his divisions (Miles') met with a repulse. Nor had the cavalry gotten across without difficulty. Gregg's division had been severely dealt with in fording the stream, and that gallant officer was captured. The baffled Lee could yet strike vigorous blows, and it was not well for the Federals to be off their guard, or too confident.

Though Lee had been forced north of the Appomattox, it was deemed prudent to keep all the westward fordings of that stream guarded. Sheridan was ordered to watch them, and to hasten his main force, followed by Ord, to Prospect Station, and thence to Appomattox Court House. Griffin was to go by the same route. If they got there in advance of Lee, they were to attack the head of his column. The Second and Sixth were to press the enemy where he was now stationed, north of Farmville, and to follow vigorously, if he moved.

Late on the evening of the 7th, Grant got some refreshing news from Sheridan, to the effect that a panic existed in Lynchburg, and that the enemy were running all trains and supplies out of the city. It concluded: "Our troops are reported at Liberty. This must be Stoneman." And it was. He was coming on his raid from East Tennessee, spreading panic before him and leaving destruction behind. How wisely Grant had ordered when, in March, he foresaw the possibilities of just such a situation as was now before him, and started

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Stoneman eastward to cut communications, and make any retreat of Lee into the mountains difficult. Even to the last the columns were converging, and all the parts of the mighty military machinery working in unison.

Though Grant found his respective columns further apart that night of April the 7th, than usual—Sheridan at Prospect Station, Meade at Rice's, Ord at Prince Edward's Court House, Humphreys north of the Appomattox, and Wright virtually over, they were nevertheless well in hand for the work of the next day, and his orders went out confidently and tersely. They evidently emanated from one entirely satisfied that the hour of Lee's surrender could not be further postponed without an unwarranted sacrifice of men and the exhibition of a pugnacity which, all things being equal, might pass as bravery, but which under the circumstances must be classed as foolish desperation. Therefore in order to save further and useless effusion of blood, and at the same time relieve his beaten adversary of the mortification of bluntly confessing his inability to further cope with him, he wrote:—

"*Farmville*, April 7th, 1865.

"GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States' army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General."

Lee did not think that the time had yet come for surrender, though urged to it by an almost majority sentiment among his officers and the desperate straits of his men. He replied on the same date:—

"General: I have received your note of this date. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood,

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and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender."

Grant received this on the morning of the 8th. He immediately replied:

"Your note of last evening in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply I would say that *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely: that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received."

On the same date (April 8th) he wrote to Stanton: "The enemy have, so far, been pushed from the road toward Danville. I feel very confident of receiving the surrender of Lee and what remains of his army by to-morrow."

Yet pursuit was not remitted in the least. On the night of the 7th Lee withdrew from Humphreys' front. By 5 A. M. of the 8th, both he and Wright were in hot pursuit, which they kept up unremittingly till night. They were off again as early on the morning of the 9th, and amid great hardships, for their supply trains could not keep up and rations were short. At 11 A. M. on the 9th, Humphreys came up with the Confederate rear three miles east of Appomattox Court House.

But Sheridan had been making good use of his time and had forged ahead so as to get his cavalry into, and even beyond, Appomattox Station, which lies on the railroad five miles south of Appomattox Court House. Here he discovered several trains of cars heavily loaded with supplies for Lee's

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army. It was the presence of these which made the possession of Appomattox Court House so desirable to the retreating and famished troops. Custer's division had only time to burn one train and send the others down toward Farmville, when he was set upon (April 8th) by a heavy force of Confederate infantry and artillery. It proved to be Lee's advance column, coming for these very supplies and with no idea of meeting an enemy in force. Custer made vigorous battle and drove the foe back, capturing twenty-five pieces of artillery, an hospital train and many prisoners. Devin came to Custer's aid and together they pushed the enemy till nightfall and until he was quite back to Appomattox Court House. A reconnoissance showed that Lee's entire army was coming up the road toward the Court House. Sheridan's forces had therefore again beaten Lee's advance to its much coveted destination and were once more squarely across his track. It was half past nine o'clock on the night of April 8th, and Sheridan instantly sent to Grant to hurry Ord's Twenty-Fourth and Griffin's Fifth up to his support, adding: "We will perhaps finish the job in the morning. I do not think Lee means to surrender until compelled to do so." What could be more despairing than Lee's situation now, with his track squarely blocked, his destination cut off, his expected supplies destroyed or run into the Federal lines, two inspired and rapidly moving corps closing upon his rear, the one, Humphreys' Second, to strike him before noon on the morrow (9th).

Grant pushed rapidly from Farmville on the 8th to join Sheridan's advance. But worn out by loss of sleep, fatigue and unremitting supervision and mental anxiety, he was obliged to stop midway at a farm house to rest and recuperate. Here a reply reached him from Lee at midnight of the 8th. It read:

"I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of

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yesterday I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army; but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia; but, as far as your proposal may effect the Confederate States' forces under my command, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A. M. to-morrow, on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies."

The tenor of this letter was different from that of the day before, which was written when his rear-guard was under attack and his lines were lit up by his blazing wagon trains, when he found himself under the hard compulsion of turning northward across the Appomattox and seeking a new destination. Now he seemed to feel that he had distanced the directly rear-guard pursuit, and had evidently not yet suspected that before morning Sheridan and perhaps two corps of infantry would rise up as obstacles to his advance. Grant interpreted the letter correctly, and perhaps forgave its spirit to the newly created hope of escape and freshly kindled desire to postpone to the very latest the humiliation of absolute surrender. But he was looking with other eyes on the situation, was impelled by different judgments. Cutting across all idle sentiment, distorting no situation, wiping away all glamour, disdaining ingenuity, resorting to nothing artificial, cloudy or indirect, he returned answer on the morning of April 9th.:

" Your note of yesterday received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace. The meeting proposed for 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good I will state, however, General, that I am equally desirous for peace with yourself,

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and the whole North entertains the same feeling. *The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood.* By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself yours,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General."

Ord marched his men all of the 8th, and until daylight of the 9th, to reach Sheridan. Griffin followed as unremittingly, and by the afternoon of the 9th, came into position. The strain on the troops had been fearful, but they bore up cheerfully, under the inspiration of the hour, and all pervading conviction that just that kind of effort was now more effective than pitched battles, more blasting to the hopes of the enemy than bloody victories. The infantry corps were not up and in position a moment too soon, for Lee had formed his advance in line of battle, and made a desperate attack upon Sheridan. That officer had formed his men dismounted, with their horses off to the right and rear. Ord, as senior, formed his own corps and Griffin's considerably in the rear, and directly across Lee's road. Sheridan's ranks, therefore, disguised the infantry completely. The Confederates thought they had only the dismounted cavalry to contend with, and they made a spirited assault, before which Sheridan retreated. Encouraged by apparent success, the enemy dashed on in brave contention for a free right of way through and beyond Appomattox Court House. Still Sheridan retreated. He was now opposite where his horses were, and quite back to the Federal infantry lines. Then his lines broke, swept to the right, and formed mounted. The Federal infantry was uncovered, and rose up sheer in the Confederate front. Instantly the battle yells of the surging Confederates ceased, their quickened fire stopped, their last desperate charge came to a standstill. They wavered, staggered,

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and huddled, but whether for retreat or surrender, they knew not, amid the terror inspired by that awful front of armed men, sweeping now from the hill sides and woods into the narrow valley, closing in their shotted and bayonetted ranks upon doomed flanks and fronts, with Sheridan off there to the left, mounted and formed, ready to swoop in upon the confused, entangled, and panic-stricken masses. Whither could they flee? Not forward; nothing but serried and advancing lines there. Not sidewise and into the wooded hills; cavalry on one side, solid infantry ranks on the other. Not backward, except to throw all behind into panic, and invite certain capture, for were not Humphreys and Wright already close upon the rear of the entire Confederate army? In a moment there would be unparalleled slaughter, if they stood nerveless, huddled, unformed; or else, to save destruction, there would have to be abject surrender.

Respite came. A white flag appeared in the distance. Its silent, petitionary, confessional language, all understood. No more deep-mouthed guns spake. Small arms ceased their lighter clangor. Bristling, surging columns came to a stand. A cessation of hostilities was asked, till Lee could meet Grant. Sheridan rode into Appomattox Court House, and found that Lee had sent a similar flag of truce to his rear, with a letter to Grant proposing surrender. If that were so, then why this attack and attempt to break through the Federal lines? Sheridan asked for an explanation of Generals Gordon and Wilcox, and for a guarantee that surrender was actually intended. The guarantee was given to both Sheridan and Ord by Gordon and Wilcox, but why an attack was permitted after having written that morning to Grant, and proposing surrender, was not satisfactorily explained.

Lee sent his letter through his rear to Humphreys, under a flag of truce, and with a request not to press further on him. To this request Humphreys could not, of course, accede with-

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out orders from his superiors. He formed in line of battle, with his own and Wright's corps, when Meade came upon the scene. He granted a truce for an hour. He had received Lee's letter at nine o'clock and sent it to Grant, and expected to hear from him soon. But Grant had gone to Sheridan's front and Lee's letter did not reach him till noon (April 9th). It ran:

"I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview, in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose."

On receipt of it Grant wrote: "Your note of this date is but this moment (11.50 A. M.) received, in consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg to the Farmville and Lynchburg roads. I am at this writing about four miles west of Walker's Church, and will push to the front for the purpose of meeting you. Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me." Col. Babcock carried this note through Sheridan's lines to Lee. The truces were extended by both Sheridan in front and Meade in the rear, till positive word came from Grant.

On receipt of the note Lee rode to Appomattox Court House and selected the farmhouse of one McLean for his interview with Grant. As the imagination has had much to do with shaping the piece of history now enacted, we prefer to let General Grant tell the preliminary part of it in his own plain, straightforward way. He says in his personal memoirs:

"I found General Lee had been brought into our lines and conducted to a house belonging to a Mr. McLean, and was there, with one of his staff officers, waiting my arrival. The head of his column was occupying a hill, a portion of which was an apple orchard, across the little valley from the Court

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House. Sheridan's forces were drawn up in line of battle on the crest of the hill on the south side of the same valley.

"Before stating what took place between General Lee and myself, I will give all there is of the narrative of General Lee and the famous apple tree. Wars produce many stories of fiction, some of which are told until they are believed. The war of the Rebellion was fruitful in the same way. The story of the apple tree is one of those fictions with a slight foundation of fact.

"As I have said, there was an apple orchard on the side of the hill occupied by the Confederate forces. Running diagonally up the hill was a wagon road, which at one point ran very near one of the trees, so that the wheels on that side had cut off the roots of the trees, which made a little embankment.

"General Babcock reported to me, that when he first met General Lee he was sitting upon this embankment, with his feet in the road, and leaning against the tree. It was then that Lee was conducted into the house where I first met him.

"I had known General Lee in the old army, and had served with him in the Mexican War, but did not suppose, owing to the difference in our ages and rank, that he would probably remember me; while I would remember him more distinctly because he was the chief engineer on the staff of General Scott in the Mexican War. When I had left camp that morning, I had not expected the result so soon, that then was taking place, and consequently was in rough garb, and, I believe, without a sword, as I usually was when on horseback on the field, wearing a soldier's blouse for a coat, with shoulder straps of my rank to indicate who I was to the army.

"When I went into the house I found General Lee. We greeted each other, and after shaking hands, took our seats. What his feelings were I do not know. Being a man of much dignity and with an impenetrable face, it was impossible to say whether he felt inwardly glad that the end had finally come,

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HOUSE IN WHICH GENERAL LEE SURRENDERED.

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or whether he felt sadly over the result, and was too manly to show it. Whatever his feelings were, they were entirely concealed from observation; but my own feelings, which had been quite apparent on the receipt of his letter, were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe, that had fought so long and gallantly, and had suffered so much for a cause which I believed to be one of the worst for which a people ever fought, and for which there was not the least pretext. I do not question, however, the sincerity of the great mass of those who were opposed to us. General Lee was dressed in full uniform, entirely new, and wearing a sword of considerable value, very likely the sword that had been presented by the State of Virginia; at all events, it was an entirely different sword from the one that would ordinarily be worn in the field. In my rough traveling suit, which was the uniform of a private, with the straps of a general, I must have contrasted very strangely with a man so handsomely dressed, six feet high, and of faultless form. But this is not a matter that I thought of until afterward.

"General Lee and I soon fell into a conversation about old army times. He remarked that he remembered me very well in the old army, and I told him as a matter of course I remembered him perfectly, but owing to the difference in years—there being about sixteen years difference in our ages—and our rank, I thought it very likely I had not attracted his attention sufficiently to be remembered after such a long period. Our conversation grew so pleasant, that I almost forgot the object of our meeting. General Lee, at that time, was accompanied by one of his staff officers, a Colonel Marshall. I had all of my staff with me, a good portion of whom were in the room during the whole of the interview."

After this introduction, Lee turned to the object of the interview, and said: "I asked to see you, General Grant, to ascertain upon what terms you will receive the surrender of my army."

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The reply was: "The officers and men must become prisoners of war, giving up, of course, all munitions, weapons and supplies; but a parole will be accepted, binding them to go to their homes, and remain there until exchanged or released by proper authority."

Lee replied that he had expected some such terms. Grant then asked: "Do I understand, General Lee, that you accept these terms?" "Yes," said Lee, "and if you will put them in writing, I will sign them." Turning to a table, the victorious chieftain wrote:

"APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA., April 9th, 1865.

"GENERAL: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you, of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer, or officers, as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"General R. E. Lee."

It is said that Grant, while in the act of writing, looked up, and noticing Lee's sword, changed his terms so as to exempt officers' side arms. Lee read the paper carefully before signing, and seemed much pleased with the clemency of the terms, remarking that the conditions were magnanimous, and would have a good effect upon his army. He asked for such modification as would allow the men to retain their animals. But Grant replied: "I believe the war is now over, and that the surrender of this army will be followed soon by the surrender of all the others. I know that the men, and indeed the whole

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South, are impoverished. I will not change the terms of the surrender, General Lee, but I will instruct my officers who receive the paroles to allow the cavalry and artillerymen to retain their horses, and take them home to work their little farms."

Lee again expressed his acknowledgments and sitting down wrote his reply:—

"*Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia*, April 9th, 1865.

"GENERAL: I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"Lieutenant-General, U. S. GRANT."

These formal ceremonies over, the Federal officers present were introduced to Lee, who received them very formally. He ended the business by asking that the supplies in the trains which had come up from Lynchburg be distributed to his famished troops. Grant informed him that they had been captured by Sheridan, but that rations would be issued to the prisoners. He asked how many. Lee could form no estimate. He had had no returns for days, and his losses by killed, captured, straggled and deserted, had been enormous. "Would 25,000 rations do?" asked Grant. Lee replied that he thought it would. The victor ordered this number to be issued. Humanity spake, and a generous conqueror fed his starving enemies.

The Confederate leader rode back to his army. As his men rushed around him, the tears gushed from his eyes, and amid sobs he said to the gathering crowds, "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you." The response was a round of broken cheers that spoke their love for an old leader, and served as the expiring breath

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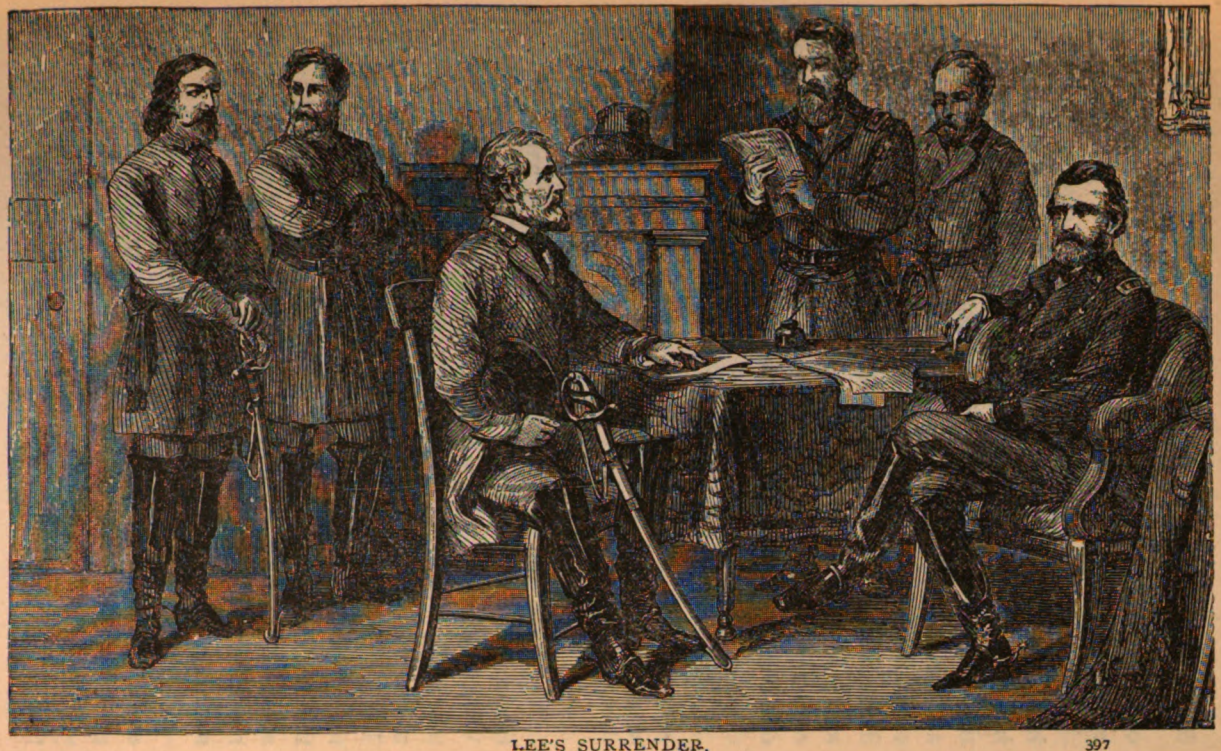

LEE'S SURRENDER.

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of that once proud organization known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Grant too returned to his lines, whither the glorious news had preceded him, and where salutes were already firing in honor of victory and his coming. He ordered this kind of demonstration to cease, saying, "The war is over, the rebels are our countrymen, and the best sign of rejoicing after the victory will be to abstain from all demonstrations in the field." Then sitting on a stone by the wayside and calling for paper and pencil, he penned the words which were to electrify the nation, announce the birth of peace, and begin a new era in our civilization. It was 4.30 P. M. of Sunday, April 9th, 1865.

"HON. E. M. STANTON,

"*Secretary of War, Washington.*

"General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself. The accompanying additional correspondence will show the conditions fully.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

Not in all the history of this great country had such welcome news been borne to an anxious and long-tried people. When Richmond fell the jubilation had known no bounds, but now every patriotic instinct was touched as never before, and unlimited freedom was given to every impulse of joy and thanks. The one calm, self possessed spirit among the excited and unrestrained millions was his, to which under kind Providence, these glorious results were chiefly due. He would have no spectacular triumph then, not even a field review, but would return immediately to Washington to disband his armies and save expense.

On the 10th he rode to the Confederate lines and had a final and kind interview with Lee and the leading Confederate officers. His officers did the same. There was cordial talk of war times and war issues, sad confessions on the one side that all was lost, happy assurance on the other that the country

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was on the eve of a new and brighter destiny, and general agreement that the principle of property in man had been obliterated from our institutions. Victors indulged in no offensive exultation; vanquished found balm for defeat in the magnanimous and satisfactory conditions of surrender, and recompense for supposed loss of estates and political privileges in the thought of escape from trial and execution for the crime of treason.

Grant was now off for Washington. On April 12th, Lee's army marched past a spot designated for the deposit of its arms and paraphernalia. Sadly and doggedly they filed by the ranks of their conquerors, who uttered no cheer, aimed no taunt. Grimly they approached the spot which was soon to be piled high with trophies, and there they silently parted with gun, bayonet, accoutrement and the standards they had followed with veneration through four long years of bloody conflict. The glory had departed from their ranks. The sun had set forever on their ambitions and their cause. Lee did not witness this solemn ceremony. He had started for Richmond which he entered on the 12th, to find it so impoverished that he was glad to accept a "destitute ration" as his first supper within the conquered and lost capital.

And now Grant's great spring campaign had ended on the line and in the way he proposed from the beginning. He made Petersburg and Richmond untenable, started their armed occupants into the open, baffled them in every attempt to get south and join Johnston, marched by them, followed them, out-manœuvred them, beat them when they stood in battle, surrounded them in an open country, crowded them into an area so small that they could not move, compelled surrender. It was not bloody victory, but bloodless annihilation; not a blow, but an end. Petersburg was nothing; Richmond was nothing. They were not entered in force, hardly looked into. The corporate energy, the armed vigor, the living moving presence of the Confederacy was what Grant saw.

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That he would have. All else was secondary. For this he planned and wrought. Having that, his triumph was supreme.

The immediate and material results of his wonderful strategy and persistent effort were 27,516 prisoners at Appomattox, and 46,495 captured between that and the opening of the campaign, making a total of 74,011 since the 29th of March, 1865. During the same time the Confederate losses in killed must have been 5000. The losses in the Army of the Potomac from March 29th to April 9th were 1051 killed, 5704 wounded, 1769 missing, total 8524.

The grand result—that to the country, the world—cannot be measured by words. It was the end of a long, bloody, exhausting, fratricidal war, the extinction of a cause which inspired it, the downfall of institutions which sought foundation and recognition through it, the revolution of that government and those institutions which survived under the name of the again United States of America, by cutting them off forever from the barbarous principle of property in man, by giving them the baptism of a truer freedom, by preparing them for a future whose triumphs should be only those of peace, whose benefactions should be for all the people, whose history should be the most glorious among the nations.

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CHAPTER XX.

NASHVILLE AND THE MARCH TO THE SEA.

AFTER his appointment as Lieutenant-General, Grant's first care was, as we have seen, to divide the country into such military departments and secure for the same such armies and generals, as would make all his plans harmonious and most effectively co-operative. There was now one responsible mind; there should be but one set of forces working together for a common result.

Just before Chattanooga, the Military Division of the Mississippi had been established for him. To this he now added Arkansas, and made (spring of 1864) Sherman his successor. After the failure of Bank's Red River expedition he created a department on the lower Mississippi and Gulf coast called the Military Division of West Mississippi, with General Canby in command. We have already seen how he consolidated the discordant departments around Washington under Sheridan, when Washington was threatened.

GEN. CANBY.

These evidences of generalship at the beginning of, and throughout, the campaigns of 1864–65, bring the organizing ability of the Lieutenant-General into conspicuous relief and, coupled with the unerring direction thereby given to the Federal armed forces, furnish a standpoint for study and admiration found in

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few, if any, of the great military characters of ancient or modern history.

Grant was so confident of Sherman's ability to master the situations that might arise in his department that he forebore giving him detailed instructions, except as to the time of starting. He wanted Sherman to win a separate renown, because he thought he deserved it. Therefore after a long talk at Nashville, in the spring of 1864, and a full understanding of Grant's plans and purposes, Sherman was left to carry them out in his own way. Let us see how it all came about, for this is necessary in order to fully realize the comprehensive grasp and magnificent military skill of the Lieutenant-General, and complete the wonderful picture of grand combinations and proud material results which appeared on the canvass of history.

The Confederate army under General Johnston lay at Dalton, just south of Chattanooga, whither it had retreated after the battle of Chattanooga. It numbered about sixty thousand effectives, and was strongly entrenched. Hardee, Polk, and Hood commanded its three corps, Wheeler its cavalry, and G. W. Smith a division of Georgia State troops.

Sherman engaged with spirit in the work of organizing his department and concentrating his forces. By May 1st, 1864, his forces were well in hand, in good condition, and under faithful and able officers. The Army of the Cumberland, under General George H. Thomas, was at Chattanooga and down along the railroad toward Dalton. It was composed of three corps, Howard's Fourth, Palmer's Fourteenth, and Hooker's Twentieth. The Army of the Tennessee, under General McPherson, was on Chickamauga creek. It was composed of Logan's Fifteenth Corps, Dodge's Sixteenth (part), and Blair's Seventeenth (part). The Army of the Ohio, under Schofield, had moved down from Knoxville to the

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Georgia State line at Red Clay. It comprised part of the Twenty-third Corps and Stoneman's Cavalry.

The Combined forces were:

	Army of Cumberland.	Army of Tennessee.	Army of Ohio.
Infantry,	54,568	22,437	11,183
Artillery,	2,377	1,404	679
Cavalry,	3,828	624	1,697
Total,	60,773	24,465	13,559
Guns,	130	96	28

Grand total, 98,797 men; 254 guns.

Sherman was in motion promptly on the day designated by Grant, May 6th, 1864. Johnston's position at Dalton was found impregnable, and direct assault out of the question. All the region around is mountainous and difficult. Strategy must therefore be resorted to. Thomas was pushed to Tunnel Hill in the face of the enemy, with orders to demonstrate vigorously. Schofield was brought down close to Dalton, as a threat on the enemy's right. McPherson passed through the gaps with orders to strike and capture Resaca, on the railroad, eighteen miles south of Dalton and directly in Johnston's rear. Thomas' demonstrations became a series of savage assaults which resulted in the capture of some of the enemy's strongest outposts. But McPherson found Resaca too strong for attack. He was rapidly reinforced by Schofield and Thomas. But Johnston had, in the meantime, become alarmed at these rearward operations. He therefore evacuated Dalton and fell rapidly back to Resaca.

Sherman was close upon him. On May 12th he enveloped the Confederate works, and swung a strong column of infantry and cavalry to Calhoun, south and rearward of Johnston. By the 14th, his corps were all in position to attack, and a heavy battle ensued, which brought the Federals no results, except the capture of four guns and several hundred prisoners by Hooker. But Johnston became again fearful of the demon-

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stration in his rear and fell back, during the night, to Adairsville, followed closely by Thomas, while Jefferson C. Davis' Division made a diversion to Rome, capturing the place with ten large guns and a vast amount of supplies.

Thomas' pursuit was so close and persistent that Johnston did not stop at Adairsville, but kept on to Cassville, where he stopped and fortified. Here there was every indication of a general battle, but by the time his position was invested he retreated again beyond the Etowah, holding Allatoona pass as a cover. Sherman now boldly cut loose from his supplies, and crossed the Etowah to turn the position at Allatoona. He made Dallas his objective. Johnston anticipated the movement and, disposing himself accordingly, offered serious opposition. Hooker's attack on New Hope Church was repulsed with great loss, and McPherson fought a sèvere battle to retain his place in front of Dallas, in which the enemy were repelled with heavy losses. These delicate and dangerous operations in a hilly, densely wooded, and unknown country, consumed several days.

On June 1st, Sherman's cavalry captured Allatoona, and opened his communications northward. Sherman now engaged in a series of flanking manœuvres, and a direct threat on Atlanta, in obedience to which Johnston gradually fell back, but all the while kept himself securely covered. By June 9th, Johnston was back to a strong position on Kenesaw and Lost Mountain, and covering Marietta, with Sherman close on his front. On the 11th, he sent word to Washington, "I will proceed with due caution, and try to make no mistake. One of my chief objects being to give full employment to Joe Johnston, it makes but little difference where he is, so he is not on his way to Virginia." How admirably the Western general was carrying out the spirit of Grant's instructions, and how much the campaign which was bearing Johnston southward resembled that which had, by this time, forced Lee from the

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Rapidan to Cold Harbor! And Grant was not unmindful of Sherman's energy and persistency, for he had already recommended him for the rank of major-general in the regular army.

Sherman spent many days in reconnoitering Johnston's position at Kenesaw, and seeking a point to strike. On June 27th, he assaulted under McPherson and Thomas, at two places about a mile apart. It was terribly fatal to the Federal troops, who lost three thousand in killed and wounded, among them Generals McCook and Harker. The Confederate losses did not exceed five hundred. But the assault enabled the Federals to gain a close position under the enemy's elevated works, which they held till July 2d, when McPherson withdrew and made a flank movement, in connection with Stoneman's cavalry, toward the Chattahoochee. Johnston immediately fell back to Smyrna, five miles southwest of Marietta, pursued by Thomas. Logan took possession of Marietta.

GEN. McCOOK.

Again Johnston's position was turned, and by July 9th, both armies were across the Chattahoochee, Johnston covering the approaches to Atlanta, now only five miles distant, and which he was fortifying with all dispatch. Here both generals adopted a policy of great caution and strategy. Johnston's losses had been ten thousand in killed and wounded, and forty-seven hundred prisoners. His loss of ground, stores and prestige had been more disastrous. Atlanta, the stake of the campaign, must depend on the strength and skill of his next move. Sherman occupied a few days in perfecting his communications. His losses too had been great, but especially so by necessary

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subtractions made to guard the long line of railroad back to Chattanooga, upon which he now depended for supplies.

Rousseau, with a cavalry force of two thousand men, was ordered from Decatur on July 10th, to cut Johnston's communications with the southwest. He marched to Talladega, and on the 16th, struck the railroad at Loachapoka. Moving thence to Opelika, he destroyed thirty-two miles of track. On the 22d, he reached Marietta, having lost only thirty men. On the 17th, Sherman began a flank and rearward movement, designed to capture Atlanta. At this juncture Johnston was removed, and General Hood given command of the Confederate army. Sad confession, indeed; for Johnston was a better tactician than even Lee, and as resolute a man as could be found in the Confederacy. He fell a victim to the narrow convictions and petty jealousies of Davis and his cabinet.

By July 20th, Sherman had his three armies well around Atlanta, with a gap between Schofield and Thomas, which Howard was directed to fill. Hood discovered this gap, and massed to take advantage of it and crush Thomas' right. He made what was described as "one of the most reckless, massive, and headlong charges of the war," under Bate and Walker, of Hardee's corps. Hooker's corps caught the brunt of it without cover and, aided by Newton and Johnson, he repulsed it with a loss to the enemy of nearly five thousand men, five hundred of whom were left dead on the field, together with one thousand wounded. Sherman's loss was five hundred.

Hood withdrew, on the night of the 21st, to the immediate defences of Atlanta, closely followed by Sherman's entire army, with Thomas on the right, Schofield in the centre, and McPherson on the left. On the 22d, McPherson found his left attacked with great fury by Hardee, who had made a night detour for the purpose. McPherson rushed to the endangered point, and was killed while rallying his men. Logan assumed command. Stewart's and Polk's corps were now attacking Logan in front.

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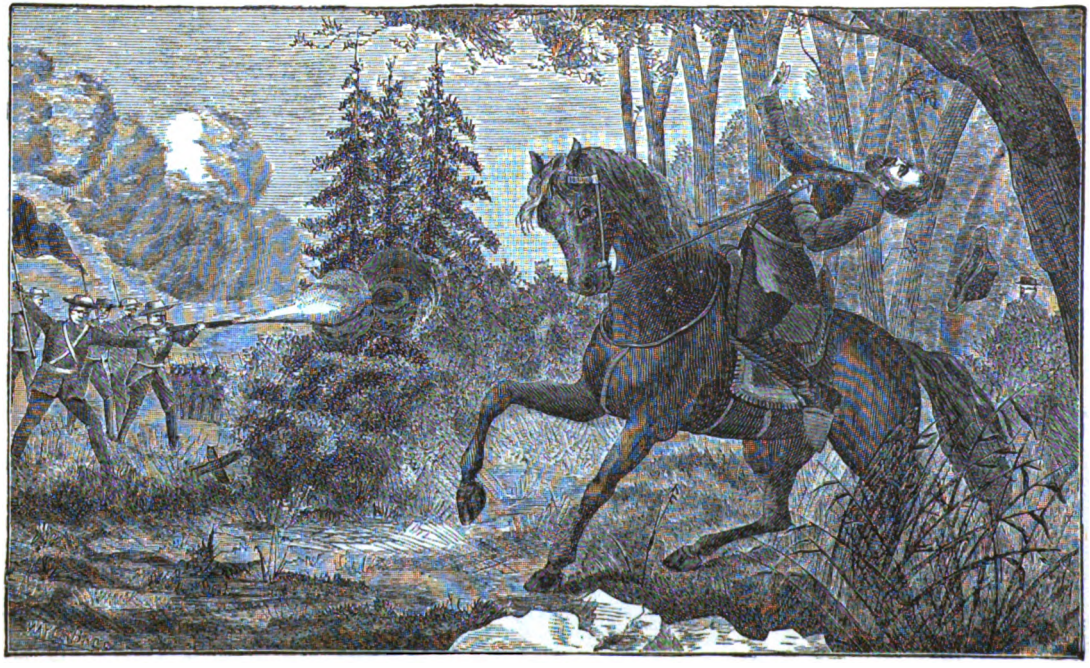

DEATH OF GEN. McPHERSON.

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That officer rallied his broken forces, recklessly dashed along their lines, and flaming with the spirit of a Ney, threw them

GEN. McPHERSON.

forward with irresistible vigor on the enemy. Sherman watched the movement with extreme anxiety, for his whole army was in peril. But its success soon gratified him. Logan

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handled his men so quickly and well, and fought with such desperation, that the enemy began to give ground, and finally broke into retreat. Sherman's losses were thirty-seven hundred and twenty-two in killed, wounded, and prisoners, among which was the gallant McPherson, whom both he and Grant greatly loved. When Grant heard of the death of this brave, gifted, and trusted officer, he could not restrain his tears, but wept as one who had lost the best friend on earth, and even found time in the midst of his great weight of care to send a letter of tender condolence to the mother of the dead officer, whose reply was touchingly thankful for cherished words from such an honored source in her hour of supreme anguish.

The Confederate losses were nearly double the above. Hood was a reckless fighter, and in his two daring battles thus far had sacrificed fully twenty per cent. of his army.

On the 23d Garrard's division destroyed all the railroads, except the Macon, in Hood's rear. Stoneman's and Garrard's cavalry, five thousand strong, were sent to cut this, with orders to fight their way to the junction of the roads at Eastpoint, south of Atlanta, where they might expect to meet the Army of the Tennessee, now commanded by Howard. (Logan had yielded to Howard, his senior.) But while Howard was executing this movement to the rear, he was fallen upon by Hardee and Lee, who attacked Logan's corps with great fury. But for the coolness and fortitude of that officer the Army of the Tennessee must have suffered signal defeat. Logan covered his front with temporary breastworks, and repelled six different assaults, with a loss to the enemy which he estimated at five thousand, and to his own corps of six hundred.

By August 1st, Sherman's army was not a happy one. Hooker felt aggrieved at Howard's promotion to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and was, at his own re-

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quest, relieved. Slocum took his corps. Palmer was similarly relieved, and succeeded by General Jefferson C. Davis. Stanley took Howard's corps. Logan, who was really the aggrieved party, fought on at the head of his corps without a murmur. The cavalry expedition had proven a failure, and Stoneman surrendered part of his command to a body of intercepting militiamen.

The time till August 15th was spent by Sherman in slowly working his lines around Atlanta toward the right. Finding this process tardy, and being too impatient to engage in regular siege operations, he suddenly swung his army south of the place and across the enemy's communications, which he destroyed. On August 31st, Howard was attacked and, after two hours' fighting, the Confederates hastily retreated, leaving two thousand and five hundred killed and wounded on the field. On the next day Davis assaulted the Confederate lines, captured eight guns and Govan's brigade, but could not press his advantage further owing to lack of support. That night the Confederates evacuated both Atlanta and Jonesboro and fell back to Lovejoy's Station, the cavalry going toward McDonough and the militia toward Covington.

GEN. SLOCUM.

Sherman had now reached his objective point, Atlanta. He concentrated there for rest and reorganization. He had been active for four months, was now in the heart of the Confederacy, had kept the Confederate army busy, now saw it broken and going off by different roads, was where he could swing toward Virginia and Grant, and had the entire railroad system

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of the south at his mercy. Grant could look out from his Petersburg entrenchments on the happy fulfillment of all his plans thus far, and safely calculate that the forces he had set in motion in the spring would further co-operate and converge till the end could no longer be postponed.

Hood concentrated at Palmetto Station twenty-five miles from Atlanta, and reorganized. For two months Forrest kept up a series of disastrous raids, which greatly annoyed Sherman and gave Grant much uneasiness. But they were checked in October by a Tennessee force. Sherman's cavalry was very inefficient all this time. It was widely scattered, and of limited numbers. Grant perceived this, and ordered Wilson from Virginia to act as Sherman's Chief of Cavalry, with full power to organize and command all the force he could gather; another striking instance of the Lieutenant General's careful supervision of his commands and wonderful knowledge of their most pressing wants. For this Sherman was very grateful, and might well have said as at Chattanooga, "I knew that wherever I was you were thinking of me, and if in difficulty would come to my rescue, if alive." Wilson soon brought order out of confusion, and in a short time had seventy-two regiments of cavalry organized into fifteen brigades and seven divisions, all under approved leaders. Sherman's cavalry branch was now stronger than the enemy's.

In September, Price invaded Missouri with ten thousand men, where he roamed around with impunity and made many valuable captures, in the presence of Rosecrans, who for a long time failed to concentrate against him. At length he made a stand at Big Blue river, and was routed with the loss of artillery, trains and many prisoners. He then beat a retreat to Arkansas. After the failure of Banks' Red River Expedition, General Canby, then in command of the West Mississippi Military Division, was directed to send the

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Nineteenth Corps to Washington, where it arrived in time, as already seen, to assist Sheridan in his Valley operations. Thus Grant utilized all his idle forces, and in such a way as to have them come in at the very nick of time. He worked his problems out far in advance, and seemed to anticipate junctures and prepare for them with the accuracy of a profound mathematician.

On September 10th, 1864, Grant, in pursuance of his original design, as communicated to Sherman at Nashville, in January, 1864, asked the latter if it would not now be best for him to move on Augusta, while Canby's troops acted upon Savannah. Sherman replied that he could go to Milledgeville and compel Hood to give up Augusta and Macon, and thus sweep the whole State of Georgia, provided he (Grant) could manage to take the Savannah river up to Augusta, or the Chattahoochee up to Columbus, but that otherwise the question of provisions would not let him move too far from Atlanta. Grant then wrote of his proposed capture of Wilmington, N. C., and a movement from there. Sherman then saw his way through, by keeping Hood employed while he marched to Augusta, Columbia and Charleston, Grant in the meantime to take both Wilmington and Savannah.

But Hood, Forrest and Wheeler were now (October, 1864) all loose, "without home or habitation." They were yet sufficiently strong to make the situation interesting for Sherman, especially since Hood had thoroughly reorganized his broken forces at Palmetto Station, and had marched northward with evident designs on the Federal communications, and perhaps on the State of Tennessee. Sherman thought the movement a ruse to draw him away from Atlanta, but Grant detected in it a serious attempt to recapture Tennessee. He therefore did not issue the necessary authority for Sherman to begin his historic march to the Atlantic till midnight of October 11th, and only after the assurance that Sherman had made such dis-

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position of his forces under Thomas and others, as would amply protect Nashville and the entire State of Tennessee.

Hood was now fully forth, and rapidly destroying the railroad north of Sherman. Leaving Slocum's Twentieth at Atlanta, Sherman pushed rapidly after him with the Fourth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Twenty-third Corps, and two divisions of cavalry. General Corse's brigade was ordered from Rome to Allatoona just in time to save the place from capture by a detachment from Hood under General French. The battle was a bloody one, in which Corse was badly wounded and lost heavily in killed and wounded.

Though Sherman followed Hood rapidly, that doughty officer kept on northward, destroying the railroad and even capturing the garrison at Dalton. Here he deflected, and was pursued to Gadsden, on the Coosa, avoiding battle as much as possible. Thence, passing the Lookout ranges, he marched toward Decatur, on the Tennessee, where he joined with Taylor's army from Central Mississippi. Sherman became aware of this on October 25th, and had, in anticipation of it, sent Thomas to Nashville to take command of his old department. Stanley's Fourth was ordered to Chattanooga to report to Thomas. Schofield's Twenty-third was placed under similar orders. Wilson, who had organized Kilpatrick's division of cavalry, five thousand strong, to attend Sherman on his march to the sea, was also sent to Nashville to reorganize a still larger cavalry force, assist Thomas in repelling the enemy, and then start after Sherman, joining him wherever he might be found.

Sherman now completed his own arrangements for the campaign eastward to the Atlantic. All his corps, designed to protect Tennessee and co-operate with Thomas, were sent northward to Chattanooga and Kingston. All the railroads running into Atlanta were destroyed. Communication with the North was entirely cut off. On November 14th, Sherman concentrated his remaining force at Atlanta, and burned the

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public buildings, depots and machine shops. The fires got too much headway, and nearly the whole town was burned. Rome suffered nearly a like fate.

On November 16th, Sherman started eastward from Atlanta with the Fourteenth Corps, and marched directly for Milledgeville. He had previously sent his right wing, with Kilpatrick's cavalry, to Macon and Gordon. On the same day, Slocum moved along the Augusta railroad for Madison, with orders to meet the centre at Milledgeville. The different columns were under orders to form a junction at the end of seven days, and in the meantime railroads, bridges, public stores, and all property contributing to warlike supplies of the enemy were to be destroyed. The army's right was composed of the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps, under Howard, and the left of the Fourteenth and Twentieth, under Slocum. Kilpatrick had about fifty-five hundred cavalry. Sixty pieces of artillery were taken along. Each soldier carried forty rounds of ammunition, and the wagons one hundred and sixty rounds per man. The total infantry strength was sixty thousand men. The trains carried twenty days' rations and five days' forage. A supply of beef was driven along on foot. The trains consisted of twenty-five hundred wagons and six hundred ambulances.

GEN. KILPATRICK.

The destination depended on the character of the opposition met with. Hood was off to the northwest and could not give serious trouble for a time. The Georgia towns were defended by militia whose opposition was not feared, unless they could concentrate. The greatest danger was from Lee, who might lend a strong force from Petersburg. But Grant would watch

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this, and he gave orders to follow any troops Lee might detach. If Sherman could get through he would go to Charleston or Savannah. If he could not, he would strike the Gulf coast. He would go as far as he could, and do all the injury to railroads and public property in his power.

And now he was off, moving as nearly as may be by four roads, bivouacking without tents, marching on an average fifteen miles a day, converging at stated intervals and at designated places, the troops to live as much as possible off the country, so as to save rations. The day Sherman began to move, the alarm and confusion of the enemy and of the entire Confederacy began. Cobb appealed for aid to save Georgia. Beauregard would rob the Carolinas of troops to protect Tuscambia. Taylor was ordered to pursue with all the Alabama and Mississippi troops he could gather. Wheeler was instructed to follow closely with his cavalry and attack at all favorable points.

But we must now go back to Tennessee. Sherman had somewhat miscalculated Hood's designs and the magnitude of his movement. Still he had left what he thought an ample force behind for the defence of Tennessee, and under the reliable Thomas, to whom his last words were to give up all minor points, if Hood persisted in forcing his way north, and concentrate so as to protect Nashville and hold the road to Murfreesboro and Stevenson. Grant, who had interpreted the situation more accurately, sent this identical word to Thomas two weeks before. Thomas, however, held all he could. He centred his cavalry at Florence to prevent Hood's crossing of the Tennessee till Stanley's Fourth could arrive from Georgia. On October 30th, Schofield's Twenty-Third corps reached him. On the 31st, Hood crossed to the north of the Tennessee and his intentions became fully known. Meanwhile Forrest was making a disastrous raid along the Tennessee nearly to the Ohio river, which kept Thomas' forces divided. Hood, however, did not take advantage of this state of affairs.

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Thomas' force was now 24,264 in the Fourth and Twenty-Third Corps, and 5543 cavalry under Wilson. He had in addition strong infantry and cavalry garrisons at Murfreesboro, Bridgeport, Huntsville, Decatur and Chattanooga, which he had thus far declined to call in, as instructed by both Grant and Sherman, and whose united strength was over 20,000 men. Hood's strength consisted of 30,600 infantry, and Forrest's cavalry estimated at 5000 to 10,000. Thomas' actual strength was therefore less than Hood's, at the time the latter crossed the Tennessee, but troops were sent to him from various points in the North, and Smith was hastening to him with a force from Missouri.

Grant was very apprehensive and did all he could to aid Thomas, but the latter seemed confident, though slow. As late as November 10th he spoke of taking the offensive as soon as he could concentrate his forces. This seemed to Grant like provoking tardiness, especially since the Confederates had not only had abundance of time to concentrate, but Breckinridge had marched all the way from Virginia into East Tennessee, and driven Gillem's Federal force of fifteen hundred men from Morristown into Knoxville with considerable loss. This forced Thomas to reinforce Knoxville from Louisville and Chattanooga, and in addition he sent Stoneman with a large cavalry force to punish and pursue Breckinridge.

After November 12th, Sherman severed connection with Thomas, and from this time he received his orders directly from Grant. Thus the eye of the Lieutenant General had to be turned to the maintenance of what Sherman had secured, and the command of the armies he had left behind, which were confronted by Hood's reorganized forces. Fortunately, Hood lingered around Florence as if appalled by the boldness of his own movement across a hostile river. Grant ordered Thomas to concentrate harder than ever, but also to follow Hood closely if he retreated so as to prevent him from reaching Sherman's rear.

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On November 21st, Hood marched by Pulaski, where Schofield's corps was, and attempted to get between him and Nashville. Thomas out-witted him by ordering Schofield back to Columbia. On the 27th the enemy felt Schofield's lines and manifested a desire to cross Duck river. That night Schofield evacuted Columbia and withdrew to the north bank. Hood crossed five miles above, on the 29th, and made for Spring Hill to turn Schofield's flank and rear. Fortunately, Stanley's Fourth reached there first and held the place against an attack which lasted until dark, and in which the enemy was repulsed with heavy loss. Schofield now came up, and pushed on in the night to Franklin, where he took position and fortified. Here he was attacked by Hood's entire army, with great spirit and determination, but with the usual recklessness of that officer. The Confederate defeat was signal and their losses were 1750 killed, 3800 wounded and 702 prisoners. Six general officers were wounded, five killed and one captured. Schofield's losses were 189 killed, 1033 wounded and 1104 missing. Schofield had 24,000 men engaged and Hood 37,000. The victory was of immense moment to Schofield. It caused Hood to halt for a time, and enabled an inferior army to make its retreat good to Nashville, which it did by December 1st.

Thomas sent word of the victory to Grant, and also that he was waiting till Smith should reach him and Wilson should get his cavalry equipped, when he would assume the offensive, with a force equal to Hood's. Grant did not understand why so signal a victory should not be followed up, nor why Hood should be allowed to have time to dispose of his forces as he saw fit. The government was very solicitous. Grant urged an attack before Hood could fortify, or begin raids upon the railroads. Thomas plead weakness, especially in cavalry. The great question was, why hadn't he concentrated his forces? But he now rose to the emergency and called Steedman from

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Chattanooga, with five thousand. Smith arrived with ten thousand from Missouri. By November 2d, he was stronger than Hood in infantry, though much weaker in cavalry. Yet he was virtually penned up in Nashville, had even lost direct communication with Chattanooga. On the 5th, Grant again advised an attack. He deferred greatly to Thomas' judgment and had implicit faith in his soldiership, so did not order peremptorily. Yet the situation was growing more and more painful to him, for many of his other plans hung on a prompt movement on the part of Thomas. He sent Grant word he would attack on the 7th. But this was suspended. He sent word again he would attack as soon as Wilson could get at least six thousand cavalry equipped, for that Forrest had at least twelve thousand. Grant finally, on the 6th, gave a peremptory order: "Attack Hood at once, and wait no longer for a remount of cavalry. There is great danger of delay resulting in a campaign back to the Ohio." Thomas replied that he would attack at once, though he believed it would be hazardous, with his small cavalry force. He did not attack.

Hood had full possession south of Nashville and was running cars from Pulaski to Decatur. His cavalry were demonstrating on all the surrounding towns, and even looking out for a crossing of the Cumberland so as to cut Nashville off from the north. As an index to the strain on Grant's mind, and his wonderful command of situations, on the very day, December 6th, he telegraphed to Thomas to attack, he sent word through secret channels to Sherman telling him of outside affairs, where he could strike the coast and what he should do; he also issued orders to Butler, with detailed instructions for Weitzel's Fort Fisher expedition; and minute orders to Meade for a westward movement across the Weldon railroad. He kept almost individual oversight of the great and complicated mechanism in his control, and touched the

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varied springs, levers, pulleys and wheels with the dexterity of a master, that all might work harmoniously and deal simultaneous and incessant blows.

On December 7th, Stanton notified Grant that the authorities and the country were in a state of anxious suspense over Thomas' delay. Grant called attention to his dispatch ordering an attack, and suggested Thomas' suspension if his order was not soon obeyed. Yet Grant had infinite faith in Thomas' ability to repel attack, and he loved him as a man as well as an officer. It was only his seeming slowness to take a bold initiative which was now perplexing the Lieutenant General, and the impossibility of carrying out other plans which depended on a clearing up of this desperate Tennessee situation. On this date, December 7th, Thomas announced that the Confederates had closed the Cumberland river to him at Clarkesville. On the 8th, Grant requested that Dodge succeed Rosecrans in Missouri, with orders to send all available reinforcements to Thomas. He also sent full word to Thomas, stimulating him to action, reviewing the situation, and defining what depended on his action, how the country was aggrieved at his delay, and what relief a glorious victory would give. Thomas replied, sketching the situation, recounting his difficulties, and ending with a request for removal if that be thought best by Grant or the authorities. Two days passed, and Thomas reported that the Confederates had crossed the Cumberland, also that an unsuccessful attack had been made on Chattanooga. He gave as a reason for postponing attack that a severe rain and hailstorm had been raging for two days. On the same day Grant sent him another long dispatch urging him not to wait to fill his cavalry columns nor for favorable weather, and reminding him that if Hood got past Nashville he could beat him (Thomas) in a race for the Ohio river. He ordered him to delay no longer. On this date Grant received word through the Richmond

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papers that Sherman was within seventy-five miles of Savannah. And here was where Thomas' delay was cramping the Lieutenant General's plans. Canby had been ordered to send a large force from the Mississippi to co-operate with Sherman, either on the Gulf coast, should he strike it, or on the Atlantic coast. But so long as Hood remained in Tennessee, Canby did not dare deplete his strength at Memphis, Vicksburg, or anywhere along the line of the Mississippi river. Thomas was fully apprised of this by Stanton.

At length Grant's patience was exhausted. Not wishing to injure the fame of Thomas by summary dismissal, without knowing of the situation personally, he resolved to go to the scene at Nashville and, in case he found removal necessary, he left an order with General Logan to take command in Tennessee. He started for Nashville on December 14th, but when he got to Washington (December 15th), news awaited him that Thomas had moved on that day and had attacked and beaten Hood.

While Thomas had permitted Nashville to be invested and the surrounding country to be overrun, he had planned a magnificent battle according to the careful and conservative theories of his school. Hood lay before him, his lines stretching from the Cumberland above the city to the river below. Cheatham held the right, Stewart the left, S. D. Lee the centre. Hood's position was admirable. It was upon slopes backed by hills, and commanded by fortified prominences, some of which were within six hundred yards of the Federal works. He had railroad communication to his rear, and a moving force of two brigades of infantry and two of cavalry under Forrest, which had been doing irreparable injury to the country and Thomas' communications.

Thomas' left was held by Steedman, his centre by Wood's Fourth, (Stanley had been wounded at Harpeth) his right by A. J. Smith. Schofield was in reserve ready to support

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Wood. The cavalry was massed on Smith's right. Steedman had 5000 men, Wood 13,526, Smith 9990, Schofield 9719, Wilson from 4000 to 5000 cavalry. Hood's entire force was not much in excess of twenty thousand men, but he was strongly fortified, and felt able to repel any attack.

On December 15th, at an early hour and amid a dense fog, Steedman moved his left upon the enemy's right. At the same hour Wilson's cavalry moved on the enemy's left. Both these movements were feints. As soon as Steedman was well out of his works, the artillery began to play, and the gunboats joined their volleys. Covered by their fire, he deployed on the Murfreesboro pike and hurled his columns on the Confederate right flank. Meanwhile, Smith and Wood were massing for an attack on the enemy's left, with Schofield in their rear. Steedman is ordered to attack stronger. He is already in the midst of a terrific assault and the battle is on in earnest. Hood is surprised at the impetuosity and success of the Federals. He sends whole brigades to strengthen his imperilled left. Batteries are run up to sweep the attacking lines. The battle waxes hot and deadly. All Hood's energies are directed to Steedman and his overmatched ranks. The order is given to fall back, and the Federals retire, still keeping up a threatening front. The Confederates congratulate themselves on victory. But their ears catch the sound of thunder on their left. Thomas has started his columns and sent them crashing through Hood's extreme left entrenchments. They are even now pressing toward his centre. It is nearing noon, and the dense fog has lifted. Hood sees the dismounted cavalrymen sweeping in on his extreme left, and the infantry of Wood and Smith vying with each other in the capture of his outer forts on the Knobs. He opens with all his artillery, and every entrenchment sends forth a storm of smaller missiles. Wood's Fourth charges in heavy column on Montgomery Hill, the strongest Confederate salient, and captures it. Hood had fatally weakened his left. Thomas

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was taking every advantage of his early morning tactics. Hood makes haste to recall his brigades from his right. But too late; his left is turned; his advanced lines there are no longer tenable.

Schofield now pushed his reserve corps well around Hood's left and toward his rear. Again the Federals advance, and while Hood is forced to shift his lines to meet Schofield, the Fourth Corps dashes over his second line of works in front. Baffled, bewildered, beaten, but still fighting obstinately, Hood yields his entire line of works and is crowded back toward the Overton Hills. He loses battery after battery and flag after flag. Will his columns break before the resistless Federal onsets, before gradually concentrating ranks filled with the enthusiasm of victory? Wood is already beyond the Granny White road and has half the Confederate lines in his possession. Schofield has scaled the heights two miles beyond Wood, and is battling with Lee's and Cheatham's men for a point in the Granny White road. Smith's men have captured ridge after ridge, hurling conquered division back upon division. Wilson is well to the south with his cavalry, feeling for the Franklin pike and Hood's rear. Sunset and darkness come to Hood's rescue. He is saved until to-morrow, but he has lost seventeen guns, twelve hundred prisoners, his entire line of works, a vast number of men killed and wounded and, worst of all, a battle which he courted and for which he waited till waiting must have become irksome.

Thomas' plans of battle had all been carried out successfully, and his losses had not been great. His slowness had come to his rescue and he had redeemed provoking tardiness with sweeping victory. He had been true to his resources and methods, had operated cautiously, acted conscientiously, and there was something substantial to speak for it. It was of this victory that Grant learned on the morning of December 15th at Washington, and over it he joined his congratulations with those of

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the President and authorities. None were warmer than he in their tributes to Thomas' strategy and perseverance, and none felt relief from such a load as the old veteran's dispatch gave: "Attacked enemy's left this morning; drove it from the river, below city, very nearly to Franklin pike, distance about eight miles." Grant need not now go West, nor further entertain the, to him, disagreeable thought of disturbing one whose ability he admired, whose character he loved, whose methods only had become the subject of question.

All the night Hood was busy forming his lines and fortifying his position on the Overton Heights, five miles south of Nashville. Here he would be more concentrated and stronger than before. He was brave, seemingly not discouraged, eager for another fray, which he expected on the morrow of December 16th. Thomas too was eager. Cavalry fighting began at dawn. Again Thomas pushed Steedman forward on his left. The Fourth moved southward along the Franklin pike, feeling for the enemy. By noon the Federal columns were in front of the Confederate position, and it was apparent that even a harder battle than that of the day before must be fought. Wood was on Steedman's right, and Schofield and Smith further to the right. Thomas reconnoitered the enemy's position for a long time. It was not until 3 P. M. that he ordered an attack. Again Steedman and Wood were to bear the brunt of it. The artillery opened, and they marched up the rugged slopes to the assault on the enemy's right. The Federal ranks suffered fearfully, but despite the wide gaps hewn through them, they clambered up the steep fronts and broke over the parapets. Colored troops vied with white in this bloody onset. Ere they could plant their flags, the Confederate reserves rose up and poured volleys of musketry into the ranks of the exulting Federals. They melted away before this merciless close range fire, and at last broke in retreat, leaving the ground strewed with dead and wounded. They

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were rallied at the foot of the hill and stood ready for another charge.

Thomas was off to the right, where McArthur was pushing a gallant charge. The Sixteenth had impetuously rushed up the slopes amid a raking artillery and musketry fire and, coming in by the flank, had actually captured the entrenchments against which the Twenty-third Corps was charging. The result was most demoralizing to the enemy. McArthur's trophies were three Confederate generals, a whole division of infantry, a dozen flags and twenty-seven cannon. Federal cheers were the signal for an assault all along the lines. And now it was more daring and persistent than ever. It was carried up and over the entrenchments everywhere. The foe went down before it, or broke into ruinous retreat. Guns, munitions, flags, prisoners, fell rapidly into the hands of the victors. It was nearing nightfall, and Hood was frantically engaged in saving what he could from the wreck. But it was despairing work, for the Fourth was in pursuit, and did not desist till deep darkness fell upon the scene.

Dawn of the 17th revealed the utter demoralization of Hood's retreat. The roads were strewed with arms, accoutrements and articles of war. The defeat had been crushing and the army never rallied. Pursuit brought prisoners continuously. Hood was ruined beyond possibility of recovery. On December 29th, General Thomas, in addressing his army, said: "You have diminished the forces of the enemy since it crossed the Tennessee river to invade the State, at the least estimate, fifteen thousand men, among whom were killed, wounded or captured eighteen general officers. Your captures from the enemy, as far as reported, amount to sixty-eight pieces of artillery, ten thousand prisoners, as many stand of small arms, and thirty to forty battle flags."

Hood called Forrest to his aid and beat a hasty retreat, pursued by Wilson, through Columbia and Pulaski to Bain-

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bridge on the Tennessee, where he crossed, on the 27th of December, and where Thomas ordered pursuit to cease. December 17th was a glorious day for Grant and the country. Word came from Thomas of the certainty and magnitude of his victory, and at the same time from Sherman that he had struck the sea and invested Savannah. The news filled the whole North with joy. Grant sent congratulations to both his generals and urged Thomas to pursue Hood till he broke him entirely up. He was already broken completely up, for his retreat beyond the Tennessee was followed by his removal and the succession of General Richard Taylor, by the furloughing of a great part of his troops, and the transfer of the rest eastward to augment the army now forming to operate against Sherman. Thus the boast of Jefferson Davis that Hood would carry the war into the North and redeem Tennessee came to nought in a single campaign lasting from November 21st to December 17th. It had cost a fine army, while Thomas' entire loss did not exceed ten thousand men, nearly half of which returned to the ranks, after recovering from their wounds. Grant ordered two hundred shotted guns to be fired into Petersburg on December 18th, in honor of Thomas and his splendid victories of Nashville, which had clarified the entire Western situation, left it without a formidable enemy, and vindicated the wisdom of all his grand strategic plans.

All this time Sherman was pushing his four columns by parallel routes through Georgia. He was meeting with little opposition, except here and there from State militia and Wheeler's cavalry, and was cutting railroads, destroying supplies, and carrying consternation to the Confederacy. He passed through, or near to, the principal railroad centres, and covered a front varying from ten to forty miles in width. The wonderful march through an enemy's country and away from any base of supplies was full of thrilling incidents, but without an action that could be reckoned as a battle. There was no

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need for serious deflection, and in a few weeks from the start it became apparent that he could make any coast destination he might select. By December 10th, he reached the vicinity of Savannah, driving the armed enemy into the fortifications about that place.

The city was at once invested. General Hazen, of the Fourteenth, crossed the Ogeechee and, on December 13th, captured Fort McAllister, after a brief but sanguinary struggle, with one hundred and fifty prisoners and twenty-two guns. This fort commanded the entrance to Ossabaw Sound. Its capture enabled Sherman to open communications with Rear-Admiral Dahlgreen, in command of the blockading squadron off Savannah. Sherman met him and arranged for a combined attack on the place. But on the night of the 21st, Hardee evacuated the city, crossing to the north side of the Savannah river. Sherman entered at once, and found one hundred and sixty-seven pieces of artillery and much valuable property. The country was electrified with his telegram to the President: "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." Sherman had at last reached the sea, adding lustre to his name, and furnishing for military history one of its most startling and intense chapters. Sixty-five thousand men and thirty-five thousand animals had obtained abundant food for forty days, and had been short in nothing but bread. Their herd of five thousand cattle had grown to one of ten thousand. The teams were fresh, and not a wagon had been lost. Sherman had never been called upon to use more than a skirmish line for protection, and his total casualties were 103 killed, 428 wounded, and 78 missing. The spirit of his men was superb throughout.

Starting from his Atlanta base, on November 12th, he had, in pursuance of plans largely within his own discretion, but wholly in the line of Grant's original scheme of co-operation

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and concentration, reached a new and more substantial base of future operations, and a safe resting place as well. As bearing on the fortunes of Grant's army, and upon the final result, he had interposed a compact army of over sixty thousand men between Lee and the Confederacy of the South-west, and given to Grant all the advantages of those inner lines of movement which the Confederate armies had hitherto enjoyed. The moral effect of the march through the heart of the Confederacy, without serious opposition, was incalculable. It carried panic and stimulated clamor everywhere. The Confederate Cabinet confessed the folly of having urged Hood to disaster in Tennessee, by reinstating Johnston in command of all the forces he could gather to operate against Sherman and keep him from marching to Grant's aid at Petersburg. And right nobly did Johnston struggle. Uniting everything he could find in the shape of armed man and military utensil, he formed a junction with Hardee after his escape from Savannah, and the two were thereafter to retard Sherman's northern movement all they could.

Grant had wisely prepared for just such an emergency, by ordering the capture of Fort Fisher and Wilmington, and the use of the latter as a base from which Schofield (called eastward from Nashville) was to push an army of twenty thousand men to Goldsboro, to meet Sherman, should he decide to come north by land. And now the great problem was uppermost as to how Sherman should move; whether by land or water. Grant's first impressions were, that he should speedily and directly proceed to his aid by water. But speed was found to be out of the question, owing to scarcity of transports. To come tardily would be to give Lee time to escape from Petersburg, for he certainly would not remain, knowing that Grant was in receipt of such a large reinforcement. Besides, Johnston had now gotten together an army of fifty thousand men in the Carolinas. He was therefore a formidable menace on Grant in his Petersburg entrenchments, and at the same time a stand-

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ing invitation to Lee to abandon Petersburg and Richmond and join him. To destroy Lee's army, and not to dislodge it, was, more than ever, Grant's aim.

All things considered, it was determined that Sherman should move northward by land, and hold Johnston to an object, at the same time doing all the damage possible to railroads and supplies. He was to start on January 15th, 1865, moving his cavalry and Slocum's corps toward Augusta. Blair's Seventeenth was sent by water to demonstrate on Charleston. Rains prevented the land movement till February 1st. Grover's division of the Nineteenth came, in the meantime, to Savannah to relieve all of Sherman's forces there. All the Confederate militia, from sixteen to sixty, were called out, and the negroes were ordered to fell trees and interpose every obstacle possible to the Federal march. The deep, sullen rivers, the wide, impenetrable swamps, the thickly timbered spaces, near the sea coast, threw the line of march far inland, and made it necessarily circuitous, slow and dangerous. Wheeler's cavalry was vigilant, and turned up at every river crossing, backed by infantry detachments. Their efforts were, however, of no avail against the confident battalions from the fields of Atlanta and Chattanooga.

The Edisto and Congaree were crossed, Orangeburg was reached, and Columbia seized by a brilliant manœuvre. This sealed the fate of Charleston and Fort Sumpter. The retreating Confederates fired the cotton bales and public stores in Columbia and Charleston, and these cities were well nigh consumed. Between the injury they themselves inflicted in their wild haste and that brought about to bridges, railroads, manufactories of warlike supplies, public stores, etc., by the victorious Federals, the whole country was a waste from Savannah to the Roanoke, and from the Alleghenies to the sea. With a wide sweep to the west the Yadkin was crossed. Then, by a hurried march, Fayetteville, on the Cape Fear, was reached by March

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11th. Here he concentrated, and rested for three days. He had all the while been marching in the face of considerable opposition. It was a campaign now, and not a peaceful march, as that through Georgia had been. Each step forced back the detached battalions of Johnston, and helped him to concentrate. And again, the whole spirit of motion had changed. He was now actively co-operating with Grant. Each must consider the fortune of the other in every step now taken. They must keep Johnston and Lee apart. They must be ready to spring to each other's aid if occasion demanded. Johnston's army was a conglomerate of many commands, and not less than fifty thousand men. Hardee was in it from Savannah, Beauregard from Columbia, Cheatham from Tennessee, Bragg and Hoke from Wilmington, Hampton from Richmond, Wheeler from Atlanta. It was now prepared to throw itself across Sherman's track.

When Sherman started from Fayetteville for Goldsboro, Johnston was at Smithfield. Sherman demonstrated with Slocum's corps toward Averysborough, while he marched Howard direct toward Goldsboro. Johnston fell on to Slocum at Bentonsville, who resisted the attack till reinforced. Johnston then dropped back to Smithfield, leaving his killed and wounded behind. He had made desperate battle with Slocum's command, and occasioned a Federal loss of sixteen hundred and forty-three killed, wounded and missing, while his own was two thousand, sixteen hundred of whom became prisoners. Sherman now pushed rapidly to Goldsboro, reaching it on March 23d, forming a junction there with Schofield and Terry, and finding much needed food and rest. On March 27th he started for City Point, whither he had been called to a conference with Grant and the President. After this the co-operation of the two armies was close. The grand circle had been made, and nearly all the vitality of the Confederacy was within reach of the Federal armies.

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Stoneman was coming in from the west upon Lynchburg. Thomas was co-operating with Canby in his attack upon Mobile, which fell on April 9th, with a loss of two hundred guns and four thousand prisoners. Wilson, with his cavalry corps, was raiding Alabama and working untold injury to railroads and public stores. Every army was now in the position designated by the Lieutenant General, and on March 24th he issued to Meade the order which was to swing the Army of the Potomac west of Petersburg and compel its evacuation as well as that of Richmond.

GEN. STONEMAN.

The duty of Sherman was now to watch Johnston closely. He was lying at Smithfield not far from Goldsboro. It was equally Johnston's duty to watch Sherman, and keep himself where Lee could reach him. There the two armies rested till the result of Grant's movement became known. We have already learned what that result was. Too much praise cannot be given Sherman for his spendid northern march of four hundred miles, his crossing of seven deep difficult rivers, his arrival at the place, and almost at the time designated, and his holding of Johnston, with fifty thousand men at Smithfield while Grant was giving the finishing blows to Lee's army of Northern Virginia. The Lieutenant-General's knowledge of men was equal to the grandeur of his plans and the irresistible vigor of his combinations and movements.

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CHAPTER XXI.

PEACE.

THE surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox, April 9th, 1865, was the signal for the surrender of all the other armed forces of the great rebellion. It would take a little time for the news to reach all the Confederate commands, and there would yet be some hesitation, some movements in a spirit of sheer desperation, some chaffering about terms, but the war ended there, and peace was assured. Grant reached Washington on April 13th, and at once set about reducing the military expenses of the government. His grand work, his victory, was for the good of the nation, and now he would prove that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

On consultation with the President and Secretary of War, an announcement was made to the country April 13th, to stop all drafting and recruiting in the loyal states; to curtail all purchases of muniments and supplies and reduce the military establishment; to reduce the number of officers to the actual needs of the service; to remove all military restrictions on trade and commerce, so far as may be consistent with public safety.

This was the country's written guarantee that peace was sure, the official proclamation which fixed and crowned the grand results of four years of sacrifice. A yearning nation now broke out into rejoicing. From sea to sea there went up one voice of jubilation and thanksgiving, and all the land burst into glorious illumination. Ecstacy never reached sublimer heights nor assumed more impressive forms. The next day, April 14th, it was announced that Grant would be present at

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the theatre, in the evening, with President Lincoln; but he had not seen his family for a long time and started for Burlington, N. J., where his children were at school. That night the nation was plunged into gloom by the assassination of its loved President, in the theatre, by an actor named John Wilkes Booth, and by the attempted assassination of Sec.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

of State, Wm. H. Seward, by an associate conspirator named Payne. Grant was at once telegraphed for by the Secretary of War, and he returned to Washington that night. The next day, April 15th, Lincoln expired and Vice-President Johnson was inaugurated. The time was portentous, the whirl of events rapid and demoralizing. No one knew the breadth of that foul conspiracy. The shock of murder in high

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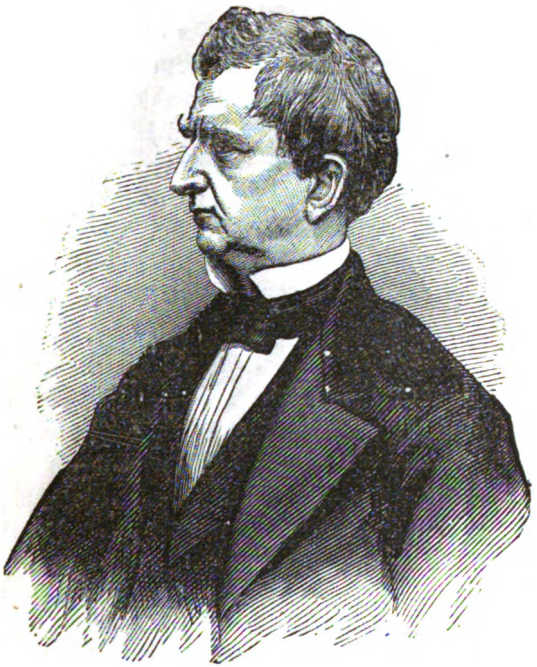
place, "the deep damnation of that taking off," the sudden transition from triumphal cheer to funereal tear, the mistrust of a new administration, the pour of unforeseen, responsible and delicate duties, rendered the presence of the Lieutenant-General in Washington a comfort and necessity.

On April 10th, the day after Lee's surrender, Grant sent word



WILLIAM H. SEWARD

to Sherman at Goldsboro to "push on and finish the job with Lee and Johnston's armies." Sherman immediately moved upon Johnston at Smithfield. But Johnston was now in no mood for a fight. He beat a hasty retreat through Raleigh, which place Sherman occupied on the 13th. On the 14th, a message, dictated by Jefferson Davis, came through Johnston to

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Sherman, asking that the civil authorities be permitted to make arrangements to end the war. Sherman replied that he had full power to conduct and accept a surrender. On the 16th, Johnston agreed to meet Sherman between the two armies. The interview became a long talk about terms, to which neither party agreed. Another meeting was had on the 18th, at which terms were agreed upon. They were lengthy and unfortunate, for while they embraced the surrender of all the Confederate armies, they committed the government to a course in the future, which would have amounted to a dangerous concession of its prerogatives. Both Sherman and Johnston felt that the terms were too far beyond their authority as army officers, too legislative and political in their scope, to be final without the sanction of the civil authorities. So Sherman sent a copy to Washington for such sanction. Grant received them on the night of April 21st, and immediately sent them to the Secretary of War, with a note suggesting that they be acted upon in cabinet without delay. He saw their importance, as well as the danger of approving them. That same night a cabinet meeting was called and Sherman's terms were repudiated unanimously. The President and Secretary of War were bitterly outspoken in their dissent. They regarded his concessions as highly dangerous, and his assumption of authority as unprecedented. Grant generously came to Sherman's defence, and while he did not sanction the terms, he defended his lieutenant against all imputations, and declared that whatever his errors of judgment, his motives were beyond question.

Grant was instructed by the President to give notice to Sherman of the official repudiation of his terms of surrender, and to command him to resume hostilities at the earliest possible moment. To make all sure, he was ordered forthwith to the scene to take control of operations in person. Instructions were also sent in various directions to Sherman's subordinates to disregard his orders. Starting on the 22d, Grant made all

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haste toward Raleigh, anxious to save the reputation of his trusted lieutenant, and still more anxious to bring the military status to where Lee's surrender left it. It was a moment of supreme danger. One false step now, one hour of unnecessary delay, might undo all that Appomattox had done and reopen the smouldering fires of war. As Grant hurried toward Sherman, he ordered Sheridan to push to Greensboro, North Carolina, with all his cavalry and a corps of infantry. There was to be no escape for Johnston and no terms but those which were unconditional. He reached Raleigh on April 24th, and in a delicate manner informed Sherman of the disapproval of his terms. Sherman at once accepted the situation and notified Johnston that their agreement had not been sanctioned by the authorities, and that the only terms of surrender which could be accepted would be those which Lee had signed at Appomattox. At the same time he sent word that the armistice would end in forty-eight hours. Johnston referred these dispatches to Jefferson Davis, who ordered that officer to disband the Confederate infantry, and beat a retreat with all his mounted force and such artillery as could be taken along. Johnston ignored this last and unworthy order from the Confederate President. He could not conscientiously sacrifice his sturdy footmen to the privileged riders, the veteran soldiery to the civic officials. He would make no mounted body guard for the fugitive President and cabinet, to be pursued remorselessly through the south leaving another trail of blood and destruction. So he wrote another set of terms in consonance with those presented by Grant to Lee, and asked for another conference on the 26th. These were signed on that day, and he surrendered thirty-one thousand two hundred and forty-three men, who were paroled, together with cannon, small arms and munitions.

General Grant acted with great kindness and delicacy toward Sherman during these transactions. He did not appear in the

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final interview with Johnston. While he supervised all of Sherman's acts and permitted nothing to be done without his approval, he signed no papers except the last on which he wrote "approved" over his own signature. It is said that Johnston did not even know of his presence in Raleigh. Grant then returned to Washington to find the sentiment in a flame over Sherman's blunder, and his reputation under a cloud of doubt and aspersion. Again he threw himself into the breach, and this time was forced to stay the storm of excitement and indignation by using for his friend the shield of his own reputation, declaring that Sherman's loyalty was as undoubted as his own. The fact undoubtedly was that Sherman's mistake in undertaking to legislate for the government in these terms of surrender was due to a pardonable feeling of leniency in the moment of victory, which the diplomacy of Johnston and Breckinridge, shrewder and less conscionable than his own, took greedy advantage of.

As we have seen, Mobile fell into Canby's hands on April 9th. After Lee's surrender, Stoneman swung his cavalry column from Lynchburg to Johnston's rear, where he was doing an immense amount of damage when notified of the surrender. Wilson, with a command of twelve thousand and five hundred cavalry, had swept Alabama and Georgia, capturing all the towns in his course, and engaging in a severe night battle, April 16th, which gave him Augusta. This was the last battle of the war. On the 21st, Macon surrendered, with sixty field guns and twelve thousand militia, including Howell Cobb and four other generals. Here Wilson's cavalry campaign was ended by news of the armistice between Johnston and Sherman. Dick Taylor surrendered to Canby, on May 4th. On May 11th, Jefferson Davis was captured, in female disguise, at Irwinsville, Ga. Kirby Smith, beyond the Mississippi, remained defiant till he heard of Davis' capture, and the movement of a heavy force to his department, under Sheridan, when he left

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CAVALRY COLUMN ON THE MARCH.

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his army to disband of its own volition. Buckner surrendered the Confederate remnant on May 26th. Thus disappeared the last organized Confederate force from the territory of the United States. Every man who had borne arms against the government was a prisoner of war. The number paroled, between April 9th and May 26th, was 174,223 men.

History does not record so speedy and complete a collapse of such a gigantic rebellion. It was due, more than anything, to the culmination of Grant's plans as he had shaped them from the start, which brought all his forces to bear upon vital situations, and to gradually close like a vice, literally forcing surrender or annihilation, as well as to the chivalric terms embraced in his articles of capitulation and surrender. The break at Appomattox was conclusive and final. All else of the Confederacy stood aghast and paralyzed, confronted and overshadowed, unable to turn or to defy. And yet those terms—of which Pollard, the Confederate historian, says: "He (Grant) conducted the surrender with as much simplicity as possible, avoided sensation, and spared everything that might wound the feelings or imply the humiliation of a vanquished foe. Such conduct was noble. Before the surrender General Grant had expressed to his own officers his intention not to require the same formalities as are required in a surrender between the forces of two foreign nations or belligerent powers, and to exact no conditions for the mere purpose of humiliation"—those terms, forbearing and generous in all their provisions, covered all the causes of war. Arms were laid down. Secession was abandoned. The old sovereignty and flag were acknowledged. The new Confederate sovereignty was repudiated. Abolition of slavery was acquiesced in. Political reinstatement was sought. Amnesty asked.

There was acknowledgment everywhere, North and South, at home and abroad, of the unexampled skill and puissance of Grant's leadership, and of the wisdom and chivalry of his

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final dealings with the vanquished foe. He had made war earnest and severe. He had fought and beaten every leading Confederate general. He had conquered, captured and annihilated armies. He had never been driven from the field, and had never taken a backward step in a campaign, except when he withdrew from Holly Springs to find another way to Vicksburg. He had ever been daring in his strategy, quick in his actions, terrible in his energy, and crushing in his blows. Yet he was never exultant, never ungenerous. And for this his foes now admired him. This helped them to bear the humiliation of defeat; this reconciled them to a new destiny; this taught them that in their conqueror they might find their most unswerving and safest friend. So they joined their voices of praise with that of the North and the world, and helped to magnify that character which was the modest, placid centre of a wider admiration, deeper respect, and more unbounded confidence, than any other in military history.

All that had been in Grant's career, up to and including Chattanooga, was an earnest of what came about when the country resolved to place its fortune in the hands of a Lieutenant-General. So all that made up the career of that high and potential official was a prelude to a destiny which, if not so marked and exciting, was even wider, more intricate, and fraught with deeper care. He had commanded millions of armed men, had invented policies, had foreseen and forced results, had made his cause triumphant, had dismissed his foes without anger, had conquered and appeased, won and not estranged. All the while he had grown in the confidence of those who trusted him, and in the respect of the open foe. No man had ever graduated in a more thoroughly practical school with higher honors. It would seem as if Providence had been raising up one for the great emergency of peace which, now that it was on, was to be made enduring only by the exercise of many of the qualities which gave brilliancy and decisiveness

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to field campaigns, and drowned rebellion in the floods of final victory. Two years of halting, distrustful, unsatisfactory, almost discordant peace, made the country long again for a leader of catholic spirit, generous impulse, original force, firm purpose, consistent conviction, knowledge of situations, dignity of character, freedom from faction, and supreme trustworthiness. And such an one was already in the foreground.

The period immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, which should have been one of rest for General Grant, was really one of labor and anxiety. The gathering of a strong force under Sheridan to bring the Confederates west of the Mississippi to terms, involved far more. The attempt to establish a foreign Empire in Mexico, under Maximilian, at a time when the back of the United States was turned, and its hands bound, was regarded as an act of open hostility. Grant took high ground in this matter, and the prompt avowal of his sentiments, together with the threat involved in Sheridan's movement, did more to bring about a peaceful solution of the Mexican question than any diplomacy between the two countries. He may justly be regarded as the savior of our neighboring Republic from monarchical dynasty at a time when it was helpless in itself.

Then came the gathering of the Federal armies at convenient places and their disbanding. This was important work. It must be done with judgment and despatch, for every day of unnecessary service meant a great loss to the government. The Army of the Potomac marched to Washington and, joined with most of the Atlantic forces, submitted to a final parade and review, It was probably the most imposing scene ever witnessed in the Capital. On June 30th, 1865, it was disbanded. The mighty hosts of citizen soldiery, which had learned and practiced the arts of war, again merged with their fellow beings in the happier pursuits of beaming peace.

Among the first questions of peace was the penalty to be

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paid by those who had engaged in armed rebellion against the government. Trials for treason were instituted against conspicuous leaders, civil and military, Lee being among the latter. Grant considered that army officers who had surrendered, and privates as well, were protected by their paroles. On Lee's appeal to him, he went to the President and not being able to reach him by argument or protest, threatened to resign his commission in the army if the paroles he had solemnly granted in accordance with the powers vested in him as commander were violated by the civil authorities. The proceedings against Lee were abandoned. To the very last Grant upheld the generous and humanitarian terms he had proposed to his conquered foemen, and upon whose acceptance they had laid down their arms.

On the 25th of July, 1866, Grant was promoted to the full grade of General in the army, a recognition of his ability and services, and a mark of honor, more substantial and better suited to his quiet tastes, than princely gift, college degree, or popular ovation. Perhaps there had not been in all the country a closer student of the work of reconstruction, now going on in a very unsatisfactory way, owing to the growing discord between the executive and legislative branches of the government. As the head of the army he stood ready to co-operate with any plan that could be agreed upon. When the reconstruction Act of March, 1867, was passed, he reorganized the military districts, chose commanders suited to each, and drafted full instructions, in which he counseled adherence to law blended with moderation and forbearance toward the Southern people. Now that the sword was no longer in his hand he would not deal blows, not even inflict pressure, but would administer law in the spirit of a thoughtful, kindly disposed magistrate.

On August 12th, 1867, President Johnson made General Grant his Secretary of War *ad interim*. He accepted with re-

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luctance, for he saw no need of removing one of "the real patriotism, firmness and ability," of Stanton, and even lodged with the President a written protest against it. Had he fully seen, or even suspected, that President Johnson was about to use him, the better to maintain his hostile attitude toward the Senate as a part of the appointing power, he would never have accepted. Not seeing nor suspecting this, but fearful that the place, which was at that time all important, might fall into the hands of some unpatriotic and dangerous manipulator, and further fearful that every plan of reconstruction and restoration would be broken off to the great injury of the South, he took the position, though it intensified the burdens already on his shoulders. Of the difficulties that beset his administration of the office, which he held for five months, of the embarrassments of the political situation, of the increased hostility between the President and Congress, of the development on the part of the President of a policy of reconstruction so selfish and narrow as to greatly discourage the work in hand—of these, as bearing on the political situation, we speak more appropriately in the next chapter.

But as to the strict duties of his office, or rather offices, for he was both Secretary of War and General-in-Chief, he was scarcely seated till the President brought on a clash by removing Sheridan from one of the five military districts into which the South had been divided. This district had New Orleans for its centre. It had grown dissatisfied and turbulent in proportion to the growth of the President's hostility to Congress. Its condition made severe administration necessary, and Sheridan was meeting the emergency with spirit and fairness, as the laws stood. But he was dismissed by Johnson, on August 17th. On that day Grant put on file an eloquent protest, in which he insisted that all military, political, pecuniary and patriotic reasons were against the President's action; that it would be a cruel blow at one who was doing his civil duties

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faithfully and intelligently; that the removal would be interpreted by factional Southern elements as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress and would embolden them to renewed opposition to the government. It was all in vain. Sheridan was sacrificed, and ten days after, General Sickles, who was conducting affairs in the Second Military District, composed of the Carolinas, in a way to secure the confidence of all, was similarly slaughtered, in the face of an equally forcible protest by Grant. Then followed the removal of Pope, whose district embraced Georgia and Alabama The President gave no satisfactory reasons for these removals. He seemed to be dealing blind, promiscuous blows, in a spirit of spite, at the Congress and its principle and plan of reconstruction. In that they fell upon Grant's trusted subordinates, interfered with his administration of affairs, tended to anarchy, and worked only injury to those they were designed to please, it can well be seen how trying the situation became to one so anxious to preserve peace as he, and so earnestly desirous of securing to the Southern people every right accorded to them by the laws of the country. Still he bore these unreasonable interferences, these approaches to insult, with his characteristic equanimity, and kept steadily on instructing the new incumbents and co-operating with them in the work of restoration.

Great as was the debt of gratitude which the loyal States owed to General Grant for crushing armed rebellion, all the States, North and South, were now under one equally great for his pre-eminent ability in piloting them through a chaos as dangerous to unity and happiness as war itself. When he entered the war office in August, 1867, the reconstruction acts of the previous July were just going into operation. State conventions were called to frame constitutions, voters were being registered, all the requisite steps for future membership in the Union were being taken. Whether as Secretary of War or General-in-Chief, the demands on him were momentary and

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unprecedented, to apply new statutes, solve complicated problems, reconcile disputed jurisdictions, settle conflicts between rival classes and opposite colors, appease bitter factions, insure order, and evoke definite policies. It was a task of wonderful delicacy and to which no man was equal, unless he had the confidence of all, a strictly judicial mind, and was the possessor of powers almost imperial in their proportions. He must be without fear, firm and kind, broad and patriotic, and must never for a moment lose sight of the end, which was to construct again a solid political edifice out of the ruins of the Confederacy and fasten it to its old moorings under the national flag, where peace, contentment and prosperity should be common to every citizen.

He was tried not even so much by these outward difficulties as by those nearer and within. Day by day the breach grew wider between the President and Congress. He was the subject of severe criticism by the Republican press for holding office under the circumstances. The President was striving to entangle him with his policy and was hampering him at every turn; indeed, was using his great name and influence as a thong with which to beat back the Congress and force submission or cowardly compromise. Under all these embarrassments and provocations, he performed his duties with singular ability, vigor and success, made few blunders, maintained the dignity and *esprit* of his office, and preserved, in the midst of intense partisan heat, a caution, patience and urbanity, which were the admiration of friend and foe alike, and without which no end but that of anarchy were possible.

No period of his eventful and hard-worked life was busier. On the battle-field he had been known to write and dictate forty dispatches and orders in a day. Here the correspondence and documents which emanated from his pen were far greater in volume, and of equal importance. They all show the same

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keen appreciation of situations, clearness of judgment, and felicity of style. He mastered details, strove for reforms, and administered so earnestly and happily in the midst of chaotic surroundings that even President Johnson was forced to say in a message to the Senate giving reasons for the suspension of Stanton, that "Salutary reforms have been introduced by the Secretary *ad interim* (Grant) and great reductions of expenses have been affected under his administration of the war department, to the saving of millions to the Treasury." His annual report to Congress was an admirable summary of what he had done in the way of placing the department on a peace footing, and in it he does not fail to credit the zeal and worth of his subordinates, just as when they had led their men gallantly in battle. Of the district commanders he says: "I am pleased to say, that the commanders of the five military districts have executed their difficult trusts faithfully, and without bias from any judgment of their own as to the merit or demerit of the law they are executing." This report fully proved that he could be as exact, concise, clear and forcible in a state paper as in a field order or battle summary.

Grant's appointment as Secretary of War was only *ad interim;* that is, temporarily, and until a successor could be agreed upon. On December 12th, 1867, Johnson sent a message to the Senate giving his reasons for the removal of Stanton. On January 14th, 1868, the Senate refused to sanction the removal of Stanton, and so notified the President and General Grant. Grant construed this to mean that his mission was at an end. He therefore gave the place up to Stanton. This brought him into controversy with the President, whose purposes in appointing him now became plain. The controversy grew pointed and bitter, and had direct bearing on the political situation, as we shall hereafter see, as well as on the reputations of the two disputants. So fixed had the President become in his determination to control the military function of the government,

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that he could not brook Stanton's return under the construction placed upon the tenure of office Act by Grant. He charged Grant with having promised to hold on, in spite of the verdict of the Senate, until the matter could be settled in the courts. Grant repudiated any such agreement, and told the President in cabinet meeting—here we use the language of Mr. Browning a member of the cabinet—"that on examining the tenure of office Act, he had come to the conclusion that if the Senate should refuse to concur in the suspension, Mr. Stanton would thereby be reinstated, and that he, Grant, could not continue thereafter to act as Secretary of War *ad interim* without subjecting himself to fine and imprisonment and that he came over on Saturday to inform the President of this change in his mind and *did so inform him.*" Thus the question of veracity between the President and Grant may be said to be settled out of the mouth of a third party, and that of one of the President's friends. The President emerged from the controversy convicted of ambitions which he endeavored to support by inventions or perversions. He had found Grant too firm to yield to his brutal methods, too astute to be deceived further as to his aims, and altogether an overmatch for him in interpreting the Tenure Act.

One might suppose that the ungenerous and unfair treatment received by Grant from the President would awaken a desire for revenge should opportunity offer. But when that opportunity came, as it did soon after by the impeachment of the President, Grant proceeded quietly with the administration of his trusts as general-in-chief, and never turned aside to encourage or complicate the proceedings. He interested himself more warmly than ever in advancing reconstruction, kept the peace as unbroken as possible, and soon saw State constitutions rising out of tumult, and State organizations presenting themselves for readmission. But for his steadiness of purpose in the midst of confusion, and the calmness of

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his determination to re-habilitate and restore, the country would not have witnessed the spectacle of a fully re-United States ready and willing to participate in the next election for President.

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CHAPTER XXII.

GRANT AS PRESIDENT—FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4th, 1869–March 3d, 1873.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, Ill., President. SCHUYLER COLFAX, Ind., Vice-President.

Congresses.	Sessions.
Forty-first Congress,	1. March 4th, 1869–April 10th, 1869 (Extra Session) 2. December 6th, 1869–July 15th, 1870. 3 December 5th, 1870–March 3d, 1871.
Forty-second Congress,	1. March 4th, 1871–April 20th, 1871 (Extra Session). 2 December 4th, 1871–June 10th, 1872. 3 December 2d, 1872–March 3d, 1873.

ELECTORAL VOTE.*

			Republican		Democrat.	
States.	*Basis of 127,381.*	*Vote*	*Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.*	*Schuyler Colfax, Ind.*	*Horatio Seymour, N. Y*	*Francis P Blair, Mo.*
Alabama,	6	8	8	8	..	..
Arkansas,	3	5	5	5	..	..
California,	3	5	5	5	.	..
Connecticut,	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware,	1	3	.	.	3	3
Florida,	1	3	3	3	.	..
Georgia,	7	9	.	..	9	9
Illinois,	14	16	16	16	..	.
Indiana,	11	13	13	13	..	.
Iowa,	6	8	8	8	..	..
Kansas,	1	3	3	3	..	.
Kentucky,	9	11	.	..	11	11
Louisiana,	5	7	..	..	7	7
Maine,	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland,	5	7	.	..	7	7
Massachusetts,	10	12	12	12	..	..
Michigan,	6	8	8	8	..	..
Minnesota,	2	4	4	4	..	..
Mississippi,	5	7	.	.	..	..
Missouri,	9	11	11	11	..	..
Nebraska,	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada,	1	3	3	3	..	
New Hampshire,	3	5	5	5	.	..
New Jersey,	5	7	.	..	7	7
New York,	31	33	.	.	33	33
North Carolina,	7	9	9	9	.	..
Ohio,	19	21	21	21	.	.
Oregon,	1	3	.	.	3	3
Pennsylvania,	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island,	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina,	4	6	6	6	..	..
Tennessee,	8	10	10	10	..	..
Texas,	4	6			..	..
Vermont,	3	5	5	5	..	
Virginia,	8	10	.		..	..
West Virginia,	3	5	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin,	6	8	8	8	.	.
Totals,	243	317	214	214	80	80

* *Popular Vote.*—Grant . 3,015,071 , 26 States Seymour: 2,709,613; 8 States. Not voting, 3 States

THE CABINET

Secretary of State,	E B. Washburne, Ill.
Secretary of Treasury,	Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass
Secretary of War,	John A. Rawlins, Ill.
Secretary of Navy,	Adolph E. Borie, Pa
Secretary of Interior,	Jacob D Cox, Ohio.
Attorney-General,	E. R Hoar, Mass
Postmaster-General,	J. A Creswell, Md.

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The administration of President Andrew Johnson, successor to the lamented Lincoln, had not been pleasing to the Republican party, whose majority was large in both Houses of Congress. The most important measures before the country were those looking to reconstruction and admission of the States which had seceded from the Union. The Congress claimed the right to legislate for their admission, and passed reconstruction laws designed to assure to the chaotic States the protection of the national government, and prescribing the terms on which they should renew their allegiance.

President Johnson took issue with this method of carrying on reconstruction, and broke with his party, his claim being that there was enough power in the President to grant amnesty and insure peace, and that the seceded States ought to be left to the management of their own affairs, even though they had not as yet returned to the Union.

The breach between the President and Congress widened, till the attitude of the former became one of almost open defiance, and he narrowly escaped a verdict of guilty in a high court of impeachment which sat from May 5th, to 26th, 1868. General Grant was a participant in the early part of the events which led to impeachment of the President, though not of his own volition. In nothing did the President and Senate differ so much as in the power of appointing officials to and removing them from office. This led to the Tenure of Office Act, which limited the President's power over removals from office.

In the face of this act he removed Stanton from his position as Secretary of War (Aug. 12th, 1867), and, in order to disarm criticism as much as possible, appointed Grant as his successor *ad interim.* That the appointment was an excellent one all parties agreed. But it was soon seen that it was not made with the best of motives, and instead of allaying it only increased the agitation. The real point at issue was the President's power to remove Stanton, and this point could not be

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covered up by the appointment of a successor, no matter how acceptable he might be to all parties.

Grant's position became a very delicate one. He was thrown open to hostile criticism by friends of the President and the Senate. With no leaning toward any faction, he was receiving the cross-fire of all factions. This caused him to look closely into the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act, and he was not long in making up his mind what to do in case the Senate should refuse to concur in the President's removal of Stanton

The President hoped that Grant would hold on, notwithstanding any action the Senate might take, till the controversy could be settled by the courts. But Grant's interpretation of the Act was that if the Senate refused to sanction Stanton's removal, he (Stanton) was re-instated in office, and he (Grant) was out of office, and could not be made to serve. The Senate did refuse to sanction the President's removal of Stanton, and he assumed the duties of his office again, whereupon Grant sent in his resignation.

SECRETARY STANTON.

This action, in keeping with the strict letter of the law, incensed the President, who charged Grant with failing to live up to an understanding that he was to hold on to the position till the courts decided the question, or resign before the Senate could take action on Stanton's removal, so as to place the vacant office back under the disposal of the President.

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Grant's reply to this charge of the President showed more feeling than any paper he had ever issued. He denied the President's statements *in toto*, and expressed astonishment at the boldness of his charges, and then he adds: "You know we parted on Saturday, the 11th ult., without any promise on my part, either express or implied, that I would hold on to the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*, against the action of the Senate; or, declining to do so myself, would surrender it to you before such action was had; or, that I would see you at any fixed time on the subject." After going on to say that for him to have pursued any other course than the one he did would have been in violation of law, and would have subjected him to fine and perhaps imprisonment, he concludes: "When my honor as a soldier, and integrity as a man, have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am, in a measure, confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War, my superior and your subordinate."

This explicit denial and spirited vindication, only incensed the President further, and added bitterness to the controversy. But, in the end, there were few unwilling to admit that Grant did right in resigning, and thus escaping lawsuit and perhaps imprisonment or, at least, a series of entanglements, which seemed inevitable had he proved as contumacious as the President wished him to.

In accepting the position of Secretary of War *ad interim*, Grant stepped into the breach between the Senate and President, actuated solely by the thought that there was great need of its management in strict accordance with his army departments, pending a struggle which bade fair to be hot and protracted. Had he been over sensitive, or afraid of responsi-

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bility and personal detraction, he would have declined his doubtful *ad interim* honors, and left public affairs to drift toward confusion. But he was a patriot, and forgot his private annoyances for the public good. He took the position, and held it for five months. He resisted, with proper and decided efforts, the executive action which was daily widening the newly opened breach between the contesting sections of the country. He remonstrated against the removal of Sheridan, at New Orleans, and wrote to the President, "Allow me to say, as a friend desiring peace and quiet—the welfare of the whole country, North and South—that it is, in my opinion, more than the loyal people (I mean those who supported the Government during the great rebellion), will quietly submit to, to see the very man of all others whom they have expressed confidence in, removed." But Sheridan "had to go." Still Grant held on, for he saw that work had to be done.

His industry while *ad interim* Secretary was untiring. The department needed overhauling. Retrenchment, the principal business of the nation for years following, was begun by Grant in a manner so judicious and thorough that it served as a model for all subsequent economists. He says, in his report, "Retrenchment was the first subject to attract my attention." So vigorously was the reform broom applied, that in five months of official life he worked a saving to the Government of over $6,000,000.

Thus he stood, firm as a rock, amid fierce political storm and during an emergency fraught with the most alarming symptoms. The body politic was in an excited and inflammable state. The least mistake would lead to deplorable results. To yield supinely to the President would have been a dangerous precedent in the direction of executive innovation. The hatred of the contending powers was as relentless as the hostility of Rome for Carthage in the olden time. It was fortunate, looking back to the situation from a standpoint twenty

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years away, for both the liberty and integrity of the republic, that the Secretary *ad interim* was the real power in the land. Holding with firm grasp the army, having the profoundest respect for law, keeping step to the loyal needs of the hour, he declined to second the President in his open disregard of valid statutes, and thus by his patriotic conduct held the nation to its constitutional restraints. The subsequent persistency of the President led to his impeachment.

All this time Republican sentiment had been shaping for the convention which was to nominate a candidate for President, and it was growing clear that though Grant had been esteemed by his grateful countrymen the only soldier worthy to bear for the second time the honors of Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the United States, occasion demanded that he receive the highest honors of State. Though not a Republican in any partisan sense, he was in accord with the spirit of that party. He was level-headed, true, and idolized by the soldier element of the community. Moreover, his knowledge of Southern character and affairs would make him an invaluable adjunct to the Congress in carrying on its delicate and difficult work of reconstruction. There was no more available man for President. The country would only be helping to pay its debt of gratitude by making him its chief executive.

So strongly had the tide run in his favor, that a National Convention of Soldiers and Sailors met at Chicago, on May 19th, 1868, and nominated General Grant for the Presidency. It was composed of officers and men who had borne an active part in the great contest for the preservation of the Republic. The next day, the Republican National Convention, sitting also in Chicago, ratified the former nomination, and made him the nominee of the party with entire unanimity and amid unbounded enthusiasm. At the same time Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The presentation of Grant's name by his companions in arms was natural

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and appropriate. It was but the appreciation and renewal of a leadership they had followed through the fires of war, and which had led them, amid peril, to victory and peace. His nomination by a regular convention of the party was but the recognition and ratification of a fact. Many organizations in all sections of the Union, and without reference to party, had signified their desire for his candidacy.

The platform he was asked to stand upon congratulated the country on the success of the reconstruction measures of Congress; approved of equal suffrage to all loyal men in the South, and of the doctrine that it was a question properly belonging to the loyal States; pledged the country to redeem its promises to pay; urged equalization and reduction of taxation; favored the reduction of interest on the national debt, and gradual payment of the same; asked for economy and improvement of credit; pledged the protection of naturalized citizens, honor to soldiers, sympathy for oppressed peoples, and commended those of the Southern soldiers who had turned in to assist the cause of good government.

This brief of a very important platform shows the magnitude of the questions then pending. Those relating to reconstruction were soon to be settled, not satisfactorily to all parties perhaps, yet so as to bring all the States back under the flag, and make them one again, as they had been before. Those relating to finance, to credit, to interest, to debt, were to be the gravest in the near future, and to exercise the skill of our best statesmen for several administrations.

Thus Grant was about to strike, in affairs of state, an exigency very like that he struck when he entered the Federal army. Order was to be brought out of confusion. Policies were chaotic, and new shapes were to be given them. The extravagance incident to war was to be further checked by economic rules. Most of all, some principle of reconstruction was to be adhered to with strong purpose, in order to keep the

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gradually closing sections of the Union from drifting apart again.

Some of his most intimate friends urged him not to accept the nomination so complimentarily tendered. They gave as reasons his inexperience in civil affairs and the probability of embroilments that might tarnish his unsullied military fame and permanently affect his historical reputation. To these he said: "All you say is plain to me. I am aware of the difficulties awaiting any man who takes that position with its present complications. I have no ambition for the place. My profession is suited to my tastes and habits. I have arrived at its height, and been honored with a position to continue for life, with a generous compensation, and satisfactory to the highest aspirations of a soldier. It will be the greatest sacrifice I ever made to give this up for the turmoil of the presidential office. But if the people ask it, I must yield. For some years the people of America have trusted their sons and brothers and fathers to me; and every step taken with them, in the period from Belmont to Appomattox, has been tracked in the best blood of this country. If now they need me to finish the work, I must accept the duty, if in so doing I lay down the realization of my most ambitious hopes."

That he had little knowledge of details in civil affairs was plain, but what a grasp of our institutions and the objects of legislation and statesmanship is evinced in a little speech delivered at Des Moines, during a trip to the Northwest!

"Let us labor for security of free thought, free speech, free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color or religion. Encourage free schools. Resolve that not a dollar appropriated to them shall go for sectarian purposes. Resolve that neither State nor Nation shall support any institution save those where every child may get common school education unmixed with any atheistic, pagan or sectarian teach-

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ing. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar. Keep Church and State forever separate."

This was the civilization he believed in; the civilization of learning, labor, equality of rights, and equal opportunity. The desire was uppermost to help speed the time "when the title of citizen carries with it all the protection and privileges to the humblest that it does to the most exalted." While such a man was spared to America, it would not be without a defender of that dignity, equality and liberty of man whose fundamental guaranty is the constitution and its amendments.

The Democratic party, in its convention, in New York City, on July 4th, 1868, nominated as its candidates Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, for Vice-President. Party feeling was warm, and party ranks were solidified. There were no side issues and no third candidates. The campaign was particularly active. The points most debated were the reconstruction measures of the Republican party, and equal suffrage in connection with general amnesty to those who had seceded and engaged in rebellion. The suffrage question was a comparatively new one, projected into prominence by the helpless condition of the freedmen, and the growing probability that they would not be able to maintain their rights as citizens without the protection of the ballot. President Johnson had forced the amnesty question on the country by assuming to pardon all applicants, and remove all political disabilities, claiming the right to do so as an executive privilege.

Grant's apothegm "Let us have peace" did much to tone the severities of a campaign which else would have been very bitter owing to the hostility of the Republicans toward Johnson, and the warm espousal of his cause by the Democrats. "Let us have peace" rang out everywhere, in hall, on the stump, in processions, and served to exalt a sentiment into a policy. From a transparency sign it became a tribute to the sagacity

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of its inventor; from a rallying cry it became a party tenet and a national wish. "Let us have peace" was like balm to hearts torn by bloody strife and tired of the existing political commotion.

Grant was overwhelmingly elected, and his election brought about the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was passed February 25th, 1869, and by March 30th, 1870, was ratified by three-fourths of the States. It conferred the right of suffrage on all citizens, without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and thus settled one of the questions that had been most earnestly discussed during the previous campaign.

When the electoral count was had, it showed two hundred and fourteen votes for Grant and Colfax, and eighty votes for Seymour and Blair. The table at the head of this chapter shows how the States voted, and how many votes they cast. The popular vote stood: Grant, 3,015,071; Seymour, 2,709,613.

President Grant took the oath of office, March 4th, 1869, and was duly inaugurated amid one of the largest assemblages of citizens seen in Washington since the Grand Army review of 1865. In it were many of his old soldiers, who lustily cheered their victorious commander, and contributed to the enthusiasm of the occasion. His inaugural was a brief but able State paper. It was tersely written and abounded in wholesome suggestions for peace and sound advice to the Congress and country. He had nothing but kind words for those who, in the South, were resisting reconstruction, and urged on them the necessity of speedily and freely casting their fortunes in with those of the cemented States. He took high ground in favor of economy, public credit, and a course of public affairs calculated to repair the damages of war and start the country on a new career of peace, confidence and prosperity. Laws he could never choose to defy or regard as dead letters, but would regard them as things to be enforced, holding that the rigid enforcement of even a bad law was the surest way to work its repeal.

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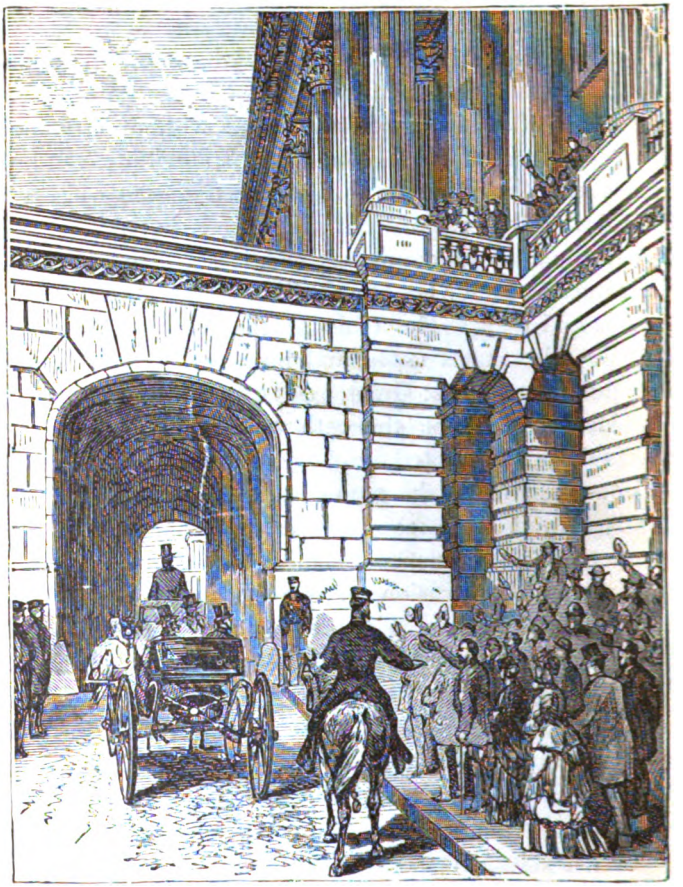
The spirit of the message comported with the views of those who had elected him. Its grasp of subjects, vigor of thought, display of sterling good sense, and aptness of expression,



GRANT ARRIVING AT THE WEST WING OF THE CAPITOL.

showed that he had been a good student of our institutions, and a wonderful observer of passing political events. He

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announced profound respect for the will of the people, and promised to shape his conduct and policies so as to meet their views, supply their wants, and protect their dearest interests. There was nothing disappointing about this first official paper of the soldier President, but everything to inspire confidence in his ability to rule as ably and wisely as he had commanded.

PRESIDENT GRANT.

He chose his cabinet as it stands at the head of this chapter, except, that it contained the name of A. T. Stewart, of New York, as Secretary of the Treasury. The Senate promptly confirmed his nominations, all but Stewart's. He was found to be an importer of foreign goods, and therefore ineligible. The name of George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was

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substituted. The Cabinet was regarded as conservative, which did not suit those who were yet full of the spirit of opposition to Johnson, and who feared the failure of a vigorous policy of reconstruction. But in this they were agreeably disappointed, for the President had no intention of defeating the popular will, and soon showed that he not only understood it, but intended to keep his promise to respect it.

The situation was such as to require an extra session of the Forty-first Congress. This met on March 4th, 1869, the day of his inauguration, and remained in session till April 10th. It contained a large Republican majority in both branches. The great question before it was the admission of Texas, Virginia and Mississippi, which States had not yet ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, nor otherwise complied with the measures of reconstruction thus far laid down. The extra session adjourned after strengthening the hands of the President, and making his way clear by enacting that these States should be readmitted after they had submitted their constitutions as they then stood to a vote of the people, and had through their legislatures ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

The troubles of the new President were now to begin. Unlike his predecessor, he had no policy of reconstruction outside of the laws of Congress, and these he would enforce, however obnoxious, till they were repealed. But in this wise determination he was largely headed off by the condition of affairs which Johnson's policy had fostered, and for which it was responsible, in the Southern States. The opponents of reconstruction had there become coherent, had formed into parties, and had even got to rejoicing in the name of "Unreconstructed" and "Irreconcilables." The existing State governments were denounced as "Carpet Bag Governments," and their upholders as "Carpet-baggers." To oust these became an object. As this could not be done readily by legal means, a sentiment must be

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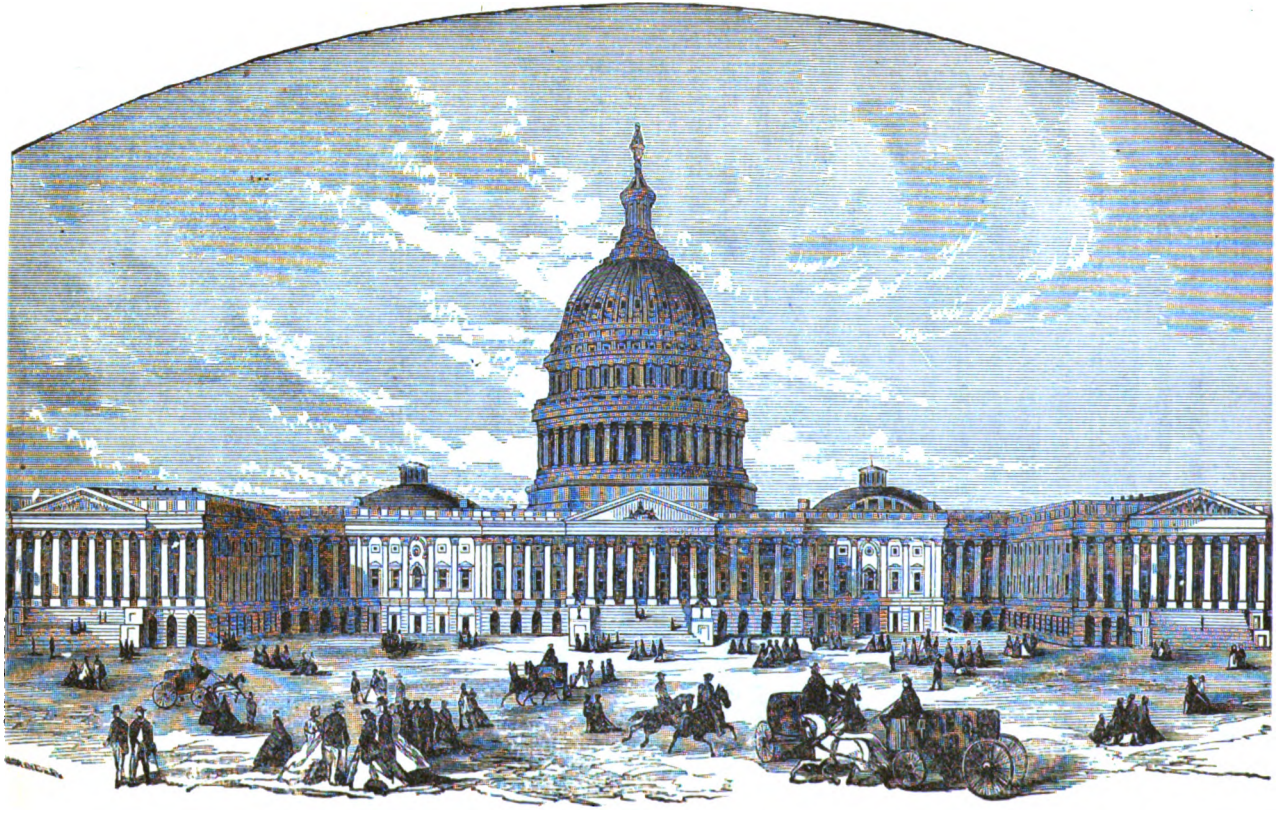

CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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worked up against them, and resort was had to disorderly and terrorizing processes. Local peace did not exist. Appeals were constant for Federal interference and aid. The President's lot became a most unhappy one. He found his efforts to keep the peace by means of such powers as he was endowed with an exceedingly difficult work. His authority was practically ignored by secret concert among those who did not dare to openly defy it. His intervention was checked by suits and appeals to test his right to execute the laws of Congress, and finally, the constitutionality of the whole series of Reconstruction acts was questioned in the highest court in the land.

To act with spirit and promptitude, and without mistake, amid this conflict of authority, and in the face of a defiance which was all the more vexatious because it was secret, was well nigh impossible. Yet he made few gross blunders. What he did make, he was quick to repair. He clung tenaciously to the great central idea that "a government that cannot give protection to the life, property, and all guaranteed civil rights—in this country the greatest is an untrammeled ballot—to the citizen, is so far a failure, and every energy of the oppressed should be exerted, always within the law and by constitutional means, to regain lost privileges and protection."

In the latter part of 1869, the Supreme Court came to his assistance with a decision to the effect that "Congress had the power to establish the relations of any rebellious State to the Union." This decision clarified the political atmosphere greatly. It sustained the policy of Congress and the Republican majority, modified the tone of the Democratic minority, changed the avowed purpose to make reconstruction a further party feature, and simplified the duties of the President.

In May, 1870, Congress passed the Enforcement Act, designed to give the President fuller power to protect the freedmen in their newly acquired rights, and to punish the perpetrators of those outrages which were usually committed

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in the night by masked bands, calling themselves Ku-Klux-Klan. This was followed by the Ku-Klux Act, in April, 1871, and by several amendatory enforcement acts, all designed to strengthen executive powers and meet new emergencies, but really tending to embarrassment. The judgment must have been superhuman that could prove unerring amid this confusion of powers, and variety of calls for their exercise. It stands to President Grant's credit, that his administration of these numerous, confused, and often conflicting laws was, in general, moderate and wise.

During 1870, all the halting Southern States renewed their allegiance, having complied with the conditions of re-admission. The last one, Georgia, after hanging back for a long time with her ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, made July 15th, 1870, memorable by presenting the happy spectacle of a restored Union. Thus the general who received the surrender of the Confederate army and witnessed the downfall of the Confederacy, stood sponsor, as President, at the baptism of the new Union of States. This was the glorious consummation of his wishes, hopes, efforts, throughout a protracted struggle, in which hundreds of thousands of lives had been sacrificed and billions of dollars had been spent. To be presiding officer at such a moment was a matter of the greatest pride and satisfaction. He who had helped to sow stood by to gather the harvest.

In his first inaugural, President Grant struck the keynote of that financial policy which was to run for several years and end in resumption of specie payments. The paragraph we quote led to the passage of the Public Credit Act, which was a commitment of the Government to measures of financial reform and redemption of all its promises to pay. He was elected on the basis of honest payment of the public debt, and faithful maintenance of the public credit. Thus the people had declared.

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Said he: "A great debt has been contracted in securing to us and our posterity the Union. The payment of this, principal and interest, as well as the return to specie basis as soon as it can be accomplished without material detriment to the debtor class, or the country at large, must be provided for. To protect the national honor, every dollar of Government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place, and it will go far toward strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world, and will ultimately enable us to replace the debt with bonds bearing less interest than we now pay."

These brave and honest sentiments were echoed by the Congress in that "Public Credit Act," which was at once a declaration of financial principles on the part of the Government and a beginning of that splendid financial engineering which resulted in resumption of specie payments in 1879, and in the funding and refunding of our national debt till almost the entire unpaid balance was, by 1884, carried at a rate of interest running from three to four per cent.

The act read, "That in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the government to discharge all its just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions of law by which such obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and declared that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law has expressly provided that they shall be paid in lawful money, or in other currency than gold and silver; but none of said interest bearing obligations not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity, unless at such time United States notes

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shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds of the United States bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin. And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at a practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin."

This may be termed the loyal creed of honesty. Grant's serious advice and his great personal popularity, made it a chart for future guidance. And to fully understand its importance at the time, it must be said that there was grave doubt of the constitutionality of the legal tender acts and great fear that the national credit would receive a damaging blow. The voice of repudiation was abroad. Opponents of the national currency were closely and severely construing the power which the government assumed in time of war to raise money by issuing paper promises to pay. Should the sentiment against honest payment of the national pledges assume a drift and become a party shibboleth, as was then apparent, there was no telling the depth of disaster and disgrace into which the nation would be plunged. War would have been in vain and victory robbed of its dearest results. The triumph of the Confederate cause would have been as nothing compared with the national humiliation, should financial discredit now come upon it.

How faithfully Grant's position reflected the law as well as public sentiment, appears from the fact that in March, 1870, the Supreme Court rendered its memorable decision affirming the constitutionality of the legal tender acts. This decision was generally pleasing to the Republicans, and to the credit classes. It was received, at first, very coldly by the Democratic party. Notwithstanding opposition, it soon became popular, and in a little while furnished the stock in trade of that new party which sprung up called "The Greenback Party," and which, strange to say, was largely recruited from the Democratic ranks.

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At the opening of the second session of the Forty-First Congress, December 5th, 1870, President Grant occupied in his message the same high ground as before on all questions of national moment. Reconstruction was then happily out of the way. The message introduced one new measure, that was the annexation of the island of St. Domingo to the United States.

CHARLES SUMNER.

A treaty of annexation had been negotiated between President Grant and the President of the Republic of St. Domingo as early as September 4th, 1869. Senator Sumner opposed this treaty and the entire policy of annexation, more through pique at not having been consulted in its preparation, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, than on any broad

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grounds of statesmanship. His speech against it was a Phillipic against Grant. The President's reasons for acquisition were chiefly military ones. He suggested that a naval station in the Carribean Sea would facilitate home operations in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the event of war would prove a source of protection to our entire Southern borders. Though a special commission sent to San Domingo for the purpose reported that the people were in favor of annexation, the Senate could not be brought to confirm the treaty and the whole matter was dropped there; but discussion over it was carried on for a long time afterwards in the newspapers, much to the injury of President Grant, whose innocent and excellent reasons for acquisition were distorted into forgetfulness of our traditions and personal desire to make foreign conquests.

A matter of international moment and one in which President Grant took great pride, was settlement of the Alabama claims controversy. These were claims made by the United States against Great Britain for damage done to American vessels and commerce during the Rebellion by the Alabama and other cruisers fitted out in English ports. The amount involved was large. Both nations were firm in their positions respecting them. Only the wisest counsels could prevent serious complications and perhaps war. The President's diplomacy was happily shaped in the interest of peace. A treaty was formed and ratified at Washington, May 8th, 1871, by which both nations agreed to submit the dispute to a board of arbitrators chosen from among the leading nations of the world. Charles Francis Adams was selected from the United States; Sir Alexander Cockburn from England; Senator Count Sclopis, from Italy; Jacob Stampfli, from Switzerland; and Baron D'Itajuba, from Brazil. This board represented a new departure in international affairs. Hitherto war had been the only means of settling disputes of this nature and claims of this magnitude. Upon the success of this experiment

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depended a great question in the future—the possibility of averting wars between nations by previous arbitration of their difficulties. The result was a signal triumph of the plan. The arbitration proceeded harmoniously. The Board brought in a verdict of $15,500,000, called the "Geneva award," in favor of the United States, to which verdict England did not demur.

What was known as the "Force Bill" of Feb. 28th, 1871, reopened some of the party animosities which reconstruction had allayed. It gave to those in the Southern States the right of suit in the federal courts where they were deprived of the privileges conferred by national statutes, and aimed a blow at unlawful combinations of men, by adjudging such combinations conspiracies to be put down by the national army or navy. It was a delicate law to administer. A captious, arbitrary or unjust President might have found in it a terrific weapon. But President Grant handled it, as he had done all the reconstruction powers, in a way to avoid oppression and so as to insure justice without violence.

On May 22d, 1872, President Grant had the pleasure of seeing the spirit of the terms on which he accepted the surrender of the Confederates at Appomattox incorporated into a National Amnesty law, by whose provisions all political disabilities were removed from those who had participated in the Rebellion, except officers of the army and navy, and officials of the Confederate government. This was the beginning of that series of amnesty laws, which finally lifted disability from the shoulders of all Confederate officers and officials except President Jefferson Davis.

In view of the importance which the matter has since assumed, and of the fact that it bids fair to be a momentous question among parties for some time, as well as in its direct bearings on government welfare, it must be mentioned that the reform spirit which sought a change in the tenure of public

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office and in the manner of making federal appointments found its first executive advocate in President Grant.

On March 3d, 1871, the first civil service act in the history of the country was passed, under which a commission was promptly appointed to recommend a plan of procedure. It is unnecessary to say that it was in advance of public sentiment. Let the President's own words gathered from his messages, state his position on this new, but growthy question.

"An earnest desire has been felt to correct abuses which have grown up in the civil service of the country through the defective method of making appointments to office. Heretofore federal offices have been regarded too much as the reward of political services. Under authority of Congress, rules have been established to regulate the tenure of office and the mode of appointments. It cannot be expected that any system of rules can be entirely effective, and prove a perfect remedy for the existing evils, until they have been thoroughly tested by actual practice, and amended according to the requirements of the service. During my term of office it shall be my greatest endeavor to so apply the rules as to secure the greatest possible reform."

And again, when touching on the question of "Official Honesty:"

"It has been the aim of the administration to enforce honesty and efficiency in all public offices. Every public servant who has violated the trust placed in him has been proceeded against with all the rigor of the law. If bad men have secured places, it has been the fault of the system established by law and custom for making appointments, or the fault of those who recommend for government positions persons not sufficiently well known to them personally, or who gave letters indorsing the characters of office-seekers without a proper sense of the grave responsibility which such a course devolves upon them.

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A civil service reform which can correct this abuse is much desired. In mercantile pursuits, the business man who gives a letter of recommendation to a friend, to enable him to obtain credit from a stranger, is regarded as morally responsible for the integrity of his friend and his ability to meet his obligations. A reformatory law which would enforce this principle against all indorsers of persons for public place would insure great caution in making recommendations. A salutary lesson has been taught the careless and the dishonest public servant in the great number of prosecutions and convictions of the last two years."

And then, growing more positive as his own convictions ripened, and more urgent as public sentiment became stronger, he maps very nearly the legislation of the future, thus:

"In three successive messages to Congress, I have called attention to the subject of 'civil service reform.' Action has been taken so far as to authorize the appointment of a board to devise rules governing methods of making appointments and promotions; but there never has been any action making these rules binding, or even entitled to observance where persons desire the appointment of a friend, or the removal of an official who may be disagreeable to them. To have any rules effective, they must have the acquiescence of Congress as well as of the executive. I commend, therefore, the subject to your attention, and suggest that a special committee of Congress might confer with the Civil Service Board during the present session for the purpose of devising such rules as can be maintained, and which will secure the services of honest and capable officials, and which will also protect them in a degree of independence while in office. Proper rules will protect Congress, as well as the executive, from much needless persecution, and will prove of great value to the public at large in the civil service of the government but it will require the direct action of

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Congress to render the enforcement of the system binding upon my successors, and I hope that the experience of the past year, together with appropriate legislation by Congress, may reach a satisfactory solution of this question, and secure to the public service, for all time, a practical method of obtaining faithful and efficient officers and employés."

Says Commissioner Eaton, of the Civil Service Board, in his able work on "Civil Service Reform in England":

"It is a matter of general information, that under President Grant, a trial, beginning January 1st, 1872, was made of the merit or Civil Service system in a limited way; the regulations, competitions and examinations being closely analogous to those so long in practice in Great Britain. One hardly need recall the well-known facts that, by reason of the imperfect support given the reform, of open hostility in various official quarters, and of the damaging examples of official infidelity on the part of some of those connected with the Administration, the new system was placed at a great disadvantage; but it is important not to forget that, despite all these drawbacks, its good effects clearly appeared, and that they are established by authority so high and direct as not to be open to question. From the report of the Civil Service Commission, submitted to President Grant in April, 1874, it appears that, upon the basis of their own experience, and of the reports of their subordinates, the heads of departments, the members of the Cabinet, approved the language of the report, which stated the following as the results of the trial of the new system—that is, of the rules then in force:

"(1) They have given persons of superior character and capacity to the Government, and have tended to exclude unworthy characters.

"(2) They have developed more energy in the discharge of duty, and more ambition to acquire information.

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"(3) They have diminished unreasonable solicitation for office.

"(4) They have relieved the heads of bureaus of the necessity of devoting valuable time to hearing applicants for office.

"(5) They have made it easier to dismiss those found unworthy.

"(6) They have diminished intrigue for removal for the purpose of bringing inferior persons into place.

"There is no need, nor can the space be spared, to present here even an outline of the decisive evidence by which the utility of the new system was demonstrated in that report. It is enough to say that on the 18th of April, 1874, President Grant sent the report to Congress, with a special message in which he says:

"'Herewith I transmit the report of the Civil Service Commission. If sustained by Congress, I have no doubt the rules can, after experience gained, be so improved and enforced as to still more materially benefit the public service, and relieve the Executive, members of Congress, and the heads of departments from influences prejudicial to good administration. The rules, as they have hitherto been enforced, have resulted beneficially, as is shown by the opinions of the members of the Cabinet and their subordinates in the Departments, and in that opinion I concur.'

"The message concluded by asking for the same appropriation for the next year that had been made for the previous year. President Grant repeated these views in his annual message of December 7th, 1874, in which he again appealed to Congress for an appropriation. But not even such unquestioned evidence, reinforced by the request of the President, could avail in that Congress. Its members lacked faith in the higher sentiments of the people as much as they desired patronage in their own hands. Party managers clamored for

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spoils. There was a lamentable absence of foresight and statesmanship. The pledges of the past and the promise of the future were sacrificed by a refusal to make the least appropriation, and by treating with contempt an experiment for which the party and administrative power were responsible."

His position on the other leading questions of the time, as well as that policy which, in general, characterized his administration, can best be gathered from his own lips. The extracts from his messages and speeches are necessarily brief, but they serve to show sentiment pretty fully, for he was a sententious and vigorous writer, and made himself understood by few and apt words.

GRANT ON PUBLIC POLICY.

If elected, "it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere."

His principle of action is embodied in the statement:

"A purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall."—*Letter accepting nomination.*

GRANT ON EXECUTIVE DUTY.

"On leading questions agitating the public mind, I will always express my views to Congress, and urge them according to my judgment; and when I think it advisable, will exercise the constitutional privilege of interposing a veto to defeat measures which I oppose. But all laws will be faithfully executed, whether they meet my approval or not.

"I shall on all subjects have a policy to recommend, but none to enforce against the will of the people. Laws are to

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govern all alike—those opposed as well as those who favor them. I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution."

ON PUBLIC CONTROVERSIES.

"In meeting these, it is desirable they should be approached calmly, without prejudice, hate, or sectional pride, remembering that the greatest good to the greatest number is the object to be obtained.

"This requires security of person, property, and free religious and political opinion in every part of our common country, without regard to local prejudice. All laws to secure these ends will receive my best efforts for their enforcement."

HIS FOREIGN POLICY.

"I would deal with nations as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other."

GRANT ON CITIZENSHIP.

"I would protect the law-abiding citizen, whether of native or foreign birth, wherever his rights are jeopardized, or the flag of our country floats."

HIS INDIAN POLICY.

"I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship."

ON INDIVIDUAL DUTY.

"I ask patient forbearance, one toward another, throughout the land, and a determined effort on the part of every citizen to do his share toward cementing a happy union; and I ask the prayers of the nation to Almighty God in behalf of this consummation."

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ON PUBLIC EDUCATION.

"The 'Father of his Country,' in his farewell address, uses the language, 'Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge!' The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change, and constitutes the most important event, that has ever occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendation of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now!

"I therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country; and upon the people everywhere to see to it, that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in government a blessing, and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured."

ON THE TEST OATH.

"I believe that it is not wise policy to keep from office by an oath those who are not disqualified by the Constitution, and who are the choice of the legal voters; but, while relieving them from an oath which they cannot take, I recommend the release also of those to whom the oath has no application."

ON POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS.

"The utmost fidelity and diligence will be expected of all officers in every branch of the public service. Political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within the various departments; and, while the right of all persons in official positions to take part in politics is acknowledged, and the

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elective franchise is recognized as a high trust to be discharged by all entitled to its exercise, whether in the employment of the government or in private life, honesty and efficiency, not political activity, will determine the tenure of office."

VIEWS ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

"I sympathize most cordially in any effort to secure for all our people, of whatever race, nativity or color, the exercise of those rights to which every citizen should be entitled."

ON THE SUCCESSION.

"Past experience may guide me in avoiding mistakes, inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations. When relieved from the responsibilities of my present trust by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or the next, I hope to leave him as executive a country at peace within its own borders, at peace with outside nations, with a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity."

GRANT ON MOIETIES AND FLUCTUATION.

"The present laws for collecting revenue pay collectors of customs small salaries, but provide for moieties (shares in all seizures), which, at principal ports of entry particularly, raise the compensation of those officials to a large sum. It has always seemed to me as if this system must, at times, work perniciously. It holds out an inducement to dishonest men, should such get possession of those offices, to be lax in their scrutiny of goods entered to enable them finally to make large seizures. Your attention is respectfully invited to this subject. Continued fluctuations in the value of gold, as compared with the national currency, has a most damaging effect upon the increase and development of the country in keeping up prices

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of all articles necessary in every-day life. It fosters a spirit of gambling, prejudicial alike to national morals and the national finances."

While the country felt it had a prudent, safe and far-sighted President in Grant, and while he was trusted by all parties and sections, as few executives ever were, some of his near advisers, and even cabinet officers, became the subject of serious, if not bitter criticism, amid which he was, for the most part, an uncomplaining and unjust sufferer.

The spendthrift and speculative period of war was not yet over. While he introduced many needed economic reforms into his immediate administration, he could not influence or check that wild spirit of venture which existed in the outside business world, though he always recognized its danger as his state papers show. To keep all his official surroundings free from this reckless spirit was impossible. It would in spite of him occasionally break over the barriers and invade his administration. It touched some of his most trusted officers. This he could not believe, so he clung to them, shutting his ears against charges and detractions. This was a mistake, as the sequel proved,—the mistake of trusting not wisely, but too well. But the motive was always good.

Coming into civil life unprepared, save by natural extraordinary judgment, purity of intention and firmness of resolve, his administration brought the country each year nearer to that consummation of reduced expenses, lessened public debt, unquestioned public credit, and peace at home and abroad, to which he stood pledged in assuming executive responsibilities. If those in whom he placed confidence were unfaithful, no one of his bitterest maligners has ever yet dared to impugn his individual integrity or refuse to him the qualification Aristides said, "became an official"; and that is, "to have clean hands."

The Credit Mobilier affair, though unconnected with his

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478 MRS. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

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administration, yet occurring near its close, served to embitter criticism of Washington methods and raise a new cloud of sensational morsels and vague suspicions. The Act of the last session of Forty-second Congress raising the President's salary to $50,000, and the salary of Congressmen to $7500, was received by the country with such a storm of opposition that it was speedily repealed, except as to the President's salary.

The family, or White House, management of the administration was always plain and popular. President Grant himself had pleasing administrative ways. He was accessible, heard patiently and well, never made promises he did not intend to keep. His home was not at first a society centre, but grew to be a desirable place to visit. It was presided over with dignity by his excellent wife, who was of plain substantial tastes and endowed with rare good sense. His family consisted of four children, three boys and a girl, all passing through a happy and healthful childhood. And thus ended the first administration of the soldier President. All in all, it had been one of purity, progress and reform, yet not one without opposition, much of which had been given a personal turn and was not free from a narrow spirit of vindictiveness.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4th, 1873–March 3d, 1877.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, Ill., President. HENRY WILSON, Mass., Vice-President

CONGRESSES.	SESSIONS.
Forty-third Congress,	1. December 1st, 1873–June 23d, 1874. 2. December 7th, 1874–March 3d, 1875.
Forty-fourth Congress,	1. December 6th, 1875–August 15th, 1876. 2. December 4th, 1876–March 3d, 1877.

ELECTORAL VOTE.*

			REPUBLICAN.		DEMOCRAT.	
States.	*Basis of 131,425.*	*Vote.*	*Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.*	*Henry Wilson, Mass.*	*Horace Greeley, N.Y.*	*B. Gratz Brown, Mo*
Alabama,	8	10	10	10	. .	. .
Arkansas,	4	6	. .	. .	(Not counted.)	
California,	4	6	6	6	. .	. .
Connecticut,	4	6	6	6	. .	
Delaware,	1	3	3	3	. .	
Florida,	2	4	4	4	. .	. .
Georgia,	9	11	. .	. .	6 for Brown. 2 for Perkins, Dem., Ga. 3 for Greeley (not counted).	
Illinois,	19	21	21	21	. .	. .
Indiana,	13	15	15	15	. .	. .
Iowa,	9	11	11	11	. .	. .
Kansas,	3	5	5	5	. .	. .
Kentucky,	10	12	. .	. .	8 for Hendricks, D., Ind. 4 for Brown, Mo.	
Louisiana,	6	8	. .	. .	(Not counted.)	
Maine,	5	7	7	7	. .	. .
Maryland,	6	8	. .	. .	8 for Hendricks.	
Massachusetts,	11	13	13	13	. .	. .
Michigan,	9	11	11	11	. .	. .
Minnesota,	3	5	5	5	. .	. .
Mississippi,	6	8	8	8	. .	. .
Missouri,	13	15	. .	. .	8 for Brown. 6 for Hendricks. 1 for Davis.	
Nebraska,	1	3	3	3	. .	. .
Nevada,	1	3	3	3	. .	. .
New Hampshire,	3	5	5	5	. .	. .
New Jersey,	7	9	9	9	. .	. .
New York,	33	35	35	35	. .	. .
North Carolina,	8	10	10	10	. .	. .
Ohio,	20	22	22	22	. .	. .
Oregon,	1	3	3	3	. .	. .
Pennsylvania,	27	29	29	29	. .	. .
Rhode Island,	2	4	4	4	. .	. .
South Carolina,	5	7	7	7	. .	. .
Tennessee,	10	12	. .	. .	12 for Hendricks.	
Texas,	6	8	. .	. .	8 for Hendricks.	
Vermont,	3	5	5	5	. .	. .
Virginia,	9	11	11	11	. .	. .
West Virginia,	3	5	5	5	. .	. .
Wisconsin,	8	10	10	10	. .	. .
Totals,	292	366	286	286		

* The death of Mr. Greeley before the electoral count caused the casting of his 66 votes as scattering. The above table indicates the way they went for President. For Vice-President

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THE CABINET.

Secretary of State,	Hamilton Fish, N. Y. (continued).
Secretary of Treasury,	William A. Richardson, Mass.
Secretary of War,	William W. Belknap, Iowa (continued).
Secretary of Navy,	George M. Robeson, N. J. "
Secretary of Interior,	Columbus Delano, Ohio "
Attorney-General,	Geo. H. Williams, Oregon "
Postmaster-General,	J. A. J. Creswell, Md. "

The Republican party and the country were so well satisfied with President Grant's first administration, that they stood ready to honor him a second time. This was grateful to him, for he had been the mark of such bitter opposition by his political enemies as to make him feel that he needed vindication at the hands of his friends. If he were nominated and elected a second time, the fact would assure him that defamation had done him no injury, and he could always point to such a triumph as a sufficient answer to every invention of malice.

Political sentiment was somewhat mixed in 1872. There had risen inside the Republican party a strong faction which cared nothing for practical politics, and which was swayed by the thought that universal amnesty ought to be proclaimed in exchange for universal suffrage. An equally large faction swung off, as early as 1870, on the idea that the Reconstruction measures were harsh, unconstitutional, and failures in their application. This occurred in Missouri. B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz led the faction in a legislative fight and triumphed. They called themselves Liberal Republicans, and their opponents Radicals. This was to be the nucleus of a new party. All the dissatisfied Republican elements came to it under the lead of Greeley and Fenton in New York, Curtin in Pennsylvania, Trumbull in Illinois, and Charles Francis Adams in Massachusetts. The Democrats favored it, thinking it would disrupt

the vote was still more scattered. Brown, Libera. Republican, Mo., received 47; Julian, Democrat, Ind., 5; Colquitt, Democrat, Ga., 5; Palmer, Democrat, Ill., 3; Bramlette, Democrat, Ky., 3; Groesbeck, Democrat, O., 1; Macken, Democrat, Ky., 1; Banks, Liberal Republican, Mass, 1. The 14 votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted, on account of frauds in the elections and duplicate counts by two opposing Returning Boards. The popular vote was: Grant, 3,597,070; 31 States. Greeley, 2,834,079; 6 States. O'Conor, 29,408; Black, 5,608.

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the Republicans, and many of their leaders actually joined it. It issued a call for a National Convention at Cincinnati, on May 1st, 1872, where Mr. Greeley was nominated for President, and B. Gratz Brown for Vice-President. Its platform accepted

HORACE GREELEY.

all troubles growing out of the war as settled, and favored reforms of various kinds and in general.

The regular Republican Convention met in Philadelphia, on June 5th, 1872. There was practically no opposition to the naming of President Grant for a second term, and his choice

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was a unanimous one. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The platform vindicated the Republican policy of reconstruction, emancipation, suffrage, equal rights; asked for a humane Indian policy; a Pacific railroad; public lands for actual settlers; protection to immigration; sound and uniform national currency; economy; enforcement of the new amendments to the constitution; gradual reduction of public debt; and wound up with hearty approval of Grant's first administration.

The Democrats met in National Convention, in Baltimore, July 9th, 1872, and, by prearrangement, accepted the candidates and platform of the Liberal Republicans. A straight out Democratic Convention met at Louisville, and nominated Charles O'Conor, of New York, for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President, on an old-fashioned platform. The Temperance party was also in the field with regular candidates and a platform.

The campaign was peculiar in every respect. The Republicans were sanguine from the start. They felt that they had an invincible nominee, and that the country would approve their platform of sentiments. The Democrats were cold toward Mr. Greeley, who had been a life-long Republican, and who, in his alienation, was pursuing a chimera. The Liberal Republicans bore the "heat and burden" of the campaign, their money, eloquence and effort almost alone contributing to its life and energy.

The November result was a bitter disappointment to the Liberal Republicans. They had neither won themselves, nor captured their Democratic allies. "Fusion had resulted in confusion" for them, was a witty after-election saying. The electoral count showed two hundred and eighty-six votes for Grant and Wilson. Mr. Greeley died in November, and the sixty-six Democratic electors voted for other persons.

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In answer to the ungenerous charges that he had been ambitious to succeed himself, President Grant said:

"I never sought the office for a second, nor even for a first, nomination. To the first I was called from a life position—one created by Congress expressly for me for supposed services rendered to the Republic. The position vacated, I liked. It would have been most agreeable to me to have retained it until such time as Congress might have consented to my retirement, with the rank and a portion of the emoluments which I so much needed, to a home where the balance of my days might be spent in peace, and in the enjoyment of domestic quiet, relieved from the cares which have oppressed me so constantly now for fourteen years. But I was made to believe that the public good called me to make the sacrifice.

"Without seeking the office for the second term, the nomination was tendered to me by a unanimous vote of the delegates of all the States and Territories, selected by the Republicans of each to represent their whole number for the purpose of making their nomination. I cannot say that I was not pleased at this, and at the overwhelming endorsement which their action received at the election following. But it must be remembered that all the sacrifices, except that of comfort, had been made in accepting the first term. Then, too, such a fire of personal abuse and slander had been kept up for four years—notwithstanding the conscientious performance of my duties to the best of my understanding, though I admit, in the light of subsequent events, many times subject to fair criticism—that an indorsement from the people, who alone govern republics, was a gratification that it is only human to have appreciated and enjoyed."

He took the oath of office and was inaugurated on March 4th, 1873, amid a civic display and enthusiasm which equalled in brilliancy and intensity that of his first entry to office. His

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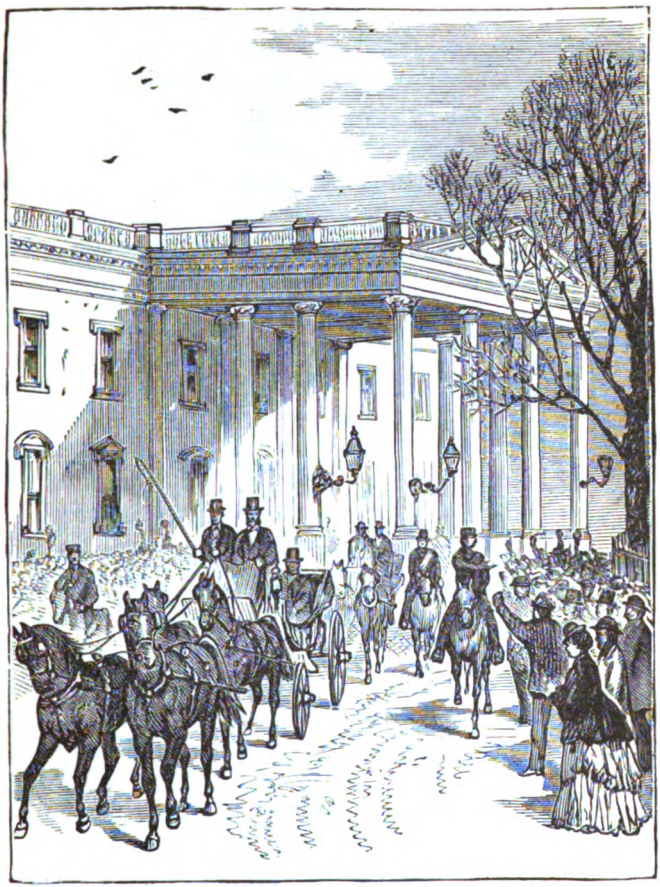
inaugural was cautious and able. Like all his state papers it discovered a clear understanding of political situations and was



LEAVING THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE SECOND INAUGURATION.

particularly firm respecting those measures of finance which were then engaging the statesmen of all parties. As we have

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shown in the chapter on his first administration, by quoting from this inaugural, he occupied even higher ground than before on the question of civil service reform. The insane cry of "Grantism," during the campaign, and the blind but malignant fury of those who had failed to trace a single partisan charge, or even ungracious suspicion, to his personal or official door, led him to allude feelingly to himself:

"I acknowledge before this assembly, representing as it does every section of our country, the obligation I am under to my countrymen for the great honor they have conferred on me by returning me to the highest office within their gift, and the further obligation resting on me to render to them the best services within my power.

"This I promise, looking forward with the greatest anxiety to the day when I shall be released from responsibilities that at times are almost overwhelming, and from which I have scarcely had a respite since the eventful firing on Fort Sumpter, in April 1861, to the present day. My services were then tendered and accepted under the first call for troops growing out of that event. I did not ask for place or position, and was entirely without influence or the acquaintance of persons of influence, but was resolved to perform my part in a struggle threatening the very existence of the nation—a conscientious duty—without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling toward any section or individual.

"Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868, to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equalled in political history, which to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

And this verdict had been a most emphatic one. Those who had contributed, directly and indirectly, to it were Democrats as well as Republicans, political enemies as well as friends.

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The election taught the moral that malice reacts on itself, and vituperation is not valid argument. Prone as the American people are to suspect and criticise, they yet love fair play. Washington was not blackened by false charge or slanderous epithet. Jefferson lived down all the malicious falsehoods respecting ambition and intrigue. Jackson defied his detractors and increased his popularity amid the cruel fires of misrepresentation and malediction. Lincoln passed the ordeal of persistent misconstruction and defamation and came out pure, respected and loved. Grant, who had never had a dishonest intent, who had never failed to acknowledge and correct a mistake, had already received such vindication as the people could give at a presidential election, and such as was most gratifying to him. Further vindication he could afford to postpone, till time had softened asperities and mellowed hostile memories, and charitable, fair and exact history came along to make its record of only sterling facts.

The President's second cabinet was duly confirmed by the Senate. A comparison of it with the first cabinet will show almost an entire change, though it was nearly the same as that of the last part of his first administration. This is not to be wondered at, for in the chaos of after war times few leaders were agreed on definite and abiding policies, and it was difficult to keep about the executive centre an harmonious band of political advisers. This very fact was turned to Grant's discredit. It of course narrowed his choice of men, and gave a show of honoring personal favorites. The unity and harmony he sought among his near advisers—cabinet officials—and without which no President can expect to succeed, were gained at the expense of broad party interests and perhaps of broader civic interests. Not that his men were not able; this no one doubted. But that they were too much of one cast of mind, too much favorites, too much pledged to single lines of thought and procedure. In any crisis this would have been right and necessary.

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But, as has been said, sentiment was chaotic, loose. It could not bear the thought of grooves and limitations, was struggling against walled up policies. Grant's ways were those of a soldier. His advisers were lieutenants. His methods were disciplinary. Hence, without thought of his integrity or consideration of his purity of intention, that rapid and foolish cry of "Grantism," "Cæsarism," and that equally foolish fear that he would do something to make his term of office perpetual. We laugh at these things now, and wonder, in the light of the present, how there could be such a misunderstanding of clear situations and such a distortion of lucid facts.

Grant's second administration opened amid financial disaster. The speculative period after the war culminated in 1873, and there came a panic which wrecked business credit and shook faith in that of the government. It disordered public policies, disorganized parties, bred discontents, and carried along with them a flood of confusions. It made the legislation of the Congress which met December 1st, 1873, difficult.

The popular idea ran in favor of inflation. It was thought that by increasing the national currency to the extent of $400,000,000, the country would be relieved of pressure and further disaster avoided. An act was passed authorizing an increase of the above amount, in the face of the fact that too much redundancy had already contributed to the speculative spirit which brought on the panic, and of the further fact that the dominant party had resolutely set its head in the direction of specie payments and a higher public credit.

The Republican majority was still large in both branches—thirty-six in the Senate, and one hundred in the House. This majority was therefore largely responsible for the inflation act. Notwithstanding this fact, President Grant vetoed the bill, giving as a reason that it ran counter to the sounder sentiment which already tended toward resumption, that it was inflation without an exigency to warrant it, and that it would impair the

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public credit by increasing its promises to pay. The bill could not be passed over the President's veto for want of the necessary two-thirds, though a powerful minority in both parties favored it. This idea of inflation, coupled with the decision of the Supreme Court that the legal tender acts of the government were valid, became the basis of that "Greenback" movement which soon assumed party proportions and figured so extensively in the State elections of 1874, and for some years after.

In this veto Grant stood fast by the principle enunciated in his first inaugural. "Fluctuation in the paper value of the measure of all values (gold) is detrimental to the interests of trade. It makes the man of business an involuntary gambler; for in all sales where future payment is to be made both parties speculate as to what will be the value of the currency to be paid and received. I earnestly recommend to you then such legislation as will insure a gradual return to specie payments and put an immediate stop to fluctuations in the value of currency."

This firmness was unpopular in the midst of depression and panic, but it was wise, as all now agree. It helped to stay the inflation furore and advance the safe, conservative business thought that the way to recover was not by plunging the country deeper into debt, but by retrenchment on the part of individuals and the exercise of a more cautious energy. It hastened the "age of gold," which was then not far in the future.

The President had the pleasure of signing during this term of office several tariff measures, notably that of 1874, which had been passed to remedy the too rapid reduction of duties on imports, begun in 1871–72. He was always in harmony with the protective idea, and believed that the building up of our industries and thus creating a home market for our surplus cereals was a wise policy as well as solemn duty.

The administration found itself cramped in its Southern policy. It had for a long time been clear that the "Home

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Rule" sentiment in the Southern States was, in the end, bound to extinguish the local governments which existed on the strength of support given by all the people without regard to nationality, color or previous condition. Organizations called the "White League" ramified the States, and "The White Man's Party" had become a rallying cry. So long as this ferment involved only State issues and did injustice to no one, interference would have been improper. But, unfortunately, it ended in a riotous and bloody controversy in Louisiana, where two State governments, one under Kellogg, the other under McEnery, rival governors, were contending for supremacy.

Several of the Republican governments, as in Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas had called upon the President for military aid in maintaining their positions, but this was declined except in the presence of such outbreak as the proper State authorities could not suppress. The condition of all was turbulent, demanding constant attention from the President, and presenting him a task most difficult and dangerous. There came up to the Executive the most conflicting stories from "Home Rulers" and freedmen, "White Leaguers" and "Carpet-baggers." It was impossible to form an accurate judgment of the situation, and grave fears arose of a war of races. Political sentiment in the North was greatly affected by the situation, and showed itself adverse to the Republicans in 1874, when a Democratic majority was returned to the Forty-Fourth Congress.

Sheridan's report, January 10th, 1875, of the situation in Louisiana showed that a condition of war existed between the rival factions, which was beyond control of the State authorities and called for federal intervention. On January 13th, President Grant sent a special message to Congress reviewing the contention between Kellogg and McEnery, the rival governors, who both claimed to be elected, and asking that some steps be taken to ascertain the merits of their respective claims

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in the interest of peace. In the meantime the federal troops, under Sheridan, had been drawn into several ugly complications with the soldiery, or rather mobs, of the factions, and had been forced to suppress riotous demonstrations, if not actual warfare. The Congress referred the whole controversy to a select committee, after deciding that the Kellogg government was the legal one. This committee investigated affairs fully and drew up the celebrated "Wheeler compromise," which became the basis of settlement among all the claimants for peace in the State. Thus, further bloodshed was averted, and the Executive relieved, for the time being, of the delicate task of interfering in the affairs of an inflammatory state and section.

He was hardly relieved of this difficult and dangerous responsibility when administration circles were plunged into confusion by the trial of his Private Secretary, O. E. Babcock, for complicity with the "Whisky Ring," then undergoing investigation for corrupt and notorious practices in securing legislation favorable to its interests. He was acquitted, and resigned his position. This ring was formed in the West in 1875, or earlier. It had not only succeeded in influencing legislation relating to the internal revenue tax, but in cheating the government out of such tax. This form of corruption, after President Grant's order "Let no guilty man escape," was traced by the government detectives through all its ramifications, and resulted in some notable trials. It was tracked, as we have just seen, up to so close a friend as his Private Secretary, and the enemies of the administration sought, by all means in their power, to connect it directly with the frauds. But even partisan rancor failed, in the end, to smutch the President's character and good name.

This trouble had hardly passed till his Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, was charged with selling an Indian trading establishment, which resulted in his impeachment. But he

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resigned before the time of trial, and the vote in the Senate was one of not guilty, more on the ground of a want of jurisdiction of his case than as a declaration on its merits.

These events were very embarrassing to President Grant personally and officially. While they did not detract from the prevailing sentiment respecting his integrity, they showed that his confidence in men, and his faithfulness to trusted friends could be taken advantage of, to his detriment. He had been forewarned of the possibility that these two officials were implicated by rumors and hints of suspicion, but he could not strike them a blow in the face of detractive fires. He would rather tolerate them, and divide the consequences of their fall, when conviction came. than help to ruin them in advance by removing them, or asking for their resignations. This was the President's spirit in military and civil affairs. It was right in principle, but often made him the victim of unmerited abuse.

On January 14th, 1875, the President witnessed, in the passage of the Resumption Act, the planting of a corner stone for that financial temple, whose erection he had advocated from the day of his first inauguration. Owing to the panic, the Greenback theorists, the unsettled state of public sentiment, immediate resumption was deemed impolitic. But to provide for it, in order to occasion a drift towards it at some future day, was the object of the act. It fixed a period four years afterwards (1879) as the time when all might hope to look on a paper promise to pay as equivalent to gold.

Most extraordinary pressure was brought to bear on the President to induce him to withhold his signature from the bill. Many of his warmest personal friends were ardent inflationists. Eminent bankers, merchants, men with the care of great railroad enterprises, by petition, by personal appeal, by letter, by telegraph, warned him of ruin to the country by forcing resumption.

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Prominent Republicans doubted the policy of naming a day when we should redeem. It was derided as a party dodge and visionary scheme. Not one moment did Grant waver. He felt that if the occasion slipped by, it might not come again. The bill was right. The vital interests of the country demanded that we should come back to financial sanity. The honor of the people could only be maintained by redeeming their outstanding pledges. By his act the bill became law, and because of that resumption is now an accomplished fact. It was among the last acts of special importance in his administration, and was the consummation of a recommendation made by him in his first state paper. It was the finality of the war currency; and by this act the American people once more had a circulation convertible into specie, the honest, constitutional money of their fathers. We are to-day—because we had Grant for President—regarded by the world as an honest, promise-keeping nation. Our credit is second to that of no other power.

In December, 1875, the administration was face to face with a Democratic House. The elections of 1874 had gone against it, owing to the combination of circumstances already pointed out. It is especially hard for a dominant party to stand up in the midst of financial depression. So it is impossible for an administration to go unscathed through panic. Both will be held responsible, however imaginarily and unfairly, for public ills. This is one of the penalties of supremacy in a Republic. In paying this penalty, supremacy learns its best lessons of wisdom, and much about the value and beauty of resignation. In inflicting the penalty, the party flushed with new triumph is in no teachable mood, and never learns its lessons till plunged into the fiery school of defeat.

But this state of affairs was rest for the administration. It could advise action, shape policies. Both would be unheeded in a Democratic House. And then that House was on trial. It would precipitate nothing, do nothing. A Presidential

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campaign was coming on. There should be no commitments to anything rash. Quiescence was better than agitation. There could be no mistakes, if all sat still. Thus things drifted toward the doubtful contest of November, 1876, and the disputed result between Hayes and Tilden. With the merits of this dispute we have nothing to do. It formed no part of Grant's administration, except in so far as it may have been fortunate for the country that an old soldier, who had the confidence of the whole army, was in the Presidential chair at the time, and one who would have known how to act promptly, in case the warlike demonstrations threatened by some of the crack-brained partisans of the time had not turned out to be the veriest bluster.

The succession of President Hayes, March 4th, 1877, relieved President Grant of Executive responsibility. It was a welcome relief, the end of a highly honorable and useful service, which had known no break since April, 1861, sixteen years before. And what a mark he had made in the nation and the world in that time. In war, and that without influence or solicitation, he arose from captain of a company to the honorary position of Lieutenant-General, which none had occupied, except Washington; in peace, from Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to President for two terms. And all the while firm in duty, trusted beyond ordinary men, abused but without taint, witnessing the objects achieved for which armies and parties strove; great in all trying places, never letting a cause go, accomplishing where others failed; witnessing the surrender of armed rebellion, starting the country on a career of prosperous peace, present at the opening of its Centennial anniversary at Philadelphia, as chief representative of a nation preserved intact by his valor, unified by his wisdom, presided over by his firm, conciliatory and enlightened sway.

His was the disposition and character necessary to moor the country safely, at a distance of twelve years, from the civil

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war. At all times a man of destiny, none other, let him be what he might, could have held in such firm subjection the disturbing forces of the times, worked into such consummate order the mixed views and practices of the hour, created a larger degree of confidence in the government, realized so much out of the sacrifices of war. Our public debt steadily decreased during his eight years of service. Engagements with the public creditors at home and abroad were solemnly kept. The public burdens were lessened in every department. Economy became a rule and extravagance an exception. Not since the beginning had the national credit been so high.

Should the question be put to the American people to-day, what one of their number had been most instrumental in upholding the supremacy of the flag on which Emancipation was written, and which was more than ever the symbol of freedom, or who in the calm of peace had done most to write on that flag the word Honor after Liberty and Loyalty, the unanimous answer would be that the great dignity belonged to Grant.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

FROM April, 1861, to March 4th, 1877, General Grant had been at the disposal of his country. Four of these years had been spent in active war, eight in the service of the State. He now needed rest, but to retire was not rest. He would seek rest in recreation, turn cosmopolitan, go to the ends of the earth. Fame was his sesame to the nations, his badge of favor in countries, courts and cities.

No living person could feel a keener pleasure in travel, few could observe so fully and accurately. He would not make a holiday run across the waters, but a world's journey, taking in principalities and powers under all suns, among all peoples. He went without thought of ovation or triumph, yet with the consciousness that a distinguished American citizen would be well received. He would type home character and institutions, and be a part of what they were. He would not represent his country officially, but show in the flesh what manner of man it had chosen to honor.

Grant had often longed to go abroad to see, to hear, to learn, to judge. He was the greatest student of men, manners and institutions. This was his opportunity. He could gratify his tastes to the full. Never man traveled under such favorable auspices.

He sailed, with his wife and son Jesse, from Philadelphia, on the steamship Indiana, of the American line, from the port of Philadelphia, on May 17th, 1877. That he carried the best wishes of the American people with him was clear from the

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character of the parting demonstrations. They were frequent, long and hearty. Those on the part of Philadelphians were particularly flattering. Five hundred persons on a special steamer saw him to the ocean vessel. A smaller steamer carried his wife and her special escort to the same destination. While sailing down the bay, as far as New Castle, the Grant guests partook of lunch. They embraced the most distinguished citizens, representatives of the army, navy, national, state, and municipal administration, the industries, sciences and professions.

The toast, "The honored guest of the day," was proposed by the Mayor of Philadelphia, and Grant was called on to respond. He said: "I had not expected to make a speech today, and therefore can do nothing more than thank you, as I have had occasion to do so often within the past week. I have been only eight days in Philadelphia, and have been received with such unexpected kindness that it finds me with no words to thank you. What with driving in the park, and dinners afterward, and keeping it up until after midnight, and now to find myself still receiving your kind hospitality, I am afraid you have not left me stomach enough to cross the Atlantic."

Among those who responded to toasts and contributed to the eclat of the occasion were General Sherman, Hamilton Fish, Zach. Chandler, Geo. M. Robeson, Simon Cameron, General Bailey, Governor Hartranft, the Mayor of Philadelphia, etc.

When the ex-President's steamer approached New Castle, the point where the Indiana was waiting to take the ocean voyagers aboard, General Grant was called upon for a parting sentiment. He spoke solemnly, and as if much moved by the homage he had received: "My dear friends, I was not aware that we would have so much speech-making here, or that it would be necessary for me to say anything more to you; but I feel that the compliments you have showered on me were not

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altogether deserved. They should not be paid to me, either as a soldier or civil officer. As a general, your praises do not all belong to me; as the executive of the nation, they are not due to me. There is no man who can fill both or either of these places without the help of good men. I selected my lieutenants when in both of these positions, and they were men who I believe could have filled my place often better than I did. I never flattered myself that I was entitled to the places you gave me. My lieutenants could have acted perhaps better than I, had the opportunity presented itself. Sherman could have taken my place as a soldier, or in civil office; and so could Sheridan and others that I could name. I am sure that if the country ever comes to this need again, there will be men for the work; there will be men born for every emergency. Again I thank you, and again I bid you good-bye; and once again I say that if I had fallen, Sherman and Sheridan, or some of my other lieutenants, would have succeeded."

This speech is noteworthy as a key to the inner heart of Grant. He seldom chose his lieutenants wrongly, he never deserted them after choice. He was not greater in his own estimation than any subordinate. All might have been his equal or superior had fortune favored. There was no jealousy, no acrimony, in his army or civic associations. He was plain, ingenuous and true. He did not assume honors, but divided them with all beneath him. Burdens he frequently assumed which he might often in justice to himself have similarly divided.

It is the key furthermore to all the sentiments he expressed abroad amid dignitaries, in courts, before crowned heads and purpled shoulders. If he was honored, it was not he, but his country. If called a hero, it was not he, but his lieutenants, his men. If favored, however much or often, it was not he, but the institutions he saved from wreck. He ever lost sight of Grant amid fete and honor and homage. He ever made his

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country the subject of honor and mention. Privilege was not his but his nation's. There was no ego, no narrowness, no selfishness in word or act while he circled the globe and saw the splendors and powers of organized humanity.

In the midst of these hearty congratulations, and with the best wishes of a peaceful, united and happy people, he embarked on his ocean vessel and sailed for foreign lands. The incidents of the voyage were those of an ordinary passenger who has dared the deep for the first time. A little more respect, a fuller mention of habit and conversation, a deference due to greatness, these mark the trip of ten days as ocean voyager.

When Queenstown was reached a storm was raging. This did not prevent a deputation sailing out to meet him whose cheers and words of welcome were heard above the roar of billows. The General expressed regrets at his inability to land and receive the hospitalities of the city which were tendered him with true Irish heartiness, but promised to return to the green isle in a short time.

The vessel ran on to Liverpool, and on May 28th the General was received by the entire people with cheers and every demonstration of delight. The authorities of the city, augmented by deputations of officials from London and other interior places, received him in a tug and escorted him to the landing. The farewell cheers from the passengers on the Indiana were mingled with those on shore, and altogether the scene, under an unusually bright sunlight, and on waters that seemed calm for the purpose, was one calculated to inspire every participant.

The Mayor of Liverpool received him in stately style and with a formal address. The hospitalities of the city were extended in honor to a great statesman and soldier. Grant's reply was characteristic. It was not he that was receiving honor, but the warm expression of feeling attested England's

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regard for the United States and for that citizenship of which he was an humble exponent. The Mayor was visited by the traveling party. The docks were viewed by steamer. They were formally received in the town hall. Fetes were held, with their concomitants of dress, equipage, toasts and speeches. Everything was done to make his visit pleasant and to show how sincerely the British people welcomed their illustrious guest.

Meanwhile, England herself was responding. Cities were making ready for prospective visits. The press, with one accord, favorably reviewed his military and civic record and acknowledged that the most distinguished citizen of the age, and the world was in their midst. Respect was unstinted. One journal declared that he was "worthy of every possible attention. His name is so closely interwoven with recent events in the United States, that not only in America but throughout Europe, he is entitled to respectful treatment in a degree which it is the lot of but few to command."

On May 30th, General Grant with a distinguished party of guests left Liverpool for Manchester, where they were received by the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens with the warmest expressions of kindness. After visiting the factories of this busy place, and all the points of interest, a formal reception was extended in the town hall, at which the Mayor and other dignitaries made congratulatory addresses. General Grant tendered his acknowledgments thus: "It is scarcely possible for me to give utterance to feelings evoked by my reception from the moment of my arrival in Liverpool, where I have passed a couple of days, until the present. After the scenes I have witnessed in your streets, and the elements of greatness as manifested in your public and industrial buildings, I may say no person could be the recipient of the honors you have bestowed on me without the profoundest feeling. Such have been incited in me, and I find myself inadequate to their

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proper expression. It was my original purpose to hasten from Liverpool to London, and thence to visit various points of interest in this country. Among these I have regarded Manchester as most important, on account of its manufactures, many of which find ultimate market in my own country. And I am aware that the sentiment of the great mass of the people of Manchester went out in sympathy to that country during the mighty struggle in which it fell to my lot to take an humble part. The expressions of your people during that great trial incited in the breasts of my countrymen a feeling of friendship toward them distinct from that felt toward all England, and in that spirit I accept on the part of my country the compliments paid me as its representative, and thank you."

A banquet was then spread and the reception was completed amid toasts and speeches, and the greatest cordiality and good cheer, after which the General was introduced to the assemblage and a scene of handshaking and personal welcome followed. The next day was spent in visiting the various manufacturing and industrial centres under the auspices of business committees, and then came formal leave-taking at London Road Station, amid a mass of humanity and deafening cheers. Along the line of road the stations were decorated, and the towns turned out *en masse* to catch a view of the General, if possible, if not, of the train which bore him. Dinner was taken at Leicester, under the auspices of the Mayor. At Bedford the Mayor welcomed him, terming him the Hannibal of the American armies and praying that he might be spared to enjoy the honors and rewards which might be heaped on him. The response of Grant was brief but apt. Flowers were tendered Mrs. Grant. At the terminus of the Midland Railway another enthusiastic welcome was in store for him and his party. Minister Pierrepont and Lord Vernon met them, and they were driven in carriages to Mr. Pierrepont's residence.

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After a day of rest, General Grant (June 2d,) visited the Prince of Wales and was invited to go to Epsom. The trip was taken with the Prince and a large party of notables, and he was greeted with a series of ovations. In the evening he was entertained at a grand banquet given by the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House. The banquet was served in the famous Waterloo Chamber, where the old Iron Duke loved to meet his war generals annually. It was a splendid and hearty reception attended by lords and ladies of highest rank. The General was asked his opinion of the races at Epsom. He replied: "There is an impression abroad that I am a great horse racer and fond of horses. I really know nothing of races, having seen only two—one at Cincinnati, in 1865, another at Jerome Park in 1867. I am not therefore qualified to judge."

On the next day, Sunday, the General attended services at Westminster Abbey to hear Dean Stanley preach. In the midst of his sermon he alluded to the distinguished visitor present thus: "In the midst of our congregation is one of the chiefest citizens of the United States, who has just laid down the sceptre of the American Commonwealth, and who by his military power and generous treatment of his adversaries has restored unity to the country. We welcome him as a sign and pledge that the two great kindred nations are one in heart and are equally at home under the paternal roof. Both regard with reverential affection this ancient cradle of their common life."

On the evening of June 5th, a grand reception was tendered by the American Minister, Edward Pierrepont, at his mansion. At least a thousand persons were present, representatives of the best English and American society in London. Among the former were Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, John Bright, Lord Houghton, Marquis of Lorne, the Lord Mayors, representatives of law, medicine, church, literature, the press and foreign nations. "Everybody was there," says a vivacious writer, "and

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PRINCE OF WALES.

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saw in General Grant a first-class lion of the evening. He is attired in plain evening dress, conspicuous for its plainness among the stars, garters, and ribbons worn for the occasion. Every one remarks 'How well he looks!' 'He looks like a soldier,' said a viscountess at my side. So flowed the stream of conversation, while he who was the subject of it all stood with a bearing as composed as when in 'Old Virginny' the drums beat to action and the boys went marching along."

In speaking of this reception the General afterward said: "I am deeply indebted to the American Minister for this reception, and the pains he has taken to make my stay pleasant, and the attention extended to our country. I appreciate the fact, and am proud of it, that the attentions I am receiving are more for our country than for me personally. I love to see our country honored and respected abroad, and am proud to believe that it is by most all nations, and by some even loved. It has always been my desire to see all jealousy between England and the United States abated and every sore healed. Together they are more powerful for the spread of commerce and civilization than all others combined, and can do more to remove causes of war by creating moral interests that would be so much endangered by war."

On June 8th, General Grant was received by the Mayor and citizens of Bath. He dined with the Duke of Devonshire, where he met over fifty members of the House of Lords and Commons. He then went to a reception at the house of General Badeau, where he again met Gladstone and other dignitaries. The next day he lunched with Lord Granville and dined with the Marquis of Hertford.

The freedom of the City of London was bestowed on him June 15th. This was no common honor, having been conferred on few before. This was followed by a reception given by the corporation of London. This had all the formalities of a Lord Mayor's day. Spectators were gathered by the tens of

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GLADSTONE. 507

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thousands. General Grant, in company with the American Minister and several friends, proceeded in a carriage to the Mayor's Hall, where he was received by aldermen, councilmen and ladies, the band playing "Hail Columbia." The Mayor's speech of welcome was cordial and eloquent. It was responded to with feeling by the General, for the honors were unique, and extended with a heartiness, and amid a gorgeousness which greatly impressed him and his companions. A banquet was given at which one thousand guests sat down, composed of the best representatives of English official life. After a toast to "The Queen" came one "To General Grant," proposed by the Lord Mayor, whose speech was felicitous. He said: "As Chief Magistrate of the City of London, I offer you as hearty a welcome as the sincerity of language can convey. Your presence here as the late President of the United States is specially pleasing to all classes of the community, and we feel that although this is your first visit to England, it is not a stranger we greet, but a tried and honored friend. Twice occupying the exalted position of President of the United States, and therefore one of the foremost representatives of that country, we confer honor upon ourselves by honoring you."

Here a gold casket containing the parchment conferring the freedom of the city was formally presented. The General's reply was emotional and brief. His thanks were profound for unexpected and unusual honors, and his words inadequate to express his feelings. After other toasts, speeches and formalities, the large, brilliant and enthusiastic assemblage, broke up with three rousing cheers for "General Grant and the United States."

A visit was then paid to the Crystal Palace where thirty thousand people received the "American General" with cheer after cheer. In the evening he visited the Queen's corridor of the Palace to witness the display of fire works in his honor. In this brilliant display he witnessed his own portrait and a picture of the Capitol at Washington. On the following day he

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dined with the Princess Louise. On June 18th, he had his first breakfast entertainment in England, given by Geo. M. Smalley, correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune. This was a spicy and homelike occasion, made brilliant by such a galaxy of poets, authors and correspondents as had never before been gathered in "Merry England."

The Reform Club received him in the evening. This was a very select affair, attended only by notables with liberal ideas, scholarly, titled gentlemen, who represented the advance guard of British thought. Earl Granville proposed the health of the Queen, and Right Hon. Wm. E. Foster responded. He proposed, in order, the health of "the illustrious statesman and warrior, General Ulysses S. Grant," in a pithy speech, in which he said: "England and America, nay, civilization throughout the universe, recognize in General Grant one of those extraordinary instruments of Divine Providence bestowed in its beneficence to the human race."

The General rose to reply, amid a storm of applause, and said: "I am overwhelmed with the kindness shown by Englishmen to me and expressed to America. I regret that I am unable to express my thanks for the manifold fraternal courtesies I have received. Words would fail, especially within the limitations of a public speech, to express my feelings in this regard. I hope when an opportunity is offered me of calmer and more deliberate moments to put on record my grateful recognition of the fraternal sentiments of the English people, and the desire of America to render an adequate response. Never have I lamented as now my poverty in phrases to give due expression to my affection for my mother country." The cheering was almost continuous during the delivery of the speech, and at its conclusion the speaker's health was drunk amid deafening applause.

On the evening of the 19th, the General, Mrs. Grant and a number of other guests dined at Marlborough House with the

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Prince of Wales, where he met the Emperor of Brazil. Forty sat down to table, and the Ex-President occupied the post of honor. At midnight the General visited and inspected the office of the London *Times*, and was wonderfully interested in the machinery of that extensive establishment. On the 20th, he dined with Lord Ripon, and on the 21st with Minister Pierrepont, where he again met the Prince of Wales. On the 22d, he was received by Mrs. Hicks, an American lady, and in the evening witnessed the opera of "Martha," at Covent Garden. As a compliment to the General and his wife, Mlle. Albani sang "The Star Spangled Banner," the entire audience standing.

On June 23d, The Trinity Corporation tendered him a banquet at Tower Hall, presided over by the Prince of Wales, and attended by Prince Leopold, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimer, Duke of Wellington, Earl Derby, and others. The Prince assured the General, in the name of all loyal subjects of the Queen, of his welcome to the country. The General thanked the distinguished hosts for their compliments. Other days were spent in visiting and receiving honors, till the occasion of the Queen's reception. The invitation ran as follows:

"The Lord Steward of her Majesty's household is commanded by the Queen to invite Mr. and Mrs. Grant to dinner at Windsor Castle, on Wednesday, 27th inst., and to remain until the following day, the 28th of June, 1877."

The invitation was accepted. The Queen, surrounded by her Court, received the General in the grand corridor leading to her apartments in the Quadrangle. Dinner was served in the Oak Room. The guests represented every branch of royalty and the highest places of power. It was the most notable and formal of the receptions tendered their distinguished guest by the English people, yet it lacked nothing of genuine heartiness.

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QUEEN VICTORIA. 511

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By the evening of the 28th, General Grant was back in Liverpool to attend, according to previous promise, a dinner from the Mayor and Corporation. This was a happy affair, in which toasts were frequent and speeches eloquent. On the 29th, the General met the journalists of London at the Grosvenor Hotel, and partook of an enjoyable dinner, amid toasts and hearty words of welcome. On July 3d, he received a deputation of the representative workingmen of London, who presented their address handsomely engrossed on vellum. His reply was earnest and eloquent, and to the effect that no reception had given him more pleasure.

On the same evening, the officers of the English Army and Navy received him at the United Service Club. The dinner was presided over by the Duke of Cambridge. On July 4th, our national birthday, observances of a purely American type were held at the American Embassy, in which General Grant and a large number of his countrymen participated. It was a brilliant and almost strictly American affair, and the last of the agreeable and highly flattering receptions which had served to show the warmth of the English welcome, and had contributed so much to the pleasure of the General's visit.

On July 5th, General Grant and party left London for Ostend. Arriving there, they were tendered the use of the royal car to Brussels. Stopping, on the way, at Ghent, they took a brief run through the venerable city, and arrived in Brussels on the evening of the 6th of July, where his name was recorded in the *Livre d'Or* of the Hotel de Ville. On the 7th, King Leopold, of Belgium, called on the General, at his hotel, and had a long talk. This visit was returned, on the 8th, at the King's palace, where a rich banquet was given to a number of select guests.

On July 9th, the General and party left Brussels for Cologne, carrying pleasing impressions of their Belgian visit. This journey was performed in the King's railway carriage. Here

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they were formally received by the civil and military authorities, and visited the wonderful Cathedral, the artistic bridges, and the many points of historic interest, even making the famous tour of the Rhine as far as Coblentz.

On July 11th, Wiesbaden was visited; and on the 12th, Frankfort, money centre of the continent, where a fete was held in his honor in the Palmer Garten. On the 13th, he went to Homburg, and drove thence to Salburg to view the old Roman camp there. In the evening there was a dinner at Homburg, followed by a grand illumination of the beautiful gardens of the Kursaal. That night he returned to Frankfort, and on July 15th, left for Heidelberg, whence the usual tour was made to Baden and the Black Forest. Then the party proceeded to Lucerne, Interlaken, Berne, and thence to Geneva, where it arrived on July 26th. At all points the people received the General with enthusiastic demonstrations.

At Geneva he had the pleasure of laying the corner stone of the new American Episcopal Church, on July 27th. At a public dinner the same evening, the General, in reply to the speech of welcome, said: "I have never felt myself more happy than among this assembly of fellow republicans of America and Switzerland. I have long had a desire to visit the city where the Alabama Claims were settled by arbitration without the effusion of blood, and where the principle of international arbitration was established, which I hope will be resorted to by other nations, and be the means of continuing peace to all mankind."

Mt. Blanc, which was illuminated in his honor, was visited. The Simplon Pass was crossed and a tour made into northern Italy. By August 14th, the distinguished party were back to Ragatz and enjoying the baths there. Then a tour was made through Alsace-Lorraine, doubly interesting to Americans by what befell them as French Provinces during the Franco-German war. Here, Metz, Strasburg, Gravelotte,

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Sedan, and all the points of beauty and historic interest were visited, and a study made of that wonderful German invasion, in 1872, which robbed Napoleon III. of a throne and cost France her two prettiest provinces and billions of money.

Returning from the continent Grant and his party made their promised visit to Scotland, arriving in Edinburgh August 31st. He became the guest of the Lord Provost, and was presented with the freedom of the city. At the banquet in his honor he replied to the Lord Provost's speech as follows: "I am so filled with emotion that I hardly know how to thank you for the honor conferred on me, by making me a burgess of this ancient city of Edinburgh. I feel that it is a great compliment to me and my country. Had I eloquence, I might dwell somewhat on the history of the great men you have produced, or the numerous citizens of this great city and Scotland that have gone to America, and the record they have made. We are proud of Scotchmen as citizens of America. They make good citizens of our country, and they find it profitable to themselves. I again thank you for the honor you have conferred on me."

The General visited all the places of interest in Edinburgh, including Walter Scott's birthplace, Holyrood Palace, house of John Knox, Arthur's Seat and the castle, where he was received by Col. MacKenzie, of the Ninety-eighth Highlanders. In the evening the General dined with the Lord Provost, where he met Major-General Stewart and other high officers in the British army. On Saturday, September 1st, he visited the Tay bridge, and the training ship Mars, where he was received with flying flags, music and cheers. He then steamed to Dundee and Tayport, and returned to Edinburgh on Monday, when he visited the famous Abbottsford and Melrose Abbeys. On Tuesday, Sept. 4th, he visited the Duke of Sunderland, at Dunrobin. On the 6th he attended the agricultural fair at Dornock, and on the 7th visited Thurso Castle, and Inverness, where

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the Provost received him with an address in which he stated that the Highlands had strong claims on the General who bore the name of a well-known and highly respected clan. At Granttown he was welcomed to the "home of the Grants." On September 11th he visited Elgin and Wick, and was formally received by the authorities.

On September 13th, Glasgow was visited, and the freedom of the city was presented in the Town Hall before an immense audience. The speeches on this occasion were full of allusions to America and Grant's great part in establishing universal freedom. His reply was among the best he delivered while abroad. On the 14th he visited Ayr, the home of Burns, and afterward Inverary, where he was the guest of the Duke of Argyle, for whom he had a great respect, and with whom he contracted a warm friendship. Returning to England, he visited the manufacturing districts of Newcastle, Sheffield, Sunderland, and Birmingham, with diversions to Leamington, Stratford on Avon and Warwick. Everywhere through these busy centres he was received with hearty welcome, and everywhere he responded to the assembled multitudes in brief, apt and forcible speeches. He remembered this part of his journey abroad with the greatest interest. It was striking evidence of the warmheartedness of the working classes, and showed that his name and fame rested on an admiration far more substantial than that of flitting court or hollow official life. Everywhere the towns were decorated in his honor and the citizens were out *en masse* and in holiday attire.

From Leamington he ran to Southampton to visit his daughter, Mrs. Sartoris. Here he rested till October 10th, when he went to Birmingham, where he was received with the greatest warmth and happiest allusions to his American policy and efforts at international arbitration. On the 22d he visited Brighton, and on the 23d of October, returned to London.

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On October 27th, 1877, the General, wife and son left Charing Cross Station for Paris. A great crowd was gathered to see the illustrious visitors off. At Folkstone where the steamer was taken to cross the channel, an official reception awaited them. Then they bade good-bye to "Merrie England" and landed at Boulogne, where they were welcomed in the name of "The Marshal of France." Cars were taken for Paris, where the General was welcomed by the American Minister, Consul General, and an Aide-de-Camp of Marshal McMahon. Here he stopped at the Hotel Bristol.

It would be impossible to give a detailed account of the many honorary receptions tendered to General Grant while in Paris. His stay throughout was a pleasant and profitable one. But while he visited every place of historic and political interest—the Quartier Latin, the heights of Montmartre, the Champs Elysées, L'Arc de l'Etoile, the obelisk of Luxor, the Tuilleries, the Place de la Concorde, the Louvre, the Notre Dame de Paris, the Bastile, the Palais Royal, the Galleries, the Column Vendome—the streets themselves were his main attractions, as being full of freedom and life. He was regally entertained by the American Minister, General Noyes; by Healey, the artist, and other functionaries and civilians. The American colony in Paris made him their guest, and added much to his comfort, by introducing him to French ways under the familiar garb of American speech. In the midst of this colony he lived a month, and early in December departed for the south of France, to Villafranche, where the American government had placed at his disposal the man-of-war Vandalia. On December 13th, the General, his wife, his son Jesse R., and a party of friendly tourists, embarked on the Vandalia and steamed toward Italy.

On December 17th, the Vandalia anchored in the beautiful Bay of Naples. The General and his wife landed and made a tour of the city of Naples. On Tuesday the 18th, Vesuvius

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MARSHAL McMAHON. 517

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was visited. There was first a long drive amid beggary and importunacy. Then came the gibbering guides, each intent on a bargain, then the long ascent. To look into the crater was the ambition of the entire party, and to stand where Pliny had lost his life, where Decius had fought and Spartacus had encamped. The laborious ascent is slowly made, up, up, amid fantastic lava streams and horrid shapes, but all the time gaining a more glorious view of the city, the bay, the sea. Sight of the seething crater repaid the journey a thousand fold. There was chaos, wild, unformed and active as before the fiat went forth, "Let there be light." The descent was scarcely accomplished before nightfall. Naples, Capri, Ischia, Misenum, Sorrento, the magnificent expanses of bay and sea, were as indelible memories, genuine coins of venture.

Pompeii was visited on the 19th. There the excavations were going on, and the city which had lain buried since A. D. 79, was giving up its secrets—its secrets of riches, fashion and death. Of these the General was a curious observer and interested student. He visited all the excavated parts—the amphitheatre, the forum, the temples of Jupiter and Venus, the Exchange, the tombs, the modern museum which holds all the curiosities that are not spirited away to other countries. The Italian authorities directed that a house should be excavated in honor of the General's visit, and in his presence. Chairs were brought and a group was formed to witness the unearthing of grain, bread, cloth, paper, and various household utensils that had been in use seventeen centuries ago. The find was not large, but the operation was sufficient to show what treasures of history and art lay beneath the Vesuvian ashes.

On December 23d, the General and his party arrived in Palermo. The officials of the Vandalia dedicated their Christmas festival to Mrs. Grant, and a royal time was had, with the good lady as queen of the feast, and proposer of the toast "Loved ones at home," which was drunk with a silent prayer

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and devout amen. In the evening the ships in the harbor blazed with fireworks and cheers went up in honor of Grant, the illustrious American visitor. The next day was given to official visits, to recognition of a few of the many invitations received the day before, and to sight seeing. The Chateau La Favorita was visited, the Madonna, and all the sad beauties of a decadence which is eloquent of a glorious past.

Sail was set for Messina, which was passed, and then Reggio, the Rhegium of the New Testament. Then Etna, wrapped in snow, remained in sight for a whole day. On the 28th, Malta was reached, amid such a gale as must have welcomed Paul. Here the Duke of Edinburgh came from the "Sultan," an English iron clad, to pay his respects to the General. He was afterward received by the Duke at the palace of San Antonio, and by the Governor-General of Malta at a state dinner. In the evening the opera was visited, where "The Star Spangled Banner," was sung in honor of the illustrious visitors. Though the hospitalities were lavish, the stay of the party was necessarily brief. They sailed away, listening to "Auld Lang Syne" played by the band on board the "Sultan." Alexandria is their destination. Egypt welcomes the party with the American national airs and the thunder of cannon.

It is January 5th, 1878, when the vessel casts anchor off the fortresses which, in 1883, were so quickly silenced by British iron clads. There was a right royal reception on board, given by visiting admirals, generals, pachas, beys, missionaries, etc. The General was welcomed to Egypt in the name of the Khedive, and a special steamer up the Nile was placed at his disposal, with the privileges of the palace at Cairo. The reception ceremonies at Alexandria were formal and elaborate, and thoroughly enjoyed by the respective participants. The General did the bewildering town on foot and quite lost himself amid its mazes.

On the 8th, they bade good-bye to the "Vandalia" for a time, and took a train for Cairo, where they arrived after a ride of

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four hours. The Khedive extended a welcome through General Stone, an old graduate of West Point, and a former friend and academy mate. The hospitalities of the place were again extended and accepted. The next day the visitors made a formal call on the Khedive, and were received in state. The call was then extended to the Khedive's two sons. These formalities over, the welcome was made perfect by various receptions and public dinners, till the time for making further tour of the Nile by boat came. A steam vessel is at hand, placed there by the Khedive's orders. The party embark and proceed to indulge their visions of the old, the scriptural, the oriental civilization.

The boat is called "The Light of Two Rivers." It is long, narrow and rickety. One would think a stauncher boat better fitted for that difficult navigation. At night it is run ashore and tied to a stake driven in the bank. At every stopping place, Bedouins cluster, seemingly coming out of the ground to form a fireside group. Progress is slow. Scenery monotonous. It would be dull, but for the pleasantries aboard and the glorious sunrises and sunsets.

On January 19th, Siout, or Assiout, is reached, and visited. All the town seems to know of the coming of the Americans, for it is alive to such an extent that transit is difficult. Only by dint of extreme persistency could the visiting party, mounted on donkeys, make headway through the throng of fakirs, beggars and sightseers. Leaving this town of adobe, or mud, hovels, the tombs beyond were visited, and a first glimpse was had of the sepulture of the olden times, where the mummied dead rest in their rock enclosures, and where the vandalism of modern times has erased sacred mottoes and torn sepulchral enclosures. In the evening an entertainment was given by the Consul, and General Grant was welcomed by the simple-minded Moslem as "The King of America." This did not matter, however, as the official placards corrected the error by

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announcing a "Welcome to General Grant." The entertainment was orientally novel, but sumptuous and sincere. All were surprised when the son of the host addressed the guests in fair English, concluding thus:

"The only two great wars upon which she (America) has engaged were entered upon for pure and just purposes—the first for releasing herself from the English yoke and erecting her independence, the other for stopping slavery and strengthening the union of States. And well we know that it was mainly, under God, due to the talent, courage and wisdom of his excellency General Grant that the latter of the two enterprises was brought to a successful issue." In response the General thanked all for their kindness, and the young orator especially for his speech. Nothing in all their travels had so much impressed the party as the heartiness of their reception in the heart of Egypt.

By January 21st, Girgel was reached, where donkeys were taken for Abydos, whose splendid ruins are regarded as the cradle of the civilization of the world. They date back to Menes, the first of the Egyptian kings, who reigned B.C. 4500, and the record of the inscriptions is complete from Menes to Sethi I., B.C. 1400. It was a dead city before the star of Thebes arose. Here was buried the god Osiris. All had to be put under guard while visiting these ruins, for the work of excavation is going on under the strictest surveillance. Luncheon was had in the temple sacred to Osiris, amid toasts and great good cheer, yet amid tombs, sacred inscriptions, ancient monuments and a dead world.

Next Keneh was visited, with its curious bazaars and wonderful potteries, where all else is as primitive as in Bible times, and where men and women are of perfect type and apparently as cheerful as under the best institutions.

Then to Thebes, "City of the Hundred Gates," whose greatest temple was Memnon, whose greatest ruler Rameses,

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now only fields and sand hills and hovels. Near it is Luxor, inhabited, alive. Here the party is received. They view the ruins with curious eye and and many thoughts of a past full of wealth, enterprise and art. Forty minutes from Luxor is Karnak, another wonder of the world, whose temple was built B.C. 3000. It is a part of Thebes, and the most magnificent of Egyptian ruined temples, whose inscriptions read like enchantment, whose proportions suggest the work of gods.

Thence to Assouan, the frontier station of old Egypt and the turning point of the Nile journey. It is the great Egyptian quarry whence the mighty stones for obelisk and temple and tomb came, and the point where all the trade between lower Egpyt and Ethiopia changed hands in the olden time. Then a jaunt is taken to Philæ, renowned for temple ruins and beautiful amid trees, also a source of the great monumental stones which Egyptian kings erected to commemorate their wealth, power, wisdom and folly. On February 3d, Memphis was reached, in sight of Cairo. Its serapeum, tombs, and other ruins were visited with feelings of awe and wonder.

Now the journey of a thousand miles on the Nile, in the land of the sun, amid desert waste and historic ruin, among a people as quaint as those of Pharaoh's time, was done. A few days are spent in Cairo for rest. By February 9th, the party is at Port Said where the good ship "Vandalia" meets them. They embark, and are once more under the American flag, though far from home.

The ship sailed to Jaffa, where Solomon gathered his cedars from Lebanon and Simon Peter took ship to carry the gospel to foreign lands, now a town of no commercial importance and filled with greasy howling Arabs. They were on the sacred shores of Palestine, and amid scenes endeared to every Christian heart. Dirty and spiritless as the town was, there was a show of welcome to the illustrious American. It is forty miles to Jerusalem, and thither the party proceeded by wagon, mule

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back, and other clumsy conveyance, and under the escort of the conventional eastern dragomen. A stop is made at Ramleh, home of Joseph of Arimathea. The plains of Sharon give way to the rougher country of Joshua and Sampson. Gezer is passed, and Kirjath Jearim, where the ark rested for twenty years, and Joshua's Valley of Ajalon, and then the last ravine this side of Jerusalem where David and Goliath engaged in deadly duel. A large delegation came thither to welcome the party to Jerusalem. It was headed by the American Consul, Mr. Wilson, who claimed to be the first editor in America to nominate General Grant for the Presidency. And now the concourse, a medley of all nationalities, speaking every language, dressed in all costumes, mounted in every style, representative of nothing save the central desire to make the guests and themselves happy, passed back into the city of David through highways lined with curious people, under the archways of Tancred's gate, by the walls of David's tower, up to a small hotel surrounded by bazaars and markets, which is to be headquarters.

The Pacha, the various consuls, the bishops and patriarchs, called on the General, and gave State dinners in his honor. The ceremonies were profuse and well nigh endless. All points of interest, Calvary, Ecce Homo Church, The Holy Sepulchre, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Kedron, Gethsemane were visited, and afterwards Bethlehem. Then from the high peaks of the surroundings a view was taken of the rough, picturesque country which lowers toward the Dead Sea, beyond which is Pisgah, and north of which is the Lake of Galilee.

Back to Jaffa, ship is taken for Smyrna, which is reached on February 21st. Thence to Ephesus, where St. Paul preached, and then up the Dardanelles to Constantinople, where a royal welcome is extended. General Grant paid a formal visit to the Sultan, who received him most cordially, and ordered the Master of Ceremonies to present the General with an Arabian

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horse from the Imperial stables. The horse was not sent in time and the General sailed without it. The matter was revived, and the horse, together with another of equal value, was sent to the American Legation. They were shipped to the United States on board the merchant steamer "Norman Monarch," reached this country in safety, and were exhibited at the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Fair, in Philadelphia, in September, 1879.

By this time it is March 5th, 1878. The sights, receptions, and ceremonial engagements keep the party at Stamboul for a brief while, when sail is set for Athens, where the General meets with a flattering reception, at the hands of the United States Minister, General J. M. Read, and numerous participants, among whom are the King and Queen. The Parthenon was illuminated in honor of the American General, an event of rare occurrence. All the scenes of this historic city were studied, and the visit was extended to Marathon and other decisive battle-fields.

Then the journey turned toward Rome, the Imperial City. Here special courtesies were extended by King Humbert, by Cardinal McCloskey, then present, by Pope Leo XIII., as well as by other dignitaries, native and foreign. The visiting took in the Coliseum, St. Peter's, the arches of Titus and Constantine, the Lateran, the museums, the Vatican, and all places of historic moment. The visit terminated on April 15th, by a magnificent state dinner given by King Humbert in honor of the ex-President of the United States, at which the entire Italian ministry were present.

Fair Florence was reached on April 20th, where the General went through the ordeal of frequent honorary entertainments, finding time meanwhile to visit the superb galleries, treasures of ancient and modern art, to drive over the magnificent ways which encircle this city of beauty, and even to make an excursion to Pisa, famed for its leaning tower. A

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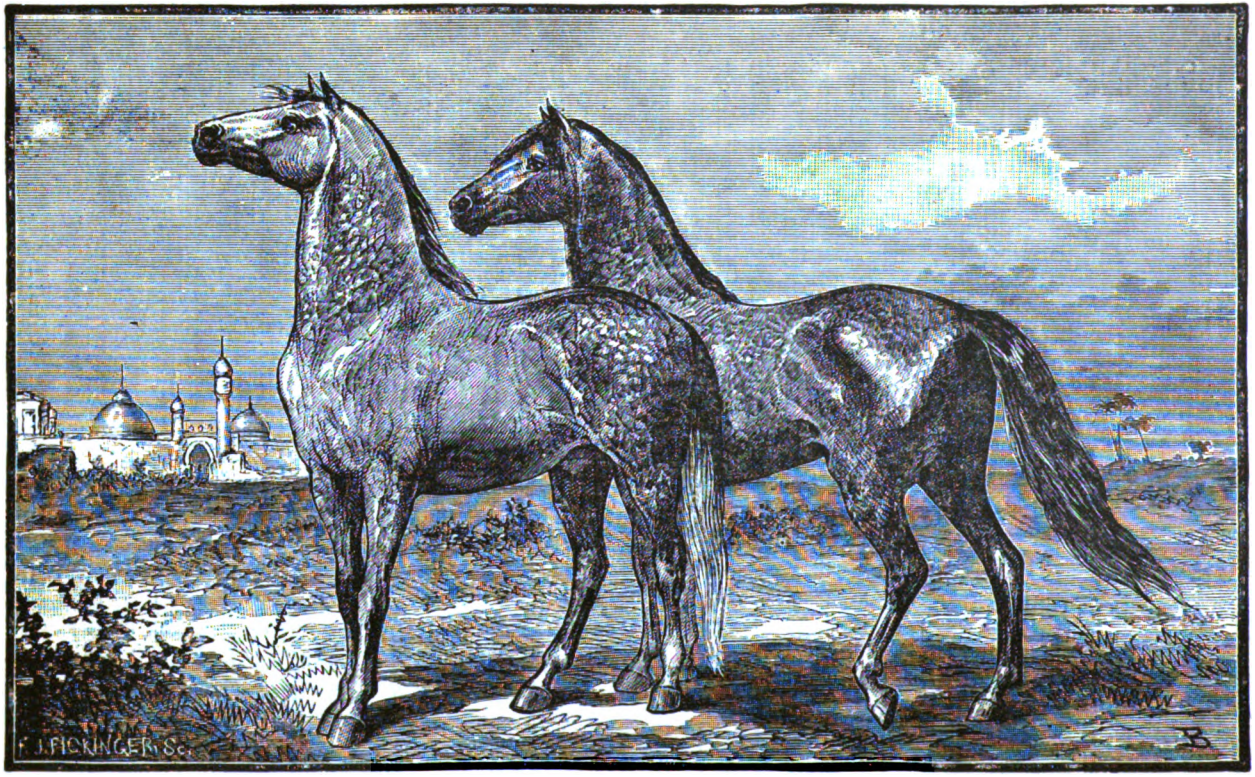

DIEYTAN (*The Panther*). MISSIRLI (*Linden Tree*).

The Stallions presented to General U. S. Grant by the Sultan of Turkey. Drawn from life, by E. B. BENSELL, while on Exhibition at the Pennsylvania State Fair, September, 1879.

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great party of citizens gathered at the depot to wish the General and his companions a safe journey to Venice.

The reception at Venice, participated in by natives and foreigners alike, was hearty and demonstrative. This city of canals was wonderfully full of interest to the travelers, as it is to all lovers of the new and beautiful, the quaint and historic. St. Mark, the Rialto, the Bridge of Sighs, the arsenal, the various churches, the monuments, the art galleries, the gondolas, kept the party interested for nearly a week.

On April 27th, Milan was visited, where the General was received by a deputation of Italian officers and notables, many of whom had been in service with him during the sad days of our own Civil War. Here the Duorno, and St. Peter's, the temple of music, and the hundred places of beauty in art and interest in history, kept them for several days.

On the 7th of May, the General arrived in Paris again, so as to attend the opening ceremonies of the International Exhibition. This second visit was a continual round of honorary receptions, participated in by dignitaries and crowned heads from nearly every principality in Europe. Leave-taking was an escape from ceaseless *fete* and grand occasion, especially as the destination was old fashioned, sedate Holland, that wonderful living place which is said to be a compromise between the land and sea, the country of *canaux—canards*—canals and ducks. They are now in the flats, the Netherlands, where the sea is kept out by banks, and where the busiest, most careful, cleanliest, most economical and patient people on the face of the earth find an existence. An imposing reception meets them at the Hague, the court Capitol, which is followed by a grand military review. Prince Frederick, the king's uncle, gives a royal entertainment at the "House in the Woods," where has been collected the finest display of Japanese curiosities in the world. And then there are public demonstrations without number among these undemonstra-

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tive people, and sight seeings among their museums, and libraries, and grand old collections, and quaint architecture and peculiar industries and manners. Scheveningen, the Coney Island of the Hague is not missed. Then the party pass to Rotterdam, more a city of commerce and as much a city of canals as Venice—a city whose burgomaster sat out a rich entertainment for the American guests, and gave them a hearty leave taking. 'Tis but a short run to Amsterdam, commercial centre of Holland, city of houses with ancient gables, quaint roofs and queer windows; city too of canals, museums, libraries, thrift, wealth, and rare history. The merchants give a dinner in honor of the ex-President; the canal directors do the same. The Dutchmen take to Grant, with a fondness that show their liking for sturdy traits and a heroic mould. Little runs are taken to Brock, village of cleanliness, and to Haarlem, noted for its grand organ.

Thence the route is to Berlin, with a stop at Hanover, home of the sovereigns of England. Berlin is reached on June 26th, but the party are met some sixty miles out by a deputation headed by the American Minister, Bayard Taylor, who give them a hearty welcome. In no city in Europe did General Grant enjoy himself so much. He explored every part on foot, and seemed never to tire of evening strolls in the famous avenue Unter den Linden. There was that about the city, the government, the men with whom he came in contact, the history of the country, its aims and destiny, which seemed to stimulate his curiosity and stir inquiry. He was interested in every place, but here he was both a sight seer and student. Perhaps it was because Prussia is all military, and Bismarck, Von Moltke and a host of disciplinarians were still on the scene, to be seen and talked with. Things are not wonderful in Berlin, except as they are great and perfect. The School of Staff is the largest in Europe, so is the University, the Royal Palace, the Zoological Garden, the Royal Opera House,

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the Palace Gardens, the markets, the parks, the reviews, the armies, the entertainments. Among the army officers Grant felt

VON MOLTKE.

himself quite at home. Many of them had served under him. Nowhere else had his campaigns and generalship been made

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such a severe study. Nowhere else had they been so fully vindicated by the rules laid down for martial tactics. His military capacity and sound judgment had excited the admiration of the German veterans long before his arrival.

INTERVIEW WITH BISMARCK.

A diversion is made to Potsdam and the famous Sans Souci. Then followed at Berlin a series of honorary and official receptions, the first of which was given by Bismarck, who made it the beginning of a series of personal interviews and studies, alike

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interesting and profitable to both guest and host. The Peace Congress of Europe was in session in Berlin. Bismarck had to attend its sessions. He gave this as a reason for not being

EMPEROR WILLIAM.

able to show the General more formal courtesy. The Emperor William was too ill to receive. Shortly before, an attempt had been made to assassinate him, and the effects of the shock had

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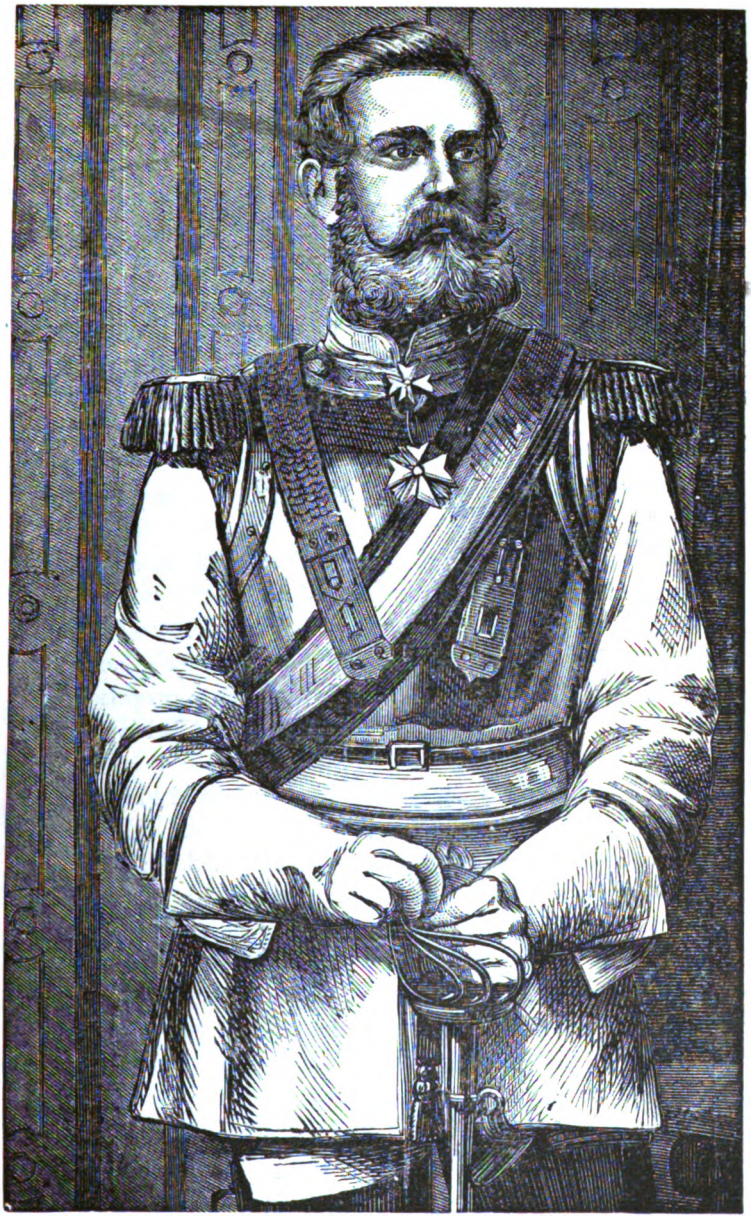

THE CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY. 531

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not yet passed away. His physicians had not yet suspended their orders to the effect that the old Emperor should avoid all public duties and displays for a time. But the Crown Prince greatly honored the visitors by ordering a grand military review for their benefit, and he seemed wonderfully pleased to hear from Grant's own lips the impressions of a great soldier respecting the display.

But it would be idle to attempt to narrate all the doings of the travelers in the Prussian capital. The cordial greeting of the beginning of their visit was continued to the end. There were no lost moments. The city was thoroughly visited, and the institutions carefully studied. German respect for the distinguished visitor was at its height when the journey was taken up for the North.

Hamburg was taken on the way to the Scandinavian country. It was reached on July 2d, and found to be the busiest place in Germany, if not the pleasantest. Their brief stay was a round of hospitalities and honors. At the public dinner given by the burgomaster, the health of the General was proposed, and he made a long response, which was filled with patriotic sentiments.

Thence to Copenhagen, rich in history, proud in its people, full of the old Northern genius and tradition. After a rare reception and rarer send off, the party crossed the Categat to Gottenberg, where the ships were all gay with flags and the sailors brimful of warm welcome, songs and huzzas. Leaving this "Liverpool of the North," the route was to Christiana, capital of Norway. All along the way the peasantry were out in force at the stations, but here the ovation was spontaneous and overwhelming. King Oscar had come all the way from Stockholm to grace the occasion and take the General by the hand. It is July 13th. Fully ten thousand people throng the quays to participate in the reception, and swell the cheers. The General is not prepared for such enthusiasm among these

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distant, quiet, Northern people. But they love great soldiers. Gustavus Adolphus was of their race.

After visiting the Royal Castle, Oscar's Hall, Castle Aggershuus, the public gardens, and many charming points of observation, a carriage (karjoler) ride is taken into the interior, through the northern hay fields and over the mountains, where good views are had of the peasantry and the primitive agricultural methods of the North. On their return to Christiana, the King extended the honors of the country to the General in regal style. The ovation over his coming was extended on his departure.

Then by rail over an uninviting country to Stockholm. Every station was decorated in honor of the travelers, and the General had to make an appearance and give a sentiment. At length they arrive in "The Venice of the North"—land and water, with quaint buildings, copies of a Southern clime, beautiful in nearly all respects. Stockholm teems with life, is modern in manner and notion. The National Museum is full of historic relics, mementoes of Gustavus and Charles XII. The Ridderholm Church is the Westminster Abbey of Stockholm, and here the Diet assembles. All the palaces are opened to the General by orders of the King. That of Stockholm is visited, and it is royal indeed.

Steamer is taken across the Baltic for St. Petersburg. After a long and stormy sail, Cronstadt, the seaport of the Russian capital, is reached. The numerous war ships are gay with bunting, and salutes are fired without stint. It is now July 30th. There is a reception and addresses of welcome, and a steamer is boarded for St. Petersburg. Here the party is received by Minister Stoughton. The Emperor's aide-de-camp, Prince Gortschakoff, calls with kind messages from the Emperor, and a grand audience is arranged for the next day, when his Imperial Highness Alexander and the General meet.

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The Emperor, Alexander II., soon to be the victim of assassins, introduced his entire court, among them the Czarowitz, who became Alexander III. and who seemed to be endowed with all the strength of character of his illustrious progenitors.

ALEXANDER II. OF RUSSIA.

The cordiality of this Russian reception was warm in the extreme. The Emperor and court officers turned it into a conversation, and plied the General with questions concerning his

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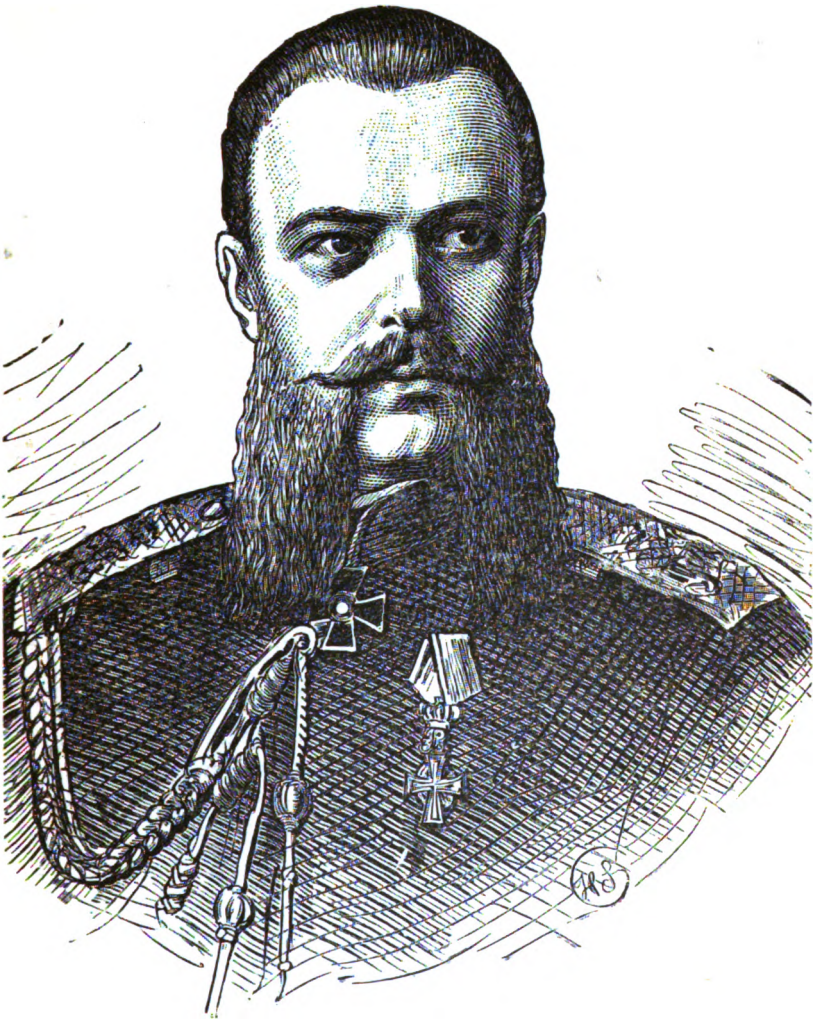

CZAROWITZ, NOW ALEXANDER III., OF RUSSIA.

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country and his military campaigns. The Grand Duke Alexis recalled with pleasure his American trip. The Emperor's parting speech was: "Since the foundation of your government, relations between Russia and America have been of the friendliest character, and as long as I live nothing shall be spared to continue this friendship." Grant's reply was: "That although the two governments were very different in their character, the great majority of the American people were in sympathy with Russia, which good feeling he hoped would long continue."

The General's visit to the veteran Gortschakoff was one of his pleasantest. The imperial yacht was placed at his disposal to visit Peterhof, the Versailles of St. Petersburg, fifteen miles off. Then the capital itself is studied—its wonderful palaces and courts, Alexander's Column, the various high-spired churches, the Admiralty, Senate Palace, Holy Synod, St. Isaac's, War Office, the Academy of Science, the Exchange, Cathedral of St. Petersburg, whose patron saint is Our Lady of Kazan, the Winter Palace, etc. The streets themselves were a study, with their droskies, and curious people and costumes.

Then over the bee-line railroad to Moscow, four hundred miles, in twenty hours—Moscow, the old capital of Russia, and one of the most famous cities in the world, whose burning defeated Napoleon and destroyed his army. The visitors took in its sights, among which are the Kremlin, near the centre, Church of the Saviour, Cathedral of the Assumption, Tower of John the Great, Ivan Veliki, with its famous bells, Column of Sigismund III., the various palaces. Several pleasant days were spent here, and the welcome was hearty.

The railroad is taken for Warsaw, Poland, six hundred miles off. It is a gloomy old city, yet it keeps green the memory of John Sobieski, who drove the Turks from Vienna. By August

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18th, the travelers were in Vienna, capital of Austria, where the General was received in cordial style by the American Legation. Count Andrassy gave him a reception on the 19th. On the 20th, his Imperial Highness, Francis Joseph, extended an audience, at the palace of Schoenbrunn, and on the 21st, both the General and Mrs. Grant were guests of the Imperial family. Their stay in this pleasant city—the Paris of Southern Europe—was continually enlivened by receptions and ovations. The sight-seeing visits embraced the Schoenbrunn, or "Palace of the Beautiful Fountain," the Prater, or grand park, Church of St. Stephens, the opera house, and the many other grand objects of curiosity and study. So delightfully had the time passed, that the day of starting away came and went before they were aware of it.

Next to Munich—Athens of Germany—with its Ludwig-Strasse, rival of Berlin's Unter den Linden, famed for its art galleries, schools and beer. Then to Augsburg, famed for its Episcopal Palace, in whose halls was framed the celebrated "Augsburg Confession." The next place is Ulm. Thence the journey extended to Schaffhausen in Switzerland, then to Besancon in France, where the Swiss migrants make watches equal to those of Geneva, and where Victor Hugo was born. St. Etienne is reached—the Sheffield of France; then Vichy, noted for its thermal springs and appetizing waters. Thence the route lay through Gannat, Montlucon, Limoges, and the magnificent garden lands and vineyards of France, to Bordeaux, at the mouth of the Garonne, noted for its manufactures and commerce, especially in wines and brandies.

Here General Grant received a message from the King of Spain asking him to time his visit, so as to be present at the review of the troops at Vittoria. This shortened his stay in Bordeaux, and the party started for Biarritz, a famous watering place, and rich in legends and gossip about princes. The party now enter Irun, in Spain. The station is draped with

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flags and bunting. A general of the staff of Alfonso II. welcomes the General to the Iberian Peninsula, in the name of the king. The royal train is placed at the disposal of the travelers, and they speed to San Sebastian, Tolosa, Vergara, arriving at Vittoria, where the king solved the knotty question of how to receive an American ex-President by deciding that he should be received with the highest military honors. The King received the General very warmly at his residence, said he was anxious to see one of whom he had heard and read so much, and expressed his delight that he had arrived in time to see the grand review.

By October 28th, the travelers were in Madrid, where the royal palace was visited, the Royal Museum of Art, the Escurial, and where the General was an eye witness of an attempt to assassinate the king. Thence they went to Lisbon in Portugal, a city so old that its foundations are beyond the time of history, and the port whence Vasco de Gama sailed on his passage around the Cape of Good Hope It has been nearly all built since the earthquake of 1755. The king, Don Louis I., came to Lisbon to meet the General and his party. He gave an audience in the palace and welcomed the travelers to the kingdom. On parting, the king asked the General to permit him to show his appreciation of the honor done his country by the visit, by giving him the grand cross of the Tower of the Sword. Don Fernando, father of the king, invited the General to his magnificent palace of Cintra, fifteen miles from Lisbon. It is the spot described in the first Canto of "Child Harold." A day was spent here and at Montserrat, when haste was made back to Lisbon to attend a dinner given by the king.

The route then lay to Cordova, once renowned for its Roman and Moorish splendor. The governor and authorities were waiting at the station to receive the General. There was a pleasant time at this old Phœnician city, birthplace of Seneca and Lucan, with its mosque, eleven centuries old, its Place San

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Francesco, its old bridges, and quaint manufactures. On December 4th, Seville was reached, where the Duke of Montpensier was visited, and the historic gardens of St. Telmo. This is the most Spanish of all Spanish cities. It types Spain in everything that is clever, in much that is bad, and, alas! in its decay; but a decay amid history and beauty.

From Seville the party go along the Guadalquiver, sixty-seven miles to Cadiz, which is reached on December 6th. And this ends the visit in sunny Spain. Journey is taken to Paris and thence to London, where Mrs. Grant goes to visit her daughter Mrs. Sartoris, while the General runs to Dublin. Here he is received with true Irish greeting by the Lord Mayor and the American Consul. Thence to Londonderry. At all the intermediate stations the people are out in force, and press forward to shake his hand. At Londonderry he is welcomed by the Mayor and is made to sign the honorary roll and become a true Ulster Irishman. Thence to Coleraine and on to Belfast, everywhere meeting with receptions which evinced the warmth of the Irish heart. The reception at Belfast was imposing and extraordinary. The platform was carpeted and the people were out in throngs. The city council welcomed him. All the public buildings were draped in English and American colors. All the prominent citizens visited him at his rooms, and he in turn paid his respects. There were public dinners, and other manifestations of kindness and honor.

An immense crowd saw him off to Dublin. This gave opportunity for touching farewell scenes at Portadown, Dundalk, Drogheda, Belfast and Dublin itself. London is reached again and then Paris, where a party is forming to visit India.

On January 24th, 1879, the party composed of General Grant, Mrs. Grant, Colonel Fred. D. Grant, Mr. A. E. Borie, ex-Secretary of the Navy, Dr. Keating, of Philadelphia and John Russell Young, left Marseilles on the "Labourdonnais" for Alexandria and Suez, where the "Venetia," is to be boarded

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for India. Then down through the Red Sea, past Sinai, and out past Aden, into the dreary wastes of the Indian Ocean. It is February 6th, 1879. On the 13th, Bombay was sighted. The English men-of-war and huge ships of commerce were dressed with flags. Boats put off from the flagships with officers on board, who welcomed the General to India. Captain Frith came with a letter from the governor extending a similar welcome, and offering the free use of the government house at Malabar Point. At the landing were crowds of citizens and a grand turnout of military. Large delegations of officials, representing every branch of power, contributed to the éclat of the reception. And now as guests of the governor at his splendid mansion on Malabar Point, the party proceed to study and enjoy the rich and novel scenes of the Orient. Everything, dress, manners, customs, art, architecture, religion, is strange to the travelers. The attentions paid to the guests are hearty and continuous—warm like the climate, grand like the foliage. Every appearance of the General is a signal for a crowd and procession of curious youths and anxious servants or street vendors. Travel was not possible at midday. Therefore the mornings and evenings were dedicated to jaunts and sight seeing. The men-of-war in the harbor were visited, the Elephanta caves, the Tower of Silence, the Parsee School. Then came the state reception by the governor, which exceeded anything in ostentatious splendor the party had yet seen, and also in its strange intermixture of races and languages. After a series of farewell calls, the party took the train for Icbulpur to visit the far-famed marble rocks of the neighborhood, and the sacred river Neirhedda. A run is then made to Allahabad on the Ganges and at the junction of the Bombay railroad with that running from Calcutta to Delhi.

At Agra the Taj is visited, said to be the most beautiful building in the world, all marble. Here too the Hindoo merchant is seen in his true native role, sharp, shrewd, obsequious,

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importunate. The palace of the Maharajah, part dwelling place, part fort, is a beautiful monument to the old Mogul chieftain Akbar. A ride is taken to Jeypore, whose princes claim to be the most ancient in the world, and whose capital, Amber, is one of the most curious sights in India. The Maharajah is a little old man, full of modern notions. He gave the General a royal reception and showed all the curious things in his capital to the travelers. Here the party enjoyed the sensation of their first ride on elephants, up the heights which lead to the royal palace, where the view is simply magnificent, and where, as part of the Maharajah's entertainment, the historic Nautch dance was witnessed. Both the General and Mrs. Grant were crowned with special honors and loaded with tokens of perpetual friendship on their departuare.

Journey is now taken by narrow-gauge railroad to Bhurtpoor with its gorgeous royal palace and to Futtehpoor Sikra, renowned for its elegant ruins and ancient splendors. Train is taken for Delhi, beautiful in roads and gardens, the Rome of India—sad in ancient history, monument of repeated invasion and destruction, mixed now in its business, its people, its spirit, its traditions. Here the magnificence of Humayun's tomb vies with that of the Taj. It marks the end of the great Tamerlane dynasty. The travelers meet with the usual Oriental reception, and are bidden the same formal good-byes. Then they are off to Lucknow, centre of the Sepoy Rebellion and scene of more cruelty on the part of England than even barbaric ingenuity could have invented. Not all the penance of a cycle can atone for the harmless thousands, if not millions, who fell before civilized atrocity in that hour when simple barbarism resolved to be free from the yoke of the East India Company.

Benares comes next in the journey. It is entered amid a blare of trumpets and a turnout of soldiers and officials, English and native. It was night, and all the route of the pro-

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cession was illuminated. Here the temples were visited. It is the city favored of the gods. A sail is taken down the Ganges to view the sacred bathing places. Everything is suggestive of ancient history here, and of the old gods and religions. It was the Buddhist city, and the foremost in Asia, in wealth, population, dignity and sanctity—city of labyrinths, shrines, balconies, minarets, oriels, sacred apes and bulls, priests and beggars. It is wondrous yet, a forest of temples, a busy city, a dirty one. It is Brahminic, priestly, mysterious—a study, sitting as of old on the Ganges, a shrine yet, toward which millions turn with pious steps and adorative hearts.

After a long hot ride from Benares, the travelers arrived in Calcutta, on March 10th. An escort of cavalry conducted the party to the Government House, where the Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, received General Grant with great kindness. An honorary banquet came off in the evening, and the next day an excursion to Banackpoor the Viceroy's country seat. The next day came the state reception at the Government House, at which all the notables, English and native, were present. Then the sights were seen, the temples, colleges, marts, and this most mixed and European of Indian cities was left by the steamer "Simla," for Rangoon. The sail was down the Hoogley river and out into the Bay of Bengal, which was crossed March 19th. The landing at Rangoon was amid a multitude of curious folks, which lined shipping and docks. A cordial official reception was tendered, and the party were driven to the Government House, whose freedom they enjoyed. This city changes the type of Oriental civilizations from Hindoo to Chinese. It is a regular city, well shaded, busy, Bhuddic. Its pagoda is magnificent. Its commerce in rice, wares, precious minerals and stones is large. The visit here was pleasant, and ended by running to Penang.

Thence the journey lay to Malacca, famed for the triumphs of the Portuguese discoverer, Alphonso Albuquerque, and the

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apostle St. Francis Xavier. Singapore is next reached, where the ships are gay with bunting and a splendid reception awaits the party. The stay here was a round of dinners and receptions. This centre and heart of the Malay Archipelago is a modern city and a strange admixture of nationalities. Its commerce embraces all the spices and products of the tropical East. Its trades, shops and traffic are on the street and in the open air. On April 9th, the party embarked on the steamer "Kong See" for Bankok. The route lay across the Gulf of Siam, noted for its storms. On the 14th the royal yacht met the steamer with greeting from the King of Siam. Bankok—the Venice of the East—received the travelers with royal pomp. The demonstrations were hearty and showy in the extreme, enough so to embarrass the guests, used though they were to the lavish forms of Oriental welcome and hospitality. The kings here are celestial, not earth crowned and earth endowed. They reign by divine right only; hence their excesses of display and assumption. They are imperial dignity run to seed, important except in show, yet kindly disposed and with good moral instincts. Monarchy is absolute. Ruling is carried on from the centre, through an army of subordinates. Hence the intrigues and dangers of Oriental supremacy. Bankok is a hive of industry and a museum. There are temples, shrines, fine mansions, palaces, gardens. The people are busy and bright—educated, so to speak. The King's reception in the royal palace was, notwithstanding its gaudiness and painful elaboration, one of extreme method. It was representative of State, religion, institution, the people, the nationality. It was typical. It was met by the guests in the spirit with which it was given, and between the King and the General there sprang up quite a cordial intimacy, which must have been a wonderful condescension on the part of one divinely appointed. The dinner which followed ran off into an Eastern form of toasts and speeches, and the General's reply to a toast in his honor

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was full of friendly sentiments. After a visit to Ayuthia, the ancient capital of Siam, and the King's country palace, the royal yacht "Vesatu," was boarded, which sailed down the river amid loud salutes and splendid farewell scenes.

The return to Singapore was on April 22d. Here ship was taken for Hong Kong, with a stop at Saigon. Hong Kong was reached April 30th. The American gun-boat "Ashuelot" and all the merchantmen in the harbor dressed ship in honor of the General's arrival. The "Ashuelot" fired a salute of twenty-one guns. The landing steps were covered with evergreens, flags and bamboo decorations, a guard of honor was drawn up on the pier and a detail of police lined the road to the Government House. As welcoming officer, the Governor took the head of the procession, and amid much ceremony presented the General and party to Chinese citizens, British officers and prelates of the Catholic and Episcopal churches. Here the visitors had a pleasant stay, made up of honorary visits and receptions. On the morning of May 5th, they boarded the "Ashuelot" for Canton.

Hitherto, the trip had been through that part of Chinese territory which was under foreign control. Now true Chinese territory was entered. The Pekin authorities had sent word to Canton that the American ex-President should be received with unusual distinction. So at the Bogue forts the Chinese gunboats were in line to welcome the "Ashuelot" with a salute. As fort after fort was passed, salutes were fired. Night came on before the "Ashuelot," piloted by a fleet of Chinese gunboats and surrounded by craft of every kind, reached the city. Lanterns of every color took the place of sunlight, and boats, wharves and landing place were decorated with them. There was no further demonstration that night, but on the morrow the Viceroy issued his orders to the citizens to do the illustrious foreigner honor. The whole city turned out to catch sight of the "American King," as he rode through the streets

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to the reception at the Viceroy's palace. The vehicles were Sedan chairs borne on the shoulders of men. They expected to see an "American King" clad in gold, blazing in diamonds, and embowered in gaudy feathers. They saw instead a plain, unbedizened citizen with no insignia of rank. It was a strange sight, stranger than anything yet met with on the journey, to see a teeming city give up an entire day to witnessing, and participating in, the pompous ceremonies of welcome to a foreigner, whose coming had been disoussed in every bazar and silk spinnery. The distance to the palace was three miles, and there was ample opportunity to see and be seen. Once at the palace, the Viceroy in mandarin's hat, buttons and robes of silk extends formal salutation, introduces the General to the assembled officials and bids him welcome to China. Tea was then served in regal style, followed by a sumptuous dinner in the gardens of the palace, to which the strangers tried to do justice with chopsticks, and during which the Chinese bands dispensed their peculiar music. Almost the entire visit to Canton was one of cordial and honorary ceremony, which was very strange in view of prohibition on foreigners up to a comparatively late period, and the very cool and suspicious receptions extended to all former foreign dignitaries. The party were thus obliged to forego anything like a detailed study of the palace, but this they did not regret, for once forced to study Canton as Canton they found nothing so interesting. The narrow, busy streets, the myriads of artizans, the working women, the peculiar industries, the queer commerce, the strange institutions, the wonderful manners and customs, the quaint art and architecture—these were what struck the eye and engaged the mind. After a magnificent state banquet as a farewell, the travelers started for Macao. The last word of the Viceroy to the General, was, "Be kind to our people in the United States, for you have a hundred thousand Cantonese among you." It is to be feared that

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neither the General nor any other person is sufficiently strong in himself to meet the kind wishes of this heathen Viceroy. We are a highly intellectual, liberal and Christian people, and as a learned Chinese in San Francisco puts it, "quite too busy preparing a home for Chinamen in heaven to think of either giving them a home or tolerating their presence on earth."

Macao, noted for its grotto of Camoens, received the visitors for a day. They steamed on to Hong Kong, in order to take journey along the Chinese coast, northward. On May 28th, Swatow, a treaty port, was reached, where the travelers were welcomed with regal ceremonies. Then the "Ashuelot" steamed to Amoy, another treaty port, where Commander Boyd, of the American man-of-war "Ranger," welcomed the General. Then the steamer sailed for Shanghai, which was sighted on May 17th. Here the forts, Chinese gunboats, and all the armed vessels fired salutes, and the U. S. man-of-war "Monocacy," carrying a committee of citizens, steamed out to meet the "Ashuelot." Not less than a hundred thousand people lined the banks of the river to witness the landing. It was a holiday, and every one could come. The Chinese governor and municipal council received the General, amid American music, and with a formal address, to which he replied:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the hearty welcome which you have paid me, and I must say I have been not a little surprised, and agreeably surprised. I have now been a short time in the country of which Shanghai forms so important a part in a commercial way, and I have seen much to interest me and much to instruct me. I wish I had known ten years ago what I have lately learned. I hope to carry back to my country a report of all I have seen in this part of the world, for it will be of interest and possibly of great use. I thank you again for the hearty welcome you have extended."

After these ceremonies there was a military procession and

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grand escort to the Consulate. It was said that the only other occasions on which Shanghai had ever extended honors to a foreigner, were the visits of the Duke of Edinburgh and Grand Duke Alexis. The evening was given up to a state dinner and general illumination. Of it a morning paper said: "Never before has there been such a blaze of candles in Shanghai." The honorary fetes were continuous till the time came to leave, which was May 24th.

The next place reached was Tientsin, presided over by Li Hung Chang, the Bismarck of the East. His territory lies on the way to the capital, Pekin, and protects it. Li Hung is a great general, and took a romantic interest in Grant's arrival, and was the first to welcome him to the chief province of the Empire. As the "Ashuelot" came into the Peiho river there was such an array of gaily-decked vessels, firing of salutes, crowding of sight-seers, as to make a ceremonial as vivid and imposing as any yet witnessed. When the two great generals met, they studied each other for a moment, and then there sprang up a friendship, as if by magic, which was warm and lasting. There were mutual visits, and long interesting talks about armies, institutions, resources, commerce, manufactures, etc., with all which the Viceroy was delighted. It may be truthfully said that no illustrious foreigner ever received such a recognition in China as did General Grant.

The journey from Tientsin lay up the Peiho, one hundred and fifty miles to Pekin, the capital. The trip gave the party a thorough insight into Chinese civilization and scenery. The river proved too crooked and shallow for the "Ashuelot." Other boats were substituted, and it seemed as if a fleet were ascending the river when all the shallops bearing the distinguished party got together. The trip was exasperatingly slow, the chief power of the boats being man power, furnished from the shore, like mule power on a canal. The river journey ended at Tung Chow, where a great body of officials, and a mob

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with chairs, met the party to conduct them to Pekin. The orders from Prince Kung, the Prince Regent, were to show the General every courtesy possible and treat him with a respect never before shown to a foreigner. From Tung Chow to Pekin, he was carried in a chair borne by eight bearers, an honor paid only to the highest persons in China. The whole city was out to receive the guests. It took five hours to move from Tung Chow to Pekin, so slow was the motion and so thronged the ways. The great city reached, and gateway entered, there was welcome rest at the American Legation. The city is one of trees and wide lanes, called streets. There was an evening reception at the Legation, and general introductions. Then came the military and civil governors, with cards, and tokens and wonderful ceremonies. Next day the very formal audience with the Emperor, a child of seven years, was gone through with. Then a visit to Yamen, Prince Kung, an interesting person who welcomed the General heartily and gave real princely entertainment. This visit was returned by the Prince, who delighted to talk with the General about America and civilization and resources in other lands. There were visits to the Imperial Palace, the Temple of Heaven, and other points of interest.

By June 12th, the party were back in Tientsin, where another welcome was extended by the Viceroy. At both Pekin and Tientsin, the General was urged to act as mediator in the disputes between China and Japan, a commission he delicately declined as a visitor. The party now took the "Richmond" for Japan. Steam was made along the shores of China to view the "Great Wall," built twenty-two hundred years ago, and for a distance of twelve hundred and fifty miles inland, more wonderful than the Pyramids or the ruins of Thebes. Then the gulf is crossed to Chefoo, where a reception is tendered. The "Richmond" is then off for Japan direct, and sails, June 21st, into the harbor of Nagasaki, one of the prettiest in the world. The ships are

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gay with bunting. The men-of-war thunder. The city is out for a holiday greeting of the "American Mikado," as he is called. In Japan the earth is green—bright, cheerful sight after the parched earth of the tropics. Nature seemed to be merry as well as the people. An escort from the Emperor came aboard the "Richmond." They were to attend the General as the Emperor's personal representatives as long as he chose to stay in Japan. The delegation was headed by Prince Dati, a leading daimio. The General was therefore the nation's guest. On June 23d, there was a State dinner at the Government House in Grant's honor. Here he made one of the longest and best speeches on his journey, which he concluded with "The prosperity and independence of Japan." Visits were paid to all the palaces of importance. A feature was the announcement that a monument would be erected in honor of the General's visit, for which he was asked to write an inscription, which he did, and in which he alluded poetically to the memorial trees which he and Mrs. Grant had planted the day before.

The guests did not tire of Nagasaki. One never does. But time passed. After a gorgeous fete, the party took the "Ashuelot," June 26th, for a journey among the beautiful Japanese islands to Hiogo, where a landing was prohibited on account of the cholera. But deputations came aboard to congratulate the party and tender hospitalities, if things were only different. The run is then made to Sumida Bay, closed to foreigners, but opened to the General and his party in the name of the Emperor. The town of Shiguoka is here visited, a purely Japanese town, which is out in force to see and welcome the foreigners.

Then sail is set for Yokohama, which is reached July 3d, amid harbor scenes more brilliant than any yet seen. The princes, ministers and high officials received the General at the landing. They were not all strangers, for Yokohama is

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in direct steam communication with San Francisco, and many of these functionaries had been across the water. After a set of brief but full ceremonies, a car ride is taken to Tokio, and the party are conducted to the Emperor's summer palace at Enriokwan. An audience with the Emperor is arranged for July 4th, our national holiday. The General took along all the Naval, Consular and other American officers in the city, and thus appeared with quite a formidable and representative party. The palace was reached and found of simple construction, though the grounds were spacious and fine. The party was received in state, the cabinet and ministers of every description being present. The Emperor and Empress received in a room alone, and with solemn etiquette. For them this reception was a revolution, it being regarded as too great a condescension for those so divinely appointed to receive foreigners. But there was a complete unbending of royal dignity, even to the extent of a welcome speech on the Emperor's part, to which Grant responded in a kind and happy vein. He concluded with, "I thank you very much. I have visited many countries and seen many beautiful places, but I have seen none so beautiful and charming as Japan."

All day the visitors poured in to see the General and party. It was like a state occasion at our own White House. In the evening there was a dinner in one of the summer gardens, at which regular Fourth of July speeches were made. On July 7th, there was a review of the troops by the Emperor, to which the guests were invited, there being a special desire on the Emperor's part that the General should pass on the merits of his army. Then there came an exceptional event in the history of modern Japan—a personal interview between the Emperor and General, at which matters of state, resource and civilization were talked over. It was free, cordial and profitable to both parties. On July 17th, a visit is paid to the shrine and temple of Nikko, the vehicles being hand carriages, as is the custom.

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This is the spot sacred to Iyeyas the Solon and Confucius of Japan. After a round of pleasant entertainments by the people of Nikko, the party left, on June 28th, for Tokio and the comfortable quarters of the palace Enriokwan.

The culminating feature in the General's Japan visit was the public festival at Uyeno on August 25th, where every phase of life bent to the occasion. Tokio fluttered in flags. A holiday was proclaimed. The air rung with festival notes. Displays were lavish, beyond anything ever dreamed of. It was a crush and a *fete* such as only Japanese customs would sanction or Japanese imagination could devise. Everybody was in it from the Emperor to the humblest servant. It typed the highest honors of the nationality, and was intended as a grand and impressive conclusion to the General's Asiatic trip.

The party now prepared to leave this country of gardens, of schools, of numerous servants, of ancient yet progressive institutions, of quaint and good-hearted people. Their last days were crowded with official visits and manifestations of respect. No part of their visit had been so marked by tokens of regard, by extreme cordiality, by splendor of reception, heartfelt desire to honor and please, as this to Japan. The country was left with regret, for it is the happy abiding place of a simple, true, educated and quaintly artistic people. There was a final round of state dinners and official good-byes, and the party leave Tokio amid a set of scenes as brilliant as those which signalize their reception. Train is taken for Yokohama, where the "City of Tokio" is boarded for San Francisco. And Japan never witnessed such a scene as the parting. The harbor was lined with boats large and small. The great ships thundered. Cheers rent the skies. The good ship sailed away amid the echoing huzzas, loud expressions of good wishes for a safe journey, and prolonged farewells of the happy dwellers of the green and luxuriant isles of the Orient.

On Saturday, September 20th, 1879, the eighteenth day of

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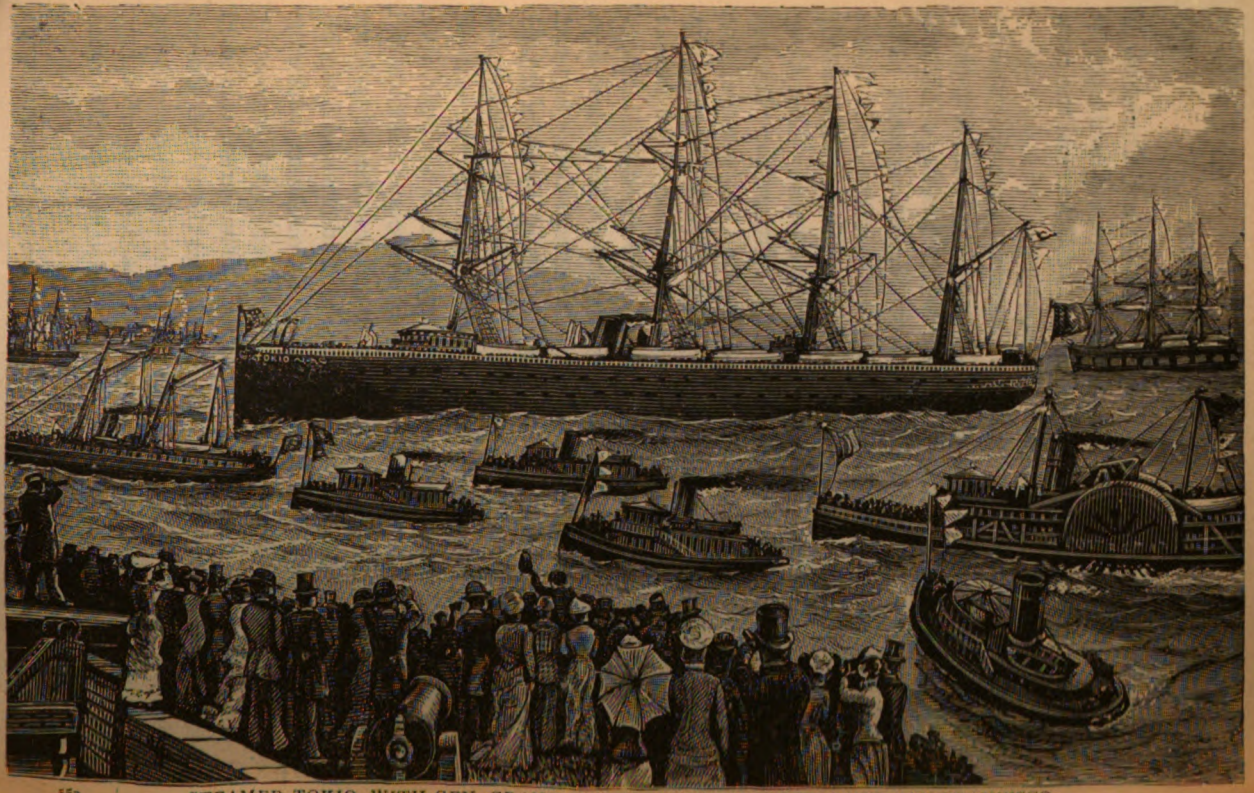

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STEAMER TOKIO, WITH GEN. GRANT, ENTERING THE GOLDEN GATE, SAN FRANCISCO.

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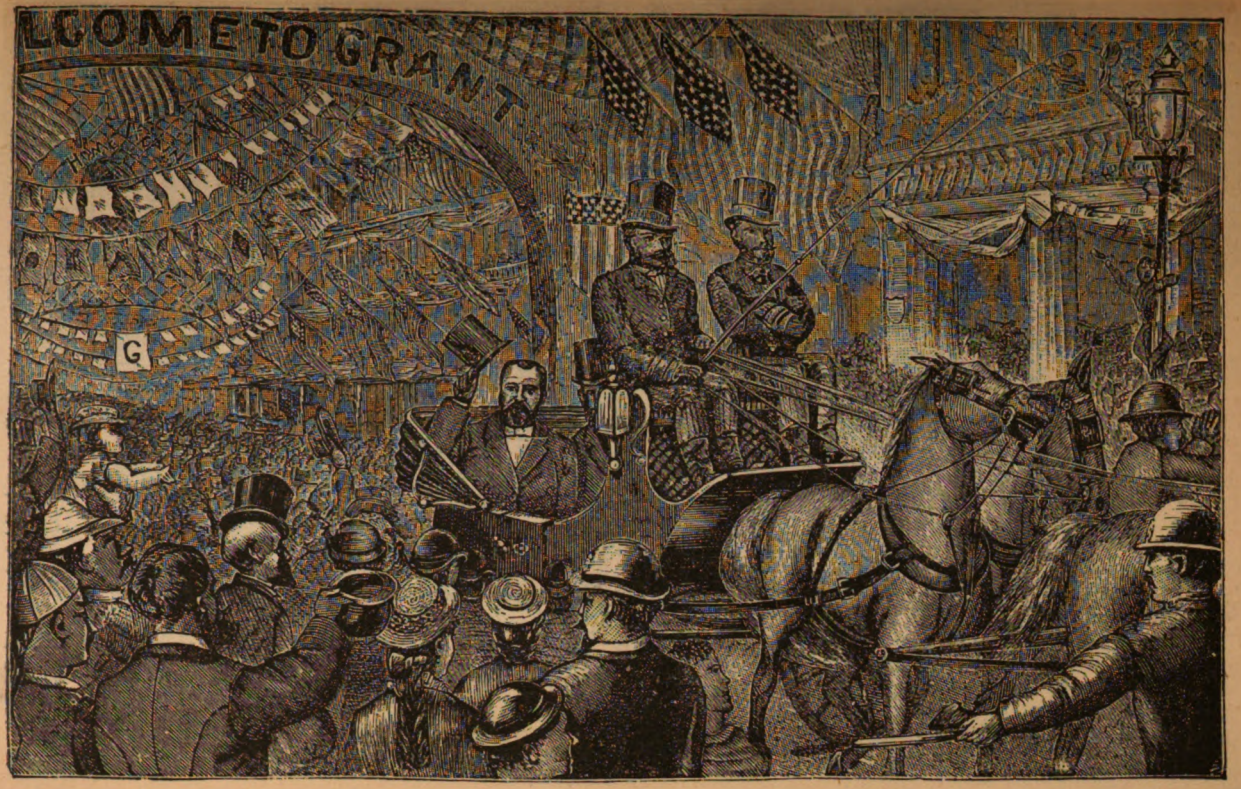

RECEPTION AT SAN FRANCISCO.

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the voyage from Yokohama, the "City of Tokio" came in sight of California. The pilot boat brought newspapers, and the General read with surprise of the compliment in store for him. As the ship entered her dock at night the city of San Francisco burst into illumination, the great guns thundered welcome, whistles blew, the people rushed in cheering crowds to the wharves, and principal streets. By eleven o'clock that night the party reached their hotel, and sought much-needed rest. We cannot undertake to narrate the receptions which followed, the round of hospitalities, the exhibitions of favor, the ceremonies of honor. They were American, and such as Americans extend only to their greatest and best, their most admired and beloved. Cities and communities vied with each other in doing him honor and receiving him again into the folds of citizenship. He was our own now and forever. Proudly had he represented us around the world, among all nations, kindreds and tongues. Proudly should he be greeted as he passed from place to place in our midst, completing the circuit of the earth, which his fame had long since girdled.

The wild Yosemite is visited, the giant pines, one and all of the scenes which make the Pacific slope beautiful and wonderful. The party then start for Portland, Oregon, where they are received by the Grand Army. Salem and other places are honored by a visit, when they return to San Francisco. Before leaving the coast a visit is paid to Sacramento, October 23d, where there is a grand reception and a sham battle in his honor. The silver mines of Nevada are now taken in. At Virginia City the reception is hearty and imposing. Then they descend into the consolidated Virginia mine, seventeen hundred and fifty feet below ground, where Mrs. Grant is presented with a gold brick, two and a half inches by four inches, and a phial of gold dust. The Sutro Tunnel was next visited. A special train now bore the party eastward from Virginia City, through Reno, Winnemucca, Ogden, Cheyenne, to Omaha, on

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Saturday, November 1st. Everywhere the enthusiasm was general. At Omaha the demonstration was unsurpassed. The city gave itself up to a holiday. And so from that point to the General's home at Galena, November 5th, where the reception was an ovation unequalled in fervor. By November 12th, the party were in Chicago, where they were greeted by a formal procession and review. Be it understood that throughout, the General was called upon for speeches, and many of them were strikingly full of apt sentiment, though necessarily brief. At every town of importance there were receptions and ovations, so that never monarch passed through a land amid such spontaneous out-pourings and such unanimity of acclamation.

The route then lay through Indianapolis, Logansport, Louisville, Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburg, Harrisburg, to Philadelphia. At each point the welcome seemed to grow more enthusiastic, the demonstrations more elaborate and hearty. But it remained for Philadelphia, the starting point of the party around the world more than two years and a half before, to eclipse all that had yet been seen in the shape of brilliant reception and gorgeous street pageantry. It was a fitting closing to a notable trip and set the seal on that circuit of travel which enveloped the globe. The time was December 16th, 1879. The time of starting had been May 17th, 1877.

The General was met by the mayor and city officials. The mayor said: "As I bade you God speed upon your journey, I now welcome you home; and trust that in your stay among us you may feel that you are at home, and that the people of Philadelphia, by their hearty greeting, may impress you that it is indeed the City of Brotherly Love."

The General responded in a brief speech of thanks and expression of pleasure at his safe return to a place he always liked to call home. Then began to move one of the longest and grandest processions ever witnessed in any city. Arches with mottoes overhung the streets. Houses were gay with

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flags and colors. Hundreds of thousands of people lined the streets and rent the air with cheers of welcome. The procession represented the civic authorities, political bodies, professions, commercial and mercantile interests, trades, occupations, and every phase of organized labor. It really never ended, for night came on before it was possible for its rearward sections to complete the route, and they filed away by other streets. In the evening the city was illuminated and old Independence Hall, by the aid of calcium lights, was resplendent in a glory never before seen.

His stay in the city was a round of receptions, dinners, toasts and speech-making, first at Carpenters Hall, the Nation's Birthplace, then Independence Hall, then as a guest of the city, then the Grand Army Post No. 1, of which he was a member, then the combined Posts at the Academy of Music, then by the Commercial Exchange, then by the Public Schools, then by the Union League on December 23d, which closed a week, during which the city gave itself over almost entirely to welcome ceremonies of a kind unparalleled in its history and which the presence of no other American citizen could have evoked.

The "Tour Around the World" thus happily ended. It was not a journey, but a triumphal march by one who typed a great nation both in its martial forces and peaceful prowess. He entered principalities and stood before thrones, threaded dynasties and mingled freely with civilizations, not more because of unsurpassed individual exploit and exceptional public and private worth, not more because he was to us great and noble and good, than because he was a true exponent of American character and institutions, whose fame had fortunately preceded him and given him a sesame to every heart and every affection from purpled king to humble laborer. He honored his nation more than he was honored, and memory of him will be as sweet seed sown for a harvest of comity, peace and love among all people.

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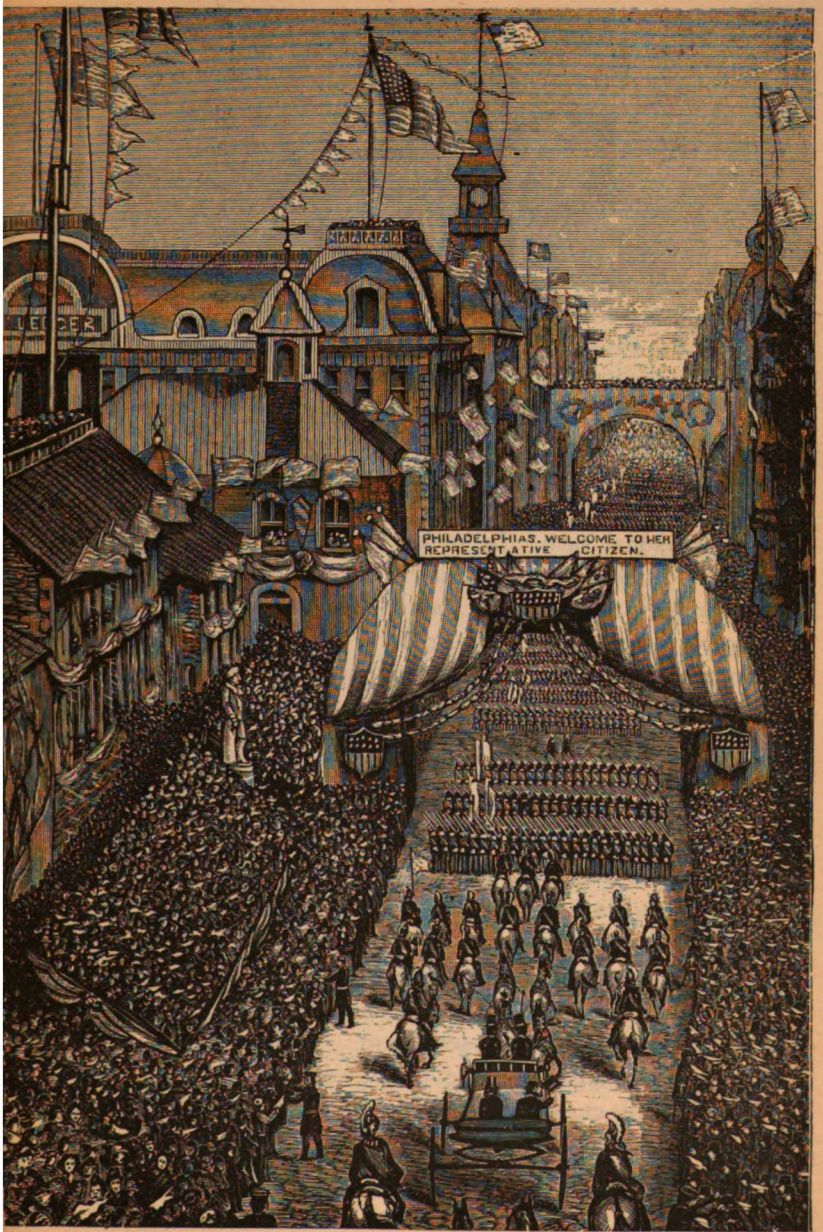

GRAND RECEPTION OF GEN. GRANT Phila., Dec. 16, 1879. 537

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CHAPTER XXV.

1880.

BEFORE the end of President Grant's second term, his name was mentioned by some of his admirers in connection with a candidacy for a third term. Although there was nothing to prohibit this in the Constitution, nor in any law, it was deemed sufficiently contrary to established custom to awaken hostility to Grant, which, in the heat of narrow partisanship, took a personal turn. In order to crush the thought in its infancy—ambition for a third term he had not—the word "Cæsarism" was invented, and he was pictured in the opposing party journals as one desirous of perpetuating his political ascendancy indefinitely. Had this unjust imputation been confined to political opponents exclusively, it would have attracted but little attention. But it unfortunately found encouragement among some of the more ambitious, or less scrupulous, men and papers of his own party, and was wrought up till it became quite a sentiment.

It had never been his custom to reply to attack. His works were his vindication. And as to preferment of any kind, no man could say that he had ever solicited position in his life, ever held one except in obedience to a most pronounced public will, or ever done aught while in one that even savored of disregard of law or popular sentiment. While this should have been sufficient answer at the time to every imputation, he departed from his customary silence sufficiently long to set himself straight before the country in a letter, in which he said:

"Now for the third term. I do not want it any more than I

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did the first. I would not write or utter a word to change the will of the people in expressing and having their choice. The question of the number of terms allowed to any one executive can only come up fairly in the shape of a proposition to amend the Constitution—a shape in which all political parties can participate, fixing the length of time or the number of terms for which any one person shall be eligible for the office of President. Until such an amendment is adopted, the people cannot be restricted in their choice by resolution further than they are now restricted as to age, nativity, etc.

"It may happen in the future history of the country, that to change an executive because he has been eight years in office, will prove unfortunate, if not disastrous. The idea that any man could elect himself President, or even renominate himself, is preposterous. It is a reflection upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people to suppose such a thing possible. Any man can destroy his chances for the office, but no man can force an election, or even a nomination. To recapitulate: I am not, nor have I ever been, a candidate for a renomination. I would not accept a nomination, if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise."

The man who bore unmurmuringly and silently—except as his voice opened in the above letter—all the charges of a desire to perpetuate his power, withdrew from public life at the end of his term of office in the most quiet and unostentatious manner; not with a sigh of regret, as one having ambition, but glad of an opportunity to re-enter private station and his own modest home circle. Thus he returned to the bosom of the people, after serving their will in the highest capacities vouchsafed to man, and went seeking nothing, desiring nothing, so much as the privileges of a retirement that could only be disturbed by a call as loud and imperative as that which made

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him a leader of armies and holder of the destinies of a free and united people.

While in this, as in all attacks upon him, time and a better knowledge of the man came to his vindication, and even turned invidious partisan remark into praise, the political events which led to the campaign of 1880 again involved him. He was less than ever an aspirant for nomination, and more than ever a passive instrument in the hands of his friends and admirers. Sift fact and sentiment as closely as the historian may, there does not appear a single trace of effort or inclination on his part for a nomination in that year. Yet circumstances, over which he had no control, and with which he had no identity, were given such a turn as to reopen the stale cry of "Cæsarism." There were factional differences inside of his party. There was much unrest over the mild and indecisive policy of President Hayes. There was growing apprehension of a solid political South which should overshadow the more populous North, as in the old slave days. There was conviction that this supremacy did not, or would not, rest on a full and free expression of the sentiments of all the people there. There was hope that it was not too late to introduce there a divided sentiment, and secure a free play of individual and party rights, such as prevailed elsewhere. Earnest had been given that the time was ripe for a break in the closely-riveted partyism of the section, provided a man in whom all could have confidence, who was sterling in character, strong in will, consistent in conviction, kind and considerate in policy, could become a leader. Even promise had been passed that more than one of the Southern States would swing from their old political moorings under the leadership of distinguished citizens, if some one could be raised to power who could inspire respect, and whose terms of political co-operation would not prove humiliating.

In so far as all these existing facts were shaping sentiment,

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or were reflexive of sentiment, it was perhaps unfortunate for Grant that the popular eye intuitively took him in when it scanned the political horizon for a Presidential candidate who would fill every requisite. Though a term had intervened, still the anti-third-term spirit existed, and it was now used even more freely, if not more rancorously, than before, because the contention was inside of the Republican party, and family quarrels are never free from bitterness and excitement. Again, a candidate of his weight would be a most disturbing element in a party convention. It would unsettle the drift of things political, overturn calculations, destroy the chances of aspirants, defeat ambitions. In many senses it would be a new departure in party proceedings, if not in party policy. Hence, we say it was perhaps unfortunate for Grant that, while as to general needs he was the ideal candidate, as to strict party discipline and tradition, he was a subject of discord, though by no movement or expression of his own. This is as things stood in the mists of the morning, prior to the real campaign of 1880.

But as the campaign progressed, and matters and men became more involved, acerbities quickened on the one hand, while on the other the impression grew that no one but a man of well-known record and firm administrative capacity could meet the rising contingency without risk. There were States which some shrewd men regarded as pivotal, yet unsafe for any of the known aspirants for Presidential honors. One of these—New York—was held to be doubtful for any man the Republicans could name, except General Grant. Here was another cause for a crystalization of thought about him, which, so far as he was concerned, was simply a fate.

As party work began to centralize in the respective States and communities, and local leaders to place themselves at the heads of followings, each using his choice for candidate as a Shibboleth, and his favorite policy as argument, it was

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found, amid all the clashings and bitterness, that the use of Grant's name was most effective in all those places in the North upon which a doubt of success rested, and in the South where a revolution in political sentiment was desirable. It was but natural that these leaders should take advantage of this, coupled as it was with Grant's well-known convictions against taking office, except in consonance with a decided expression of the popular will. We cannot undertake to say how far they thereby expected to further their personal ends, but will suppose that they acted upon honest conviction and for the party and public good. This we accord also to those who took such violent issue with them, but who unfortunately shaped their issue so as to make personal detraction an argument which only solidified opposition and became, in the end, a source of regret.

All things considered, the preliminary campaign of 1880 was, in a political sense, a natural and proper one, and in a progressive sense, a necessary one. In its bitter methods, its extreme personalism, its loose imputations, it was unnatural and unworthy. There were many great and good names before the country and each name represented a fair following. The most conspicuous were those of James G. Blaine, John Sherman, Elihu B. Washburne, Senator Windom, Senator Edmunds. These were directly in the field. Grant was not so, by any wish, request or act of his own. It was not even known whether he would accept the nomination. From what is known of his character and convictions, he most certainly would not have accepted if the majority had not been emphatic, and so plain an expression of the popular will as to make acceptance clearly a duty.

As the respective State conventions were held, those who were using his name carried delegates to the National Convention in most of the Southern States, and largely in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, with smaller numbers *in*

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many other States. Altogether, they would not foot up enough to control the convention, but they would be strong—stronger than those for any other candidate—and with the use of the unit rule, such as had generally prevailed, they could nominate. This was felt by the friends of all the candidates. Hence, to break the unit rule, by which the States should vote in accordance with the sentiment of a majority of their delegates, became an object on the part of the friends of all the candidates, except Grant. They broke it, and also raised and carried the issue of district representation in the States. This left every candidate on his merits.

The convention met in Chicago, June 5th, 1880, and sat nearly a week. Grant's name was brought directly before the convention by Senator Conkling, of New York, who urged that the need of the hour was a man who could carry doubtful Northern, and some of the Southern States. As to the "third term" idea, he failed to see why it could be a valid objection to a man that he had been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, or that he had obtained experience which rendered him better fitted for the duties confided to his care. He commended his civic policy in establishing international arbitration, opposing inflation and paving the way to resumption of specie payments, reducing the expenses of the government, and adhering to an intelligent principle of reconstruction. He then said:

"When asked whence comes our candidate, we say from Appomattox. The election before us will be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide whether for years to come the country will be Republican or Cossack. The need of the hour is a candidate who can carry doubtful States, North and South, and believing that he more surely than any other can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant. He alone of living Republicans can carry

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New York. Never defeated in war or in peace, his name is the most illustrious borne by any living man. His services attest his greatness and the country knows them by heart. His fame was born not alone of things written and said, but of the arduous greatness of things done, and dangers and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Standing on the highest eminence of human destination, and having filled all lands with his renown, modest, simple and self-poised, he has seen not only the titled but the poor and the lowly, in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and defects of many systems of government and he comes back a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which so conspicuously distinguished him in all the fierce light that beat upon him throughout the most eventful, trying and perilous sixteen years of the nation's history.

"Never having had a 'policy to enforce against the will of the people,' he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never betray or desert him. Vilified and reviled, truthlessly aspersed by numberless persons, not in other lands, but in his own, the assaults upon him have strengthened and seasoned his hold on the public heart. The ammunition of calumny has all been exploded, the powder has all been burned out, its force has spent and Grant's name will glitter as a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic, when those who have tried to tarnish it have mouldered in unforgotten graves and their memories and epitaphs have vanished utterly. Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever in peace, as in war, shown the very genius of common sense. The terms he prescribed for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest principles and prophecies of true reconstruction."

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When the time for balloting came the strength of the respective candidates appeared as follows:

States.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Alabama,	16	1	3	...	...	...
Arkansas,	12	...	...	...	...	...
California,	...	12	...	...	...	...
Colorado,	6	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut,	...	3	...	2	...	7
Delaware,	...	6	...	...	...	...
Florida,	8	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia,	6	8	8	...	...	...
Illinois,	24	10	...	...	...	8
Indiana,	1	26	2	...	...	1
Iowa,	...	22	...	...	...	...
Kansas,	4	6	...	...	...	...
Kentucky,	20	1	3	...	...	...
Louisiana,	8	2	6	...	...	...
Maine,	...	14	...	...	...	...
Maryland,	7	7	2	...	...	...
Massachusetts,	3	...	2	20	...	1
Michigan,	1	21	...	...	...	...
Minnesota,	...	...	...	...	10	...
Mississippi,	6	4	6	...	...	...
Missouri,	29	...	...	...	...	1
Nebraska,	...	6	...	...	...	...
Nevada,	...	6	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire,	...	10	...	...	...	...
New Jersey,	...	16	...	...	...	2
New York,	51	17	2	...	...	...
North Carolina,	6	...	14	...	...	...
Ohio,	...	...	34	1	...	...
Oregon,	...	6	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania,	32	23	3	...	...	...
Rhode Island,	...	8	...	...	...	...
South Carolina,	13	...	1	...	...	...
Tennessee,	16	6	1	1	...	...
Texas,	11	2	2	...	...	1
Vermont,	...	...	...	10	...	...
Virginia,	18	3	1	...	...	...
West Virginia,	1	8	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin,	1	7	3	...	...	9
Arizona,	...	2	...	...	...	...
Dakota,	1	1	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia,	1	1	...	...	...	...
Idaho,	...	2	...	...	...	...
Montana,	...	2	...	...	...	...
New Mexico,	...	2	...	...	...	...
Utah,	1	1	...	...	...	...
Washington,	1	1	...	...	...	...
Wyoming,	1	1	...	...	...	...
Totals,	305	274	93	34	10	30

This strength was maintained with very little variation through thirty-four ballots. On the thirty-fifth there came a

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break in the Blaine columns occasioned by the introduction of Garfield's name which secured from the field 50 votes, leaving 257 for Blaine. Grant's vote rose to 313. On the thirty-sixth and final ballot the vote stood Garfield, 399; Grant, 306; Blaine,

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

42; Sherman, 3; Washburne, 5. The bitter struggle of 1880 ended by a compromise of all the opposition to Grant's candidacy on Garfield. The compromise proved acceptable to the country. By the nomination of Arthur for Vice-President the doubtful State of New York was secured to the Republicans and Garfield's election assured. Many of the disappointed

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leaders and papers continued to depreciate Grant, and his column of "306," supporters was placarded with ridicule. He did not condescend to meet these flings, but at an important and critical hour in the campaign went into it with spirit, and by his presence at political meetings in New York State especially, which always served to attract great crowds and beget intense enthusiasm, he lifted the cloud of doubt from victory and at the same time placed his party and the country under a new burden of obligation for his quiet forbearance amid misrepresentation, his fresh and timely evidence of unselfishness, and firm adhesion to principles which were broader than mere men or written platforms.

From the beginning to the end General Grant comported himself with that becoming spirit which had always characterized his conduct, whether in military or civic station, or in the shades of private life. He scorned to misrepresent, and to answer detraction. He had no contention himself, was not identified personally with the move which bore his name, was actuated by no ambition, had no feelings nor resentments, entertained no anxiety about results in the convention, was willing to lend his presence and the prestige of his name to help ratify at the polls the choice of his party. We fail to see how he could better have observed all the proprieties of a delicate situation, how better have conserved the great interests at stake, or how added more to a respect already unbounded. Looked at as an episode or ordeal which fate had in store for him, and judged in the light of a moment long after feelings have had time to cool, one cannot propound a line of conduct fuller of cautious wisdom, more entirely consistent with his whole life, nor more honorable to his memory.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

PERSONAL HISTORY—HOME LIFE—MEMOIRS—REMINISCENCES—ANECDOTES.

IN following General Grant's history we have endeavored to illustrate the man. But there are touches that can be added which will serve to bring the picture into stronger relief, and which were impossible amid the recital of events which crowded his active military and political life.

The magnitude and importance of his deeds united with his characteristics, have given him a peculiar fame. Some even hesitate to call it fame, so destitute is it of the arts which lend brilliancy and win applause. However admirable his performances, he could never dazzle because of his remarkable reticence and utter abhorrence of the tricks of the demagogue. He was never his own herald, either on the field, in state or in private life. Furthermore, he was ever so generous in crediting others with praise, that in many instances the world has heard more of his subordinates than of himself.

The growth of his name was not meteoric. It was slow and clouded. It had no career, no friends, to start or back it. It had no one, not even himself, to defend or advance it. The ambition of others could take advantage of it with impunity. Misrepresentation and detraction could deal with it without fear of retaliation. He was early the victim of ruthless stories about his intemperance. Time alone vindicated him. His first military essay at Belmont was persistently reported as a failure. He remained silent. As a blow at armed rebellion, Donelson was so audacious and staggering, and as a victory it

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was so marvellous and incomprehensible, that people were not willing to attribute it to his genius and daring, but rather to fate, to accident, to anything that justified their ignorance of military situations and gratified their credulity. He modestly handed over as a trophy an entire Confederate army, and went on silently as before.

Newspapers turned his victory of Shiloh into a defeat. He said: "Wait, time will vindicate me." When suspended at Fort Henry, and disgraced by Halleck before Corinth, he said: "My conscience approves my acts; remove me if you think I am wrong." When silenced for daring to suggest that Corinth could be captured, and that if a prompt move were not made the enemy would escape, he quietly rode over the ground after the evacuation, and proved by actual observation the correctness of his theory. All this time there were doubts and discussions of his genius and ability. Even when Vicksburg electrified the nation, it was others who had furnished the brains, others who had led his forces, others who had organized and achieved the victory. He claimed nothing for himself, but gave all the honor and the glory to his subordinate officers and his brave men. He answered no detractions, spoke no word of defence, solicited no promotion, sought no praise. Such indifference was unnatural, said the world. It was stolidity. A man without ambitions could not be a genius. Such modesty must be a species of stupidity. Plainness amid the panoply of war, silence amid the huzzas of victory, muteness in the face of personal attack, refusal to reach out and pluck the honors that hung ripened for his hand, these were so contrary to the popular notion of an epauletted genius and born strategist, to titled organizer and high-sounding commander of victorious armies, that he who possessed them as characteristics must lack all native originality and power, must be unfit for responsibility of any kind.

Vicksburg began to turn the popular scale. It threw light

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on the mystic problem Grant, by which the people might begin their solution. The hush of detraction was sudden. Chattanooga followed. Grant at last had merit of his own, genius of the highest order, strategic vigor undreamed of, action beyond compare. That the most thoughtless could see now, and that all were far more ready to confirm than formerly to deny. They could read whole chapters of a record now in the plain light of events, that had before been enigmas. They could understand what they read, see that to which they had been blind. Grant had been slowly carving fame without any favoring circumstances, had been building greatness in spite of enemies, had been proving genius without any friend to appreciate. Chance had, after all, nothing to do with the sublime character that needed but an unveiling to bring it into bold and happy relief. It was not accidental, but sterling; not a roughly thrown together pile, like the result of some upheaval, but a symmetrical monument, the result of close study and persistent effort.

Often trial, sore emergency, had been proving to the country the need of a man of certain quality and character. It had failed in its generals. Why? it is not for us to say; but it had failed. After Chattanooga, the judgment of the nation lifted Grant out of all obscurity and doubt, confirmed him in universal confidence, loaded him with its gravest responsibilities, added the honors which were commensurate with lofty trust. None other had ever so fully met the country's ideal. Would he maintain the trust, vindicate the judgment, meet the responsibility, add a personal lustre to the paper honors? Let Appomattox be the reply; or, now that he is dead, let the answer be a nation's lament over his departure, and a world's respect for his memory.

In personal appearance General Grant was somewhat under medium height, with square shoulders, and a compact, well-rounded and powerfully built form. His feet and hands were

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small and well shaped. He dressed with severe plainness, and sometimes even carelessly. When in military service his clothes were often those of the private soldier, with the addition of the stars to designate his rank. His features were regular, his forehead broad and square, his head large and well-set on a strong muscular neck. His eyes were large, light blue, deep set, and of benevolent expression when in repose, but blazing with leonine resolution when in action. His fibre was hard, elastic and enduring. In temperament, he was a compound, always sanguine, at times nervous, yet both so toned and balanced by the lymphatic, as to make his mental and physical composure simply wonderful.

His resistive forces were enormous. Neither physical nor mental labor, no matter how protracted or taxing, seemed to worry, wear or weaken him, when in his prime. He could ride hour after hour, and day after day, at a dashing speed, over all kinds of surfaces and in all kinds of weather, without succumbing to fatigue. Loss of sleep, irregularity of meals, the excitement of great occasions, did not disturb him. He could plan a battle, issue a dozen important orders, partake of a biscuit, and snatch an hour's rest, with the serenity of a man who had made philosophy a life study. No occasion ever made him noisy or fussy. His voice was as gentle as a woman's. His words were always brief and fitting. In the midst of deep provocation he preferred absolute silence to angry retort. In counsel, he was a listener. In plan, he was deep, earnest, reticent; in execution, unwavering, persistent. There was no rudeness in either his word or manner. No oath nor fiery imprecation ever escaped his lips. He never thundered an order down the lines, never hurt feelings by indignant retort or command, and, however much he disapproved of an act, never engaged in ill-natured criticism of it. He seldom showed anger, except by compressed lips and fiery flashes of the eyes. No amount of passion ever changed the measure or tone of his speech, except

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to make it more guarded. But he never angered suddenly. He has been heard to say, that even under the severest insult, he never became indignant till a week afterward, and then only at himself for not having sooner discovered that he had been misused. Great capacity for a slow but vehement anger was almost entirely subordinate to unconscious self-abnegation and entire absence of suspicion. In want of suspicion he was like a child. Having no harmful intentions himself, no jealousies, he thought everybody like him, till the contrary was proved. In this respect, many of the army officers and not a few of the leading civilians, mistook him entirely during the earlier periods of his career, both military and political. They thought him dull, lacking spirit, indecisive, till after they had committed the fatal blunder of presuming on those qualities, when they were suddenly disillusioned by the discovery that there was an unsuspected stonewall of character behind them all. He had no charity for insubordination, no patience with inhumanity or brutality. Nothing stirred his indignation so deeply and permanently as ingratitude, nor excited a more profound contempt and disgust than an unmanly and unbecoming act.

No man could ever have been more considerate of those about him. He passed his orders to his staff officers and his subordinates, rather in the manner of a respectful friend than with the stern air of a commander. On the night after Mission Ridge, he anxiously inquired about Sheridan, who had pushed impetuously after the retreating Bragg. No definite word could be gotten. With that wonderful care always evinced for his subordinates, he sent an officer, under orders to be sure to find him and report. The officer did not return till daylight, when he found Grant still up and nervously tramping about his headquarters. When the General had returned to headquarters from the field, he found there precisely the information he wanted from Sheridan, and he could not sleep or rest for thinking of the long, exposed and unnecessary ride he had

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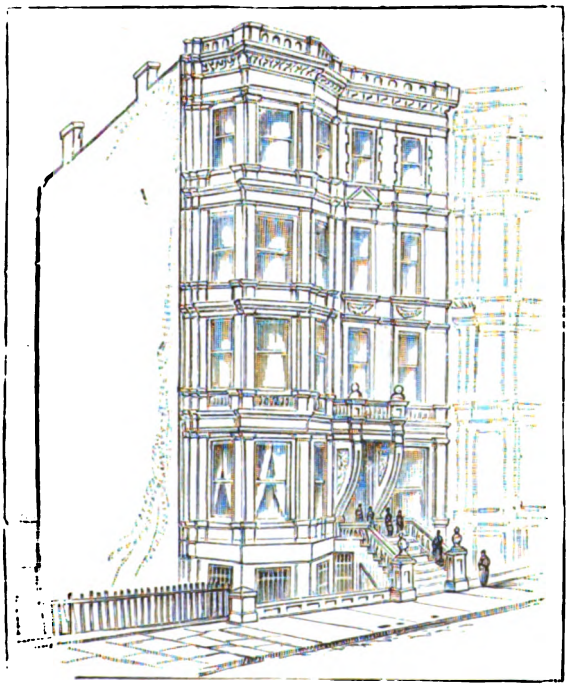
imposed on his willing officer, at midnight. Such solicitude was rare among other generals.

In his personal habits and tastes Grant was the quintescence of simplicity. He despised pomp, and the mockery of parade, when it became personal. He endured it only when it typed something outside of himself—a cause, an occasion, born of



GRANT'S NEW YORK RESIDENCE.

the people, but of which circumstances made him an humble part or exemplar. His army mess was the plain, but bountiful, rations which could be transported readily. In his private life, there was no ostentation nor extravagance. This was so in the White House and in his Sixty-sixth street home in New York.

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There were substantial decorations and a generous supply of useful articles, but nothing beyond the requirements of a plain, practical taste. He never had dainty or costly appetites to appease, kept no wine cellar, and during his campaigns the use of liquors was interdicted to his staff officers in camp life. He smoked excessively, till his disease forbade, and this was his most expensive and habitual luxury.

Grant's modesty has always been proverbial. But even this has been misunderstood. It was not the modesty of shrinking and cowardice—not that which springs from lack of firmness and destroys all individuality. It may have cut him off from many an opportunity for display; may have prevented many a speech which would have been apt and happy; but it never destroyed the solidity of the man when the moment of action was on and, as to speech, it forced a maturity of thoughts before they were divulged, which gave his sentences the beauty of brevity, the elegance of strength, and the felicity of striking aptitude. His taciturnity readily vanished where all was congenial and no care weighed upon him. Amid companionable people, around the camp fire, in the home circle, he talked readily on all subjects; talked easily, fluently, pleasingly, intelligently. His memory was very tenacious, and his mind well stored with the facts of wide observation. He was not stuffed with bookish lore, but he knew things and men for what they were worth. He read newspapers closely, was interested in all questions of humanity, and knew thoroughly the nature of our institutions and the characters of leading men at home and abroad. Both in war and in peace he shaped some of our broadest, wisest and most enduring policies, and his state papers, his recommendations, were clear, concise and convincing. He got at bottom facts in politics and in public measures, and his judgments were always honest, even if they were not always popular. The spirit of bias and unfairness was not in him; and this, as to public measures, unfitted him

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somewhat for that shrewder statesmanship which we are pleased to call diplomacy, while as to public men it left him too unsuspecting. His confidence was simple and strong—too simple and too strong for him always to escape entanglement at the hands of the designing, or undeserved and unanswered censure at the hands of the vicious. Yet with all this, his appreciation of men, especially of military lieutenants, has never been surpassed. In that field he made no mistakes. His Shermans, Sheridans, Thomases, Hancocks, Wrights, McPhersons, and others of equal bravery and fidelity, were men after his own heart in action, and never failed him, as he never failed them.

Without fulsomeness, with a horror of loudness and Hectoring, he yet warmed toward a bold, outspoken and loyal nature. He was full of unostentatious ardor and zeal, and he naturally admired those qualities in others. He loved heroic frankness, but despised a weak, complaining, narrow and selfish disposition and could not endure indirectness and double-dealing. Indeed, no peculiarity of his nature, whether as a soldier, a statesman or man, was so striking as his undeviating truthfulness in all things. Falsehood was not in him, nor even misrepresentation of fact for any purpose. His sole idea of expediency was truth and justice, these at whatever cost.

To his wonderful fidelity in friendships he united a marvelous magnanimity toward enemies. His liberality and charity were as broad as humanity. Without vanities or ambitions to gratify, promotion never turned his head or colored his character. A thorough believer in the necessity for timely and laborious action, in the doctrine that effect can only be commensurate with cause, he was nevertheless inspired with a beautiful and touching faith in an overruling Providence, and the concrete thought never failed him that the higher sentiment, the reserve force, the final intelligence and resource, the supreme righteousness, of the Union cause must in the end prevail. The manifest destiny of the Republic was a creed for him.

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His religious sentiments and emotions were respectful and fervent, and his inclinations toward the Methodist Episcopal faith and practice. He worshiped with that persuasion, for the most part, in Washington and New York. There was a simple grandeur in the completeness of his faith in God, and of his hope for the future, which remained the same at all hours, whether battle threatened sudden death, or disease made its slow and painful approaches. His fortitude in every conflict, and especially in that last which compelled physical surrender, was as unshaken as a martyr's, and his resignation made his passing away a euthanasia.

Perhaps no man of public station and active, long-continued prominence, ever lived a happier and purer home life. He was a faithful, devoted, exemplary husband and father. When his child was sick at St. Louis, he laid aside the cares of Chattanooga for a few days to visit it. Amid all the anxieties and excitements that followed the surrender of Lee, he did not forget his wife and children, but hastened to see them at Burlington, though only for an hour, being recalled by the assassination of Lincoln. His home, his family, were always his first consideration. He was blessed with a wife who was loving, kind and ever faithful in her ministrations. That she possessed the high sense of honor, and not a little of the heroism, of her husband is evinced by her refusal to accept of Mr. Vanderbilt the proffer of all the claims he held against the general. Even at an hour when financial ruin stared them in the face she would not change the result by an attempt to save a remnant, though made attractive and excusable in the sweet name of charity. Her tastes suited his. She was a strong, cheerful, sustaining companion, who understood him, and who showed her womanly qualities throughout his entire career by frequent visits to him on the battle-field, by presiding dignifiedly in the White House, by honoring his tour with her presence, but never more affectionately, tenderly and constantly than during those long months of disease and wasting which preceded

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his death. Her hand was then that of an administering angel and her presence a perpetual solace. Two such companionable, perfectly matched, home-loving, and mutually loving people, could not help honoring the marital estate

COL. FREDERICK D. GRANT.

and presenting a worthy picture of social and domestic life.

And General Grant was as happy in his paternal relations. He was an excellent father, and reared a family of four children, all of whom were passionately attached to him. They were

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all liberally educated. His eldest son, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick D. Grant, born in St. Louis in 1849, graduated at West Point in 1871. He served as Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Cavalry, at Fort Griffin, Texas, from December, 1872,

ULYSSES S. GRANT, JR.

to February, 1873. In March, 1873, he was made Aid-de-Camp to General Sheridan, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served in the Yellowstone expedition, in 1873, and in the Black

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Hill's expedition, in 1874, and subsequently went into the banking business in Washington, where he married Miss Honore, October 20th, 1874.

The second son, Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., was born at Bethel,

MRS. NELLIE SARTORIS.

Ohio, in 1850. He studied law at Columbia College Law School, and began practice in New York, but soon abandoned it for commercial pursuits. He married a daughter of ex-Senator Chaffee, of Colorado, in October, 1881.

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His only daughter, Nellie, was born in August 1855, near St. Louis. She was married in the east room of the White House, May 21st, 1874, to Algernon Sartoris, of England. She has resided abroad since, but came at an

JESSE R. GRANT.

early day to her sick father's side, and remained with him till the end.

The youngest of the family is Jesse R. Grant, born on Judge Dent's farm near St. Louis, in 1858. He studied in the Colum-

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bia School of Mines, and accompanied his father on his tour around the world. He married Miss Chapman of San Francisco, September 21st, 1881.

No man of this country or this age will be so studied as General Grant. Every analysis of the man will be heightened and impressed by the imposing results which are yet to follow his achievements. In making himself, in performing his many and brilliant deeds, he not only wrote history for the time being, but set going fresh historic facts and forces whose gathering, as the ages progress, will bring him into prouder relief. The drama of his time cannot be perfectly written till an unimpassioned master arise. Then Grant will find his place as its central figure and true hero, and if we mistake not the lustre of his martial wreathe will blend harmoniously with that of his civic purple.

CONVERSATIONS AND OPINIONS.

When circumstances favored, General Grant could not only throw off all reticence, but become a really brilliant and original conversationalist. The charm of his talk was that it was never about anything he did not know; and what he did know, he knew well. Even in matters which are familiar and well fixed, he would sometimes startle one by new information or a train of opinions quite striking in their originality and vigor. His tour around the world gave frequent opportunity for discourse with his companions, all of whom were agreeable and somewhat in the nature of confidants. It was his wont to relieve the monotony of long trips, especially ocean voyages, by touching on men and events at home and in various parts of the world. These conversations show that he must have been a delightful traveling companion. They serve, also, to illustrate his style of speech and his habits of close thought. It may be they are not unworthy of record as historic memoranda,

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though not at all studied, and some of them subject to the modifications which he would naturally have made if called upon to write them down and father them with his signature. We give a few of these conversations, or rather speeches, as found in Mr. Young's account of the trip around the world.

EXPEDIENCY IN POLITICS.—"I hear," said the General, "a good deal about expediency in politics. The only time I ever deliberately resolved to do an expedient thing for party reasons, against my own judgment, was on the occasion of the passage of the expansion or inflation bill. It would destroy the Republican party in the West, I was told. And then the West and the South would combine and agree upon some worse plan of finance; some plan that would mean repudiation. I thought, at last, I would try and save the party, and at the same time the credit of the nation, from the evils of the bill. I resolved to write a message, embodying my own reasoning and all the arguments that had been given me, to show that the bill, as passed, did not mean expansion or inflation, and that it need not affect the country's credit. The message was intended to soothe the East and satisfy the foreign holders of our bonds. I wrote the message with great care, and put in every argument I could to show that the bill was harmless and would not accomplish what its friends expected from it. When I finished my wonderful message that was to do the party and country so much good, I said to myself, 'what is the good of all this? You do not believe it. You know it is not true.' Throwing it aside I resolved to do what I believed to be right—veto the bill. I could not stand my own arguments. It was an anxious time with me. On the ninth day I was immovable, and gave orders that I would see no one till I had my veto message prepared. When Cabinet met, my message was ready. I did not intend asking its advice, as I knew a majority would oppose it. I never allowed my Cabinet to

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interfere when my mind was made up, and on this question it was inflexibly made up. I read my first message, the one in which I had tried to make myself and everybody else believe what I knew was not true. Then I read my veto message, saying I had made up my mind to sign it. This prevented debate. So I signed it. To my surprise I received no warmer commendations than from the West. All the results of that veto, which I awaited with apprehension, were of the most salutary character. It was the encouragement which it gave to the friends of honest money in the West, that revived and strengthened them there."

SHILOH.—"I have every reason to be satisfied with the battle of Shiloh. In its results it was one of our greatest victories. To it we owe the spirit of confidence that pervaded the Western army. So far were we from being surprised, that one night—certainly two nights before the battle—firing was heard in front, and it was reported that my army was making a night attack. I rode out, and found all quiet. Sherman was thoroughly ready to receive attack when it came, and nothing could be finer than his conduct."

THE SILVER BILL.—"When the silver bill passed, I suggested to General Sherman that he write to his brother, the Secretary of the Treasury, the plan of paying Congressmen in silver. They could not have carried their pay away except in wheelbarrows. As they passed the bill, it was proper that they should enjoy its fruits. It would have made the whole thing ridiculous. The men who voted for the silver bill, like the old Know Nothing leaders, will spend the remainder of their lives in explaining their course."

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.—"The question of public improvements is one that must attract the attention of our statesmen. I have been very much impressed with what France is doing now. You see the republic has voted one thousand millions of dollars, as much as the German indemnity, to build

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railroads, improve harbors, and so on. In America the mistakes we made in the building of the Pacific railway has deterred our people from going any further. If that road had been built by our own engineers, with the system of accountability that exists in the army, millions would have been saved. But because we made a mistake then, we should not oppose all plans for developing the country. I gave much thought, when I was President, to the subject of a canal across Central America—a ship canal connecting the two oceans. But, somehow, I had not influence enough with the administration to make it an administration measure. I did all I could to pave the way for it. As a young officer I crossed the continent on the Nicaragua route, and I have no doubt that it is the true one. The route through Columbia is expensive and difficult on account of the rocks and streams. The Panama route would be difficult and expensive. On the Tehuantepec route the water would have to be raised so high by a system of locks, that it could not pay. Nature seems to have made the route through Nicaragua. After Mr. Hayes came in, I called on Mr. Evarts and spent an hour with him in going over the whole subject. I urged on him the value of the work. I suppose, however, Mr. Hayes finds the same difficulty in interesting the people that I encountered. But it will come; it must. If we do not do it, our children will. The governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua are favorable. They would be the gainers. Our capital, enterprise and industry would go in and make a garden on the banks of the canal from sea to sea. It would divert the tea trade from China. In the carrying of wheat alone enough would be saved to pay the interest on the $80,000,000 necessary to build the canal. It would aid in solving the Chinese problem. California would find a place for the Chinese laborers who are now worrying her. My opinion is it would add largely to the wealth of the Pacific coast, and perhaps change the current of the whole trade of the world."

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THE EASTERN QUESTION.—"The more I have looked into the Eastern question since abroad, the more I believe the Russian side is the true one. I wanted to be in accord with men who had shown me as much kindness as Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues; but it was impossible. England's policy in the East is hard, reactionary and selfish. No man can visit those wonderful lands on the Mediterranean without seeing what they might be under a good government. I do not care under which flag the government flourished—English, French, Italian or Russian—its influence would be felt at once in the increased happiness of the people, toleration of all religions, and great prosperity. Take the country, for instance, from Joppa to Jerusalem—the plain of Sharon and the hills and valleys beyond. What a garden the French would make of that! Think what a wheat crop could be raised there within easy sail of the best markets! As I understand the Eastern Question, the great obstacle to the good government of these countries is England. Unless she can control them herself she will allow no one else. That I call a selfish policy. I cannot see the humanity of keeping those countries under a barbarous rule, merely because there are apprehensions about the road to India. If England went in and took them herself I should be satisfied; but, if she will not, why keep other nations out? It seems to me that the Eastern question could be settled easily enough if the civilizing powers of Europe were to sink their differences and take hold. Russia seems to be the only power that means to settle it, and it is a mistake of England that she has not been allowed to do so with the general sympathy of the world."

NOTABLE MEN.—"Of the notable men I have met in Europe, I regard Bismarck and Gambetta as the greatest. Bismarck impresses you as a great man. Gambetta also impressed me greatly. I was not surprised, when I met him, to see the immense power he wields in France. I was very

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much pleased with the Republican leaders in France. They seemed a superior body of men. My relations with them gave me great hope of the future of the republic. They are men, apparently, of sense, wisdom, and moderation."

THE MEXICAN QUESTION.—"When our war ended, I urged on Johnson an immediate invasion of Mexico. You see, Napoleon, in Mexico, was really a part, and an active part, of the rebellion. His army was as much opposed to us as that of Kirby Smith. Even apart from his desire to establish a monarchy, and overthrow a friendly republic, against which every loyal American revolted, there was the active co-operation between the French and the Confederates on the Rio Grande, which made it an act of war. I believed then, as I do now, that we had just cause of war with Maximilian, and with Napoleon, if he supported him,—with Napoleon, especially, as he was the head of the whole business. We were so placed that we were bound to fight him. I sent Sheridan off to the Rio Grande. I sent him post haste, not giving him time to participate in the grand review. My plan was to give him a corps, have him cross the Rio Grande, join Juarez, and attack Maximilian. With his corps he could have walked over Mexico. Johnson favored, but Seward opposed, and his opposition was decisive. Suppose it did mean war with France? With the army we had on both sides at the close of the war, what did we care for Napoleon? Unless Napoleon surrendered his Mexican provinces, I was fighting for Napoleon. There never was a more just cause for war than what Napoleon gave us. With our army, we could do as we pleased. We had a victorious army and the whole South to recruit from. I had that in my mind when I proposed the advance on Mexico. I wanted to employ and occupy the Southern army. I am not sure I was right, but I believe it would have been safe. It would have been an outlet for the disappointed and dangerous elements in the South—elements

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brave and warlike, and energetic enough with their qualities of the Anglo-Saxon character, but irreconcilable in their hostility to the Union. I tried to make Lee think so when he surrendered. They would have become settlers in Mexico, and, perhaps, done as great a work as had been done in California. No one dreaded war more than I did. I had had more than I wanted. But the war would have been national, and we could have united both sections under one flag. The results must have more than compensated for another war, and even if it had come, it must have been, under Sheridan and his army, short, quick, decisive, and assuredly triumphant. We could have marched from the Rio Grande to Mexico without a serious battle. Then, if we had gone into Mexico, we could have saved Maximilian's life. We should never have consented to that unfortunate and unnecessary execution. I don't think France could have rallied for a war against us and in defence of slavery. She could not rally against Prussia. Napoleon's empire, never strong, would have had such a shock that it would, in all probability, have fallen, as it fell five years later, and France would now be a republic—minus Sedan. Mr. Seward's objections to my plan cost Maximilian his life and gave Napoleon five years more of power. Still, Mr. Seward may have been right. War is such a terrible thing that I can think of nothing short of national honor that can justify it."

NAPOLEONISM.—"I have always had an aversion to Napoleon and the whole family. When I was in Denmark the Prince Imperial was there, and some one thought it might be pleasant for me to see him. I declined, saying I did not want to see him nor any of his family. Of course the first emperor was a great genius and one of the most selfish and cruel men in history. Outside of his military skill I do not see a redeeming trait in his character. He abused France for his own ends and brought incredible disaster on his country

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to gratify his own ambitions. I do not think that any genius can excuse a crime like that. The third Napoleon was worse than the first, the special enemy of American liberty. Think of the misery he brought on France by a war no one but a madman would have declared. I never doubted how the war would end and my sympathies from the outset were with Germany. I had no ill-will to the French people but to Napoleon. Had peace come after Sedan it would have appeared that the war was not against the French people but against the tyrant and his dynasty. The condition of Europe would now be different."

ENGLISH INTERVENTION.—"I never shared the apprehension felt about the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by England. Suppose it had been recognized? It would not have interfered with Canby, or Meade, or Sherman, who would have kept on marching. I am sure I would not have drawn away from Richmond. It would not have interfered with our money supplies, as we were buying our own loans. It would not have interfered with our supplies of men as not more than three per cent. of our army was, in the beginning, composed of unnaturalized citizens. The difference would have been with England. We could have resisted a war with England. She would have had to withdraw from the American Continent. Canada would have become ours. If Sheridan, for instance, with our resources could not have taken Canada in thirty days, he should have been cashiered. I don't mean this as a reflection. The Canadians are as good a people as ever lived, but the facts would have been against them. We could have thrown half a million of men inured to war into their country and covered it like a wave. The strategic and defensive points of Canada are all within our lines. There is no English soldier who would risk his reputation by attempting to defend such lines against the United States. England might have bombarded the Atlantic cities. It does

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not do a town much harm to bombard it, as I found out at Vicksburg. Even if she had occupied the cities she would have had to feed the people, which would have been very expensive. If she had laid them under contribution the nation would have had to pay the bill and she would have lost ten dollars for every one she exacted. She might have blockaded our coasts. I can think of nothing that would do America more good than a year or two of effective blockade. It would create new industries, throw us back upon ourselves, develop our own resources. It would keep our people at home. Hundreds, if not thousands, of privateers would have preyed on English commerce, as English-built ships preyed on ours. The war would have left her carrying trade where ours was left. English blockade of our ports would only cut off her own supply of food. America really depends on the world for nothing. England might have sent troops to help the South, but she would have had to send more than she sent to the Crimea to make herself felt. Her soldiers would not have been as good as Lee's, because they would have lacked training. Then the moment England would have struck us other nations would have struck her. I am especially glad, for England's sake, that she did not intervene. War with England is not desirable. Her American possessions, which she would surely lose, are not worth a regiment of men. I mean they are as much ours now as if we had conquered them. They are carrying out American ideas in religion, education and civilization, just as we are. The men who governed England were wise in not taking part in our war. It would have been more trouble to us but destruction to them. We could not have avoided war, and our war would have begun with more than half a million soldiers in the field, and that would have been a match for any opposing army that could have been assembled on the American Continent."

STONEWALL JACKSON.—"I knew Stonewall Jackson

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at West Point and in Mexico. He came into the school at an older age than the average, and began with a low grade. But he had so much courage and energy, worked so hard, and governed his life by a discipline so stern that he steadily worked his way along and rose far above others who had more advantages. He was a religious man then, and some of us regarded him as a fanatic. Sometimes his religion took strange forms—hypochondria—fancy that an evil spirit had taken possession of him. But he never knew a relapse in his studies or his Christian duties. I knew him in Mexico. He was always a brave and trustworthy officer, none more so in the army. I never knew him or encountered him in the rebellion. I question whether his campaigns in Virginia justify his reputation as a great commander. He was killed too soon, and before his rank allowed him a great command. It would have been a test of generalship if Jackson had met Sheridan in the valley, instead of some of the men he did meet. If Jackson had attempted on Sheridan the tactics he attempted so successfully upon others he would not only have been beaten but destroyed. Sudden daring raids, under a fine general like Jackson, might do against raw troops and inexperienced commanders, such as we had in the beginning of the war, but not against drilled troops and a commander like Sheridan. The tactics for which Jackson is famous, and which achieved such remarkable results, belonged entirely to the beginning of the war and to the peculiar conditions under which the earlier battles were fought. They would have insured destruction to any commander who tried them upon Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, Meade, or, in fact, any of our great generals. Consequently Jackson's fame as a general depends upon achievements gained before his generalship was tested, before he had a chance of matching himself with a really great commander. No doubt so able and patient a man as Jackson, who worked so hard at anything he attempted would have adapted himself

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to new conditions and risen with them. He died before his opportunity. I always respected Jackson personally, and esteemed his sincere and manly character. He impressed me always as a man of the Cromwell stamp, a Puritan—much more of the New Englander than the Virginian. If any man believed in the rebellion he did. And his nature was such that whatever he believed in became a religious duty, a duty he would discharge at any cost. It is a mistake to suppose that I ever had any feeling for Stonewall Jackson but respect. Personally we were always good friends; his character had rare points of merit, and although he made the mistake of fighting against his country, if ever a man did so conscientiously he was the man."

ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSON.—"I knew Albert Sidney Johnson before the war. When he was sent to Utah I had a high opinion of his talents. When the war broke out he was regarded as the coming man of the Confederacy. I shared that opinion, because I knew and esteemed him, and because I felt, as we all did, in the old army, where there was a public opinion among the officers as to who would come out ahead. In many cases, in most cases, our public opinion was in error. Bragg had a great reputation in the South. Bragg was the most contentious of men, and there was a story in Mexico that he put every one in arrest under him, and then put himself in arrest. Albert Sidney Johnson might have risen in fame, and we all had confidence in his doing so; but he died too soon—as Stonewall Jackson died too soon—for us to say what he would have done under the later and altered conditions of the war."

JOE JOHNSTON.—"The southern army had many good generals. Lee, of course, was a good soldier, and so was Longstreet. I knew Longstreet in Mexico. He was a fine fellow, and one of the best of the young officers. I do not know that there was any better than Joe Johnston. I have

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had nearly all of the Southern generals in high command in front of me, and Joe Johnston gave me more anxiety than any of the others. I was never half so anxious about Lee. By the way, I saw in Joe Johnston's book that when I was asking Pemberton to surrender Vicksburg, he was on his way to raise the siege. I was very sorry. If I had known Johnston was coming, I would have told Pemberton to wait in Vicksburg until I wanted him, awaited Johnston's advance, and given him battle. He could never have beaten that Vicksburg army, and thus I would have destroyed two armies perhaps. Pemberton's was already gone, and I was quite sure of Johnston's. I was sorry I did not know Johnston was coming until too late. Take it all in all the South, in my opinion, had no better soldier than Joe Johnston—none at least that gave me more trouble."

TRYING TO MEET McCLELLAN.—"McClellan had been appointed major-general in the regular army and was in command in Cincinnati. I was delighted with the appointment. I knew him and had great confidence in him. I have never lost my respect for his character nor my confidence in his loyalty and ability. I saw in him the man who was to pilot us through, and I wanted to be on his staff. So I went to Cincinnati and to his headquarters. I knew several of his staff and asked if he was in. He was not in. I waited for a couple of hours. I never saw so many men at army headquarters with quills behind their ears. After a long wait I told an officer I would come again next day. Next day it was the same story. The general had just gone out—might be in at any moment. I waited again for two hours. He never acknowledged my call, though notified of it. This is the whole story. I went over to see an old army friend and was notified that Gov. Yates had made me a colonel of volunteers. Still I should like to have joined McClellan. This pomp and ceremony was common at the beginning of the war. McClel-

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lan had three times as many men with quills behind their ears as I ever found necessary at the headquarters of a much larger command. Fremont was as imposing in his way of doing business. Halleck had the same fondness for mystery, but was in addition a very able man."

HALLECK.—"Halleck had intellect and great acquirement outside of his military education. His appointment to the major-generalcy was a great gratification to all who knew him in the old army. When I was made lieutenant-general Halleck became chief-of-staff of the army. He was very useful, loyal, and industrious, and sincerely anxious for the success of the country, without any feeling of soreness at being superseded. His immense knowledge of military science was of great use in the War Office to those of us who were in the field. His fault—and this prevented his being a great field commander—was timidity in taking responsibilities. I do not mean personal timidity, because no one ever doubted his courage, but timidity in reaching conclusions. He would never take a chance in battle. A general who will never take a chance in battle will never fight one. When in the field, I had to come to Washington two or three times to see that he carried out my orders. There was some panic about the rebels coming between our army and Washington, and he had changed my orders. I had to say, 'I don't care anything about that. I don't care if they do get between my troops and the Capital, so that they get into a place where I can find them.'"

McCLELLAN.—"McClellan is to me one of the mysteries of the war. He had a way of inspiring you with an idea of immense capacity, if he only got a chance. Then, he is a man of unusual accomplishments, a student, and a well-read man. I have never studied his campaigns enough to make up my mind as to his military skill, but all my impressions are in his favor. I have entire confidence in his loyalty and patriot-

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ism. But the test which was applied to him would be terrible to any man, being made a major-general at the beginning of the war. He was young, and the conditions of success were trying. If he had gone into the war as Sherman, Thomas, or Meade, had fought his way along up, I have no reason to suppose he would not have won as high a distinction as any of us. His main blunder was in allowing himself political sympathies, and in permitting himself to become the critic of the President, and, in time, his rival. This is shown in his letter to Mr. Lincoln on his return to Harrison's Landing, when he sat down and wrote out a policy for the Government. He was forced into this by his associations, and that led to his nomination for the Presidency. I remember how disappointed I was about this letter, and also his failure to destroy Lee at Antietam. His friends say that he failed because of the interference from Washington. I am afraid the interference was not from Mr. Lincoln so much as from the enemies of the Administration, who believed they could carry their point through the Army of the Potomac. My own experience with Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton, both in the Western and Eastern armies, was the reverse. I was never interfered with. I had the fullest support of the President and Secretary of War. No general could want better backing, for the President was a man of great wisdom and moderation, his secretary a man of enormous character and will. Very often when Lincoln would want to say yes his secretary would make him say no; and, more frequently, when the secretary was driving on in a violent course, the President would check him. United, Lincoln and Stanton made about as perfect a combination as I believe could by any possibility govern a great nation in time of war."

E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.—"The first time I saw Mr. Stanton was in the West. He met me at Indianapolis, and we rode to Louisville together. He gave me my

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new command, to take the army and relieve Rosecrans. Being fatigued, he went to bed, and I went to the theatre. On my way back I was hailed and told that something terrible had happened. I hastened to Stanton's room, and found him in his night garments, in great distress. He had received dispatches from the Assistant Secretary of War to the effect that Rosecrans had ordered his army to retreat from Chattanooga, and that such retreat would be disastrous not only to the army, but to the Union. I saw the situation at once, and wrote several dispatches. My first was to Rosecrans, relieving him of his command. My second was to Thomas, directing him to take command of the army until I reached headquarters, and to hold his position at all hazards. His reply came that he would hold his position until his whole army starved. I hurried down to the front, and, on my way, at one of the stations, met Rosecrans. He was cheerful, and showed no feeling. He was fluent in telling me what I should do. I found the army in a sad condition. The men were badly fed and clothed, and had no communication for supplies. Cattle had to be driven a long way over the mountain, and were so thin when they arrived that the men called them 'beef dried on the hoof.' I opened communications with our supplies, or, as the men called it, 'the cracker lines.' Rosecrans' plan, which was checked before put in execution, by my order, would have been most disastrous. Nothing could have been more fatal. He would have lost his guns and his trains, and Bragg would have taken Nashville. By opening our lines, feeding our men, and giving them good clothing, our army was put in good condition. Then, when Sherman reached me, I attacked Bragg, and out of that came Missionary Ridge.

"Stanton was a man whose temper had been tried by severe labor and his love for the Union was volcanic in its fierceness. It tried his patience beyond that of any other man to see all the results of the war deliberately laid at the

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feet of the South by Johnson. If people would only remember the privations under which Stanton acted they would do him more justice. I confess I would not like to have been in Johnson's place. Stanton required a man like Lincoln to manage him. I should not like to have had that responsibility. At the same time he was one of the great men of the Republic. He was as much a martyr to the Union as Sedgwick or McPherson. I held him in great personal esteem and his character in high honor."

MEN IN PUBLIC LIFE.—"It would be very hard for me to say that I knew six men in public life who were dishonest. Men who are senators and members will do things that reformers call corrupt. They will ask for patronage and govern themselves in their dealings with the administration by their success in the matter of patronage. This is custom, and if the theory of the reformers is right, it is corruption. And yet the men who are reformers, I generally found as anxious for patronage as others. Mr. Sumner, who is the idol of reformers, was among the first senators to ask offices for his friends. He expected offices as a right; of course he spoke as a senator; of course, Mr. Sumner was perfectly honest, and so were other senators. They regarded executive appointments for friends as the rewards of public life. This you cannot call corruption, so much as a condition of our representative form of government. My experience of men, makes me very charitable in my criticism of public officers. As a rule, our government is honestly and economically managed. Our civil service is as good as any I have seen, and the men in office, as a rule, do the best for the country and the government."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—"A President is, for the time being, naturally in favor of civil service reform. Patronage is the bane of the Presidential office. A large share of the vexations and cares of the Executive come from patronage. He is necessarily a civil service reformer, because he wants peace of

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mind. Apart from this, I was anxious to have civil service reform broad enough to include all its most earnest friends desired. I gave it an honest and fair trial, though Geo. W. Curtis thinks I did not. One reason for his opinion may be that he does not know as much about the facts as I do. There is a good deal of cant about civil service reform, which throws doubt on the sincerity of the government. Its advocates give the impression that most executive appointments are made out of the penitentiary; of course no reform can be sound that is sustained only by wild declarations. Then many of those who talk civil service reform in public, are the most persistent seekers after offices for their friends. Civil service reform rests entirely with Congress. If members and senators will give up claiming patronage, a step will be gained. But there is an immense amount of human nature in members of Congress, and it is in human nature to seek power and use it to help friends. The Executive must consider Congress. A government machine must run, and an Executive depends on Congress, whose members have rights as well as himself. The advice of congressmen as to persons to be appointed is useful and generally is for the best."

GOVERNING.—"Twenty years of republican rule assures a civil service reform. They have built up a body of experienced servants in all departments. The only break was when Mr. Johnson was at enmity with his party, and filled many offices with incompetent men. I suffered from that. Most of my early appointments, were to weed out bad appointments by Johnson. Mr. Hayes has had no such trouble. I made some removals in the beginning that I should not have done. But as I came to know the politicians, this ceased. I was always resisting this pressure from Congress, and in many cases, nothing but my determined resistance saved good men. Mr. Lincoln was always glad to recognize loyal democrats, and in all the departments, such were sure to remain. I never re-

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moved men because they were democrats, if they were otherwise fit. This shows that civil service is growing in America, in the only way it can grow naturally, through the long continuance of one party in power and the consequent education of an experienced class of public servants."

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.—"Nothing could have been wiser than the Electoral Commission, and nothing more unpatriotic than attempts to impair Mr. Hayes' title. He is just as much President as any of his predecessors. The country cannot too highly honor the men who devised and carried that Commission through. The crisis was a serious one, and for me, one of peculiar annoyance. History will justify the Electoral Commission as a fine bit of self-government on the part of the people, and those brave enough to rise above party. I say this without regard to its decision. I would have thought the same if Tilden had been elected. I had no fears of an outbreak, but received so many warnings, that I made all preparations. I knew all about the rifle clubs, and was prepared for any contingency. Any outbreak would have been suddenly and summarily stopped. I did not intend to have two governments, nor any South American pronunciamentos. If Tilden was declared elected, I intended to hand him over the reins and see him peacefully installed. I should have treated him as cordially as I did Hayes, for the question of the Presidency was neither personal nor political, but national. I tried to act with the utmost impartiality between the two, and would not have raised my finger to put Hayes in, if in doing so I did Mr. Tilden the slightest injustice. All I wanted was for the legal powers to declare a President, to keep the machine running, to allay the passions of the canvass, and allow the country peace. I am profoundly grateful that the matter ended as it did, without devolving on me any new responsibilities. The day that brought the result, and enabled me to leave the White House as I did, I regard as the happiest of my life. I felt as if I had

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been vouchsafed a personal deliverance. At the same time we should amend our electoral laws and prevent the renewal of such a crisis. What is to be avoided, is not so much re-elections as frequent elections. But the plan that would go furthest to satisfy all opinions, would be one term for six or seven years, and ineligibility to re-election."

HORACE GREELEY.—"I never knew Greeley well, but had great respect for his character. I was raised in an old line Whig family, and all my earliest predilections were for Greeley and his principles. I tried very hard to be friendly with him, but somehow we never became cordial. He had strange notions about the kind of men who should take office. He believed that when a man was a helpless creature, a burden to his friends, and drifting between the poorhouse and jail, he should have office. He was a man of influence and capacity, but made many suggestions to me and recommendations for office, of the most extraordinary character. I should like to have known him earlier, when he was himself."

EARLY GENERALS.—"There were a few officers, when the war broke out, to whom we who had been in the army looked for success and high rank. I felt sure that each of them would gain the highest commands. Rosecrans was a great disappointment to us all—to me especially. General Stone's case was a mystery, and I think a great wrong was committed. I knew him at school. He was a good, able, loyal man. I believe if he had had a chance he would have made his mark. McDowell was the victim of ill luck. People called him a drunkard and traitor. He never drank a drop of liquor in his life, and a more loyal man never lived. I have the greatest respect for his accomplishments and character, and was glad to make him a Major-General. Buell does not like me, I am afraid, but I have always borne testimony to his perfect loyalty and ability. He had genius for the highest commands, but somehow he fell under a cloud. The trouble

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with many of the generals in the beginning was that they did not believe in the war—I mean they did not have that complete assurance in success which belongs to good generalship. They had views about slavery, protecting rebel property, State rights—political views that interfered with their judgments. I do not mean that they were disloyal. A soldier has as good a right to his opinions as a citizen, and these men were as loyal as any men in the Union—would have died for the Union—but their opinions made them lukewarm, and many failures came of that. In some cases it was temperament. There was Warren, a good soldier and a good man, trained to war, who had risen to one of the highest commands. But as a general, if you gave him an order, he would hesitate until he knew what the other corps would do. Instead of obeying—and knowing that the power which was guiding the others would guide him—he would inquire and debate. It was this quality which led to the disaster at the mine explosion before Petersburg. Had he obeyed orders promptly we would have broken Lee's army in two. I should have relieved him then but did not like to injure an officer of so high rank for what was an error of judgment. But at Five Forks it was different. There was no time to think of rank or a person's feelings, and I told Sheridan to relieve him if he failed him. He did so, and no one regretted the necessity more than I did."

SHERMAN.—"I think history will approve the place given, in the war, to Sherman and Sheridan. I have known Sherman for thirty-five years. There never was but one cloud over our friendship and that only lasted three weeks. It was when Sherman's book came out. A correspondent printed some letters about it, which made it appear as disparaging some army officers, especially myself. I bought a book, intending to correct it as to myself and send it to Sherman, who I could not believe would disparage a comrade, for I

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had always found him true and knightly, and more anxious to honor others than to win honors himself. Well, I was moving to Long Branch, and could not look into the book for three weeks, during which time I am glad I did not see Sherman. Then when I got down to the book and finished it, I found that I approved every word of it; that apart from a few mistakes which any writer would make, it was a true book, an honorable book, creditable to Sherman, just to his companions—to myself particularly so—just such a book as I expected Sherman would write. You cannot imagine how pleased I was, for my respect for Sherman was so great that I look on those three weeks as among the most painful in my remembrance. I wrote him, telling him my only objection was to his criticism of our civil soldiers, like Logan and Blair. Logan did a great work for the Union in bringing Egypt out of the Confederacy. He was an admirable soldier, an honorable, true man, whose record in the army was brilliant. Blair also did a work in the war entitling him to the gratitude of every Northern man, and the respect of every soldier. Sherman is not only a great soldier but a great man—one of the very greatest in our country's history. He is a many-sided man—a writer and orator. As a general, I know of no man I would put above him. Then his character is fine—so frank, sincere, outspoken, genuine. I know what he was before Vicksburg. I set him to watching Johnston in my rear, and never had a moment's anxiety while Sherman was there. I don't think he ever went to bed with his clothes off, or without visiting his pickets nightly during that campaign. His industry was prodigious. There is no man living for whose character I have a higher respect."

THOMAS.—"I yield to no one in my admiration for Thomas. He was a fine character—one of the finest in the war. I was fond of him, and it was a severe trial to even think of removing him. But he was an inert man. He was

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slow to make up his mind, as a Virginian, which side to espouse. But when he thought it all out he was passionate in his love for the Union. As a commander he was slow. We used to say, 'Thomas is too slow to move and too brave to run away.' The success of his campaign will be its vindication even against my criticisms. That success and all the fame that came with it belong to Thomas. We differed about the campaign but there could be no difference as to the effects of the battle. I have no doubt the disease of which he died—fatty degeneration of the heart—demanded of him constant fortitude, and affected his actions on the field. His is one of the great names of history. He was one of the greatest heroes of the war, a rare and noble character, every way worthy of his fame."

SHERIDAN.—"As a soldier, as a commander of troops, as a man capable of doing all that is possible with any number of men, there is no man living greater than Sheridan. He belongs to the very first rank of soldiers, not only of our country but the world. I rank him with Napoleon and Frederick and the great commanders in history. No man ever had such a faculty of finding out things as Sheridan, of knowing all about the enemy. He was always the best informed man in his command as to the enemy. Then he had that magnetic quality of swaying men which I wish I had—a rare quality in a general."

MEADE.—"Meade was certainly among the heroes of the war, and his name deserves all honor. I had great fondness for him. No general ever was more earnest. He had only one fault—his temper. A battle always put him in a fury. He raged from beginning to end. His own staff would dread to report to him if anything were wrong. Under this harsh exterior, he had a gentle chivalrous heart, and was an accomplished soldier and gentleman. He served with me to the end of the war and to my entire satisfaction."

SEDGWICK.—"Sedgwick was a soldier of the highest ability, and though not in sympathy with the politics of the

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MAJ. GEN. GEO. G. MEADE.

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government, he was loyal and devoted to the cause of the Union. Both he and Meade were men so finely formed that if ordered to resign their commissions and take service as corporals they would have fallen into the ranks without a murmur. Sedgwick's death was a great loss to the army."

McPHERSON.—"I was very fond of McPherson, and his death was a great affliction. He was on my staff and there I learned his merit. Had he lived he would have come out of the war with a higher rank."

HANCOCK.—"Hancock is a fine soldier. When he was made major-general my personal preferences were for Schofield, but I felt Hancock had earned the promotion, and I handed his name to Stanton. I have great respect for him as a man and soldier."

WAR.—"I am always indulgent in my opinions of generals who did not succeed. There can be no greater mistake than to say that because generals failed in the field they lacked high qualities. Some of the men who were most unfortunate in our war were men in whom I had perfect confidence. Some failed because they lost the confidence of the country in trying to gain that of politicians. Some failed because when they had won a victory they did not know what to do with it. Some were never started right. Some failed because they worked everything by rule. They were always thinking about what Napoleon would do. Unfortunately for them the rebels would be thinking about something else. Military knowledge is all right, but slavish observance of rules will often bring failure. The conditions of war in Europe and America were wholly different. War is progressive, because all its instruments and elements are progressive. I do not believe in luck in war any more than in business. Luck may effect a single movement, but not a campaign or career. A successful general needs health, youth and energy. I should not like to put a general in the field over fifty. When I was in the army I had a physique that could stand anything.

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Whether I slept on the ground or in a tent, whether I slept one hour or ten in the twenty-four, whether I had one meal or three, or none, made no difference. I could lie down and sleep in the rain without caring. But I am many years older, and could not hope to do that now. The power to endure is an immense power, and naturally belongs to youth. The only eyes a general can trust are his own. There is nothing ideal in war."

LINCOLN.—"I never saw him till he gave me my commission as Lieutenant-General. Afterwards I saw him often either in Washington or at head-quarters. I may almost say he spent the last days of his life with me. I often recall those days. He came down to City Point during the last month of the war, and was with me all the time. He was a fine horseman, and rode my horse Cincinnati. He was anxious about the closing of the war, was afraid we could not stand another campaign, and wanted to be around when the crash came. I have no doubt that Lincoln will be the conspicuous figure of the war; one of the great figures of history. He was a great man, a very great man. The more I saw of him, the more this impressed me. He was incontestably the greatest man I ever knew. What marked him especially, was his sincerity, his kindness, his clear insight into affairs. Under all, he had a firm will and a clear policy. People used to say that Seward swayed him, or Chase, or Stanton. This was a mistake. He might appear to go to them, but all the while they were going with him. And it was that gentle firmness in carrying out his own will without apparent force or friction, that formed the basis of his character. The darkest day of my life was when I heard of his assassination. I did not know what it meant. Here was the rebellion put down in the field and starting up in the gutters; we had fought it as war and now we had to fight it as assassination. On that night of April 14th, Lincoln had promised to go to the theatre, and wanted me to go with him. I received

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a note from Mrs. Grant, saying, she had resolved to go to Burlington on that evening to see the children. I made my excuse to Mr. Lincoln, and went with Mrs. Grant. In driving along Pennsylvania Avenue to the train, a horseman rode past us on a gallop, and back again, making the circuit of our carriage and looking into it. Mrs. Grant said, 'There is the man who sat near us at lunch to-day and tried to overhear our conversation. He was so rude that we left the dining room. He is now riding after us.' I thought it was only curiosity, but learned afterwards that it was Booth. It seems I was to have been attacked, and that Mrs. Grant's sudden resolve to leave, had deranged the plan. A few days afterwards I received an anonymous note from a man who said he had been detailed to kill me, had ridden on my train as far as Havre de Grace, but had failed to get into my car because it was locked. He thanked God he had failed. I remember that the conductor locked our car, but how true the letter was, I cannot say."

VALUE OF SERVICE.—"Personally I find no dissatisfaction with the estimate the Americans have placed on my services. I see no reason for dissatisfaction on the part of any of the chiefs of the army. But the South has been kinder to her soldiers than the North to those who composed her armies. In the South there is no surer way to public esteem than to have served in the army. In the North it is different. If you look at the roll of congress you will find that the list of Confederate officers has been steadily increasing, while the list of Federal officers has decreased. The only senators of high army rank I recall, are Burnside and Logan, and those in the House, are Banks, Butler and Garfield. It makes me melancholy to see this diminishing roll. While I would do nothing to revive unhappy memories in the South, I do not like to see our soldiers apologize for the war. Apart from emancipation and the triumph of the Union, it gave us a position as a nation among the nations of the world. That I have seen every day

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since I have been abroad, and to me it is one of the most gratifying results of the war. That alone was worth making a great sacrifice for."

PROMOTION.—"When the rebellion came I returned to the service because it was a duty. I had no thought of rank. All I did was to try to make myself useful. My first commission as brigadier came in the unanimous endorsement of the Illinois delegation. I did not know one of them except Washburne, and him not very well. It was only after Donelson that I began to see how important was the work that Providence devolved upon me. Yet after Donelson I was in disgrace and under arrest, because of some misunderstanding on the part of Halleck. It all came right in time. I never bore him ill will, and we remained friendly. He was in command and it was his duty to command as he pleased. But I do not know what would have become of it, so far as I was concerned, had not the country interfered. You see Donelson was our first clear victory and great enthusiasm came with it. The country saved me from Halleck's displeasure. When other commands came I always regretted them. I wrote Mr. Washburne opposing the bill to create the grade of Lieutenant-General with my name in connection with it. I did not want it. I found that the bill was right and I was wrong, when I came to command the Army of the Potomac—that a head was needed to the army. I did not want the Presidency and have never quite forgiven myself for resigning the command of the army to accept it; but it could not be helped. I owed my honors and opportunities to the Republican party and if my name could aid it I was bound to accept. The second nomination was almost due to me—if I may be pardoned the phrase—because of the bitterness of political and personal opponents. My re-election was a great gratification because it showed how the country felt Then came all the discussions about a third term. I was pressed to enter the canvass, and the pressure came from all

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sections. I said that under no circumstances would I be a candidate. Even if a nomination and election were assured I would not run. Both the nomination and election would have involved a struggle and my administration would have been crippled. This was the public view. I never wanted to get out of a place as much as I did to get out of the Presidency. Personally I was weary of office. For sixteen years, from the opening of the war, it had been a constant strain upon me. So when the third term was seriously presented to me I peremptorily declined it."

LEE.—"I never ranked Lee as high as some others in the army. I never had as much anxiety when he was in my front as when Joe Johnston was in front. Lee was a good man, a fair commander, who had everything in his favor. He was a man who needed sunshine. He was supported by the unanimous voice of the South. He was supported by a large party in the North. He had the sympathy of the outside world. All this is of immense advantage to a general. Lee had this in a remarkable degree. Everything he did was right. He was treated like a demi-god. Our generals had a hostile press, lukewarm friends, and a public opinion outside. The cry was in the air that the North only won by brute force; that the generalship and valor were with the South. This has gone into history with so many other illusions. Lee was of a slow, conservative, cautious nature, without imagination or humor; always the same, with grave dignity. I never could see in his achievements what justifies his reputation. The illusion that nothing but heavy odds beat him will not stand the ultimate light of history. I know it is not true. Lee was a good deal of a headquarters' general; a desk-general, from what I can hear, and from what his officers say. He was almost too old for active service—the best field service At the time of the surrender he was fifty-eight or nine His officers used to say that he posed himself, was retiring and exclusive, and that

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his headquarters were difficult of access. When Mr. Johnson, in the beginning of his administration, was making speeches, saying he had resolved to make all treason odious, and had made up his mind to arrest Lee and the leading Southern officers, I protested again and again. On one occasion Mr. Johnson asked why any military commander had a right to protect an arch-traitor from the laws? I was angry at this, and said that as General it was none of my business what he or Congress did with General Lee and his other commanders. He might do as he pleased about civil rights, confiscation and so on. That did not come within my province. But a general commanding troops had certain responsibilities and duties and powers, which are supreme. He must deal with the enemy in front of him so as to destroy him. He must either kill him, capture him, or parole him. His engagements are sacred so far as they lead to the destruction of the foe. I had made certain terms with Lee—the best and only terms. If I had told him and his army that their liberty would have been invaded, that they would be open to arrest, trial, and execution for treason, he would never have surrendered, and we would have lost many lives in destroying him. Now my terms of surrender were according to military law, and so long as Lee was observing his parole, I would never consent to his arrest. Mr. Seward nodded approval. I should have resigned my command of the army rather than have carried out any order directing me to arrest Lee or any of his commanders who were obeying the laws."

JEFFERSON DAVIS.—" Jefferson Davis did his best, did all that a man could do to save the Confederacy. The South was beaten from the beginning. There was no possible victory for any government resting on the platform of the Southern Confederacy. Just as soon as the war united and aroused the young men of the North, and called out the national feeling, there was no end but the end that came. Davis did all

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he could for his side, and how much he did no one knows better than those in the field. I am told he directed Hood's movement in the West. If so, he could not have done us a greater service. But that was an error of judgment. He is entitled to every honor bestowed on the South for gallantry and persistence. The attacks on him by his old followers are ignoble. The South fell because it was defeated. Lincoln destroyed it, not Davis."

REMINISCENCES.

OPENING THE CENTENNIAL.—President Grant opened the American Centennial of May 10th, 1876, at Philadelphia, by delivering the following oration, the original manuscript of which, in his own handwriting, is now in the possession of George W. Childs, of the *Ledger:*

"MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: It has been thought appropriate upon this Centennial occasion to bring together in Philadelphia for popular inspection specimens of our attainments in industrial and fine arts, and in literature, science and philosophy, as well as in the great business of agriculture and of commerce. That we may the more thoroughly appreciate the excellencies and deficiencies of our achievements, and also give emphatic expression to our earnest desire to cultivate the friendship of our fellow-members of this great family of nations, the enlightened agricultural, commercial and manufacturing people of the world have been invited to send hither corresponding specimens of their skill to exhibit on equal terms in friendly competition with our own. To this invitation they have generously responded; for so doing we render them our hearty thanks.

"The beauty and utility of the contributions will this day be submitted to your inspection by the managers of this Exhibition. We are glad to know that a view of specimens of the skill of all nations will afford to you unalloyed pleasure, as well as yield to you a valuable practical knowledge of so many of the remarkable results of the wonderful skill existing in enlightened commun ties.

"One hundred years ago our country was new and but partially settled. Our necessities have compelled us to chiefly expend our means and time in felling forests, subduing prairies, building dwellings, factories, ships, docks, warehouses, roads, canals, machinery, etc., etc. Most of our schools, churches, libraries and asylums, have been established within a hundred years. Burthened by these great

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primal works of necessity, which could not be pretermitted, we yet have done what this exhibition will show in the direction of rivaling older and more advanced nations in law, medicine and theology; in science, literature, philosophy and the fine arts. Whilst proud of what we have done, we regret that we have not done more. Our achievements have been great enough, however, to make it easy for our people to acknowledge superior merit wherever found.

"And now, fellow-citizens, I hope a careful examination of what is about to be exhibited to you will not only inspire you with a profound respect for the skill and taste of our friends from other nations, but also satisfy you with the attainments made by our own people during the past one hundred years. I invoke your generous co-operation with the worthy commissioners to secure a brilliant success to this International Exhibition, and to make the stay of our foreign visitors—to whom we extend a hearty welcome—both profitable and pleasant to them. I declare the International Exhibition now open."

THE GRANT PRESENTS.—The souvenirs and tokens of honor received by General Grant, at home and abroad, and which he designed to present to the Government at his death, were taken in execution by Mr. Vanderbilt and transferred in trust to Mrs. Grant. She immediately gave them to the Government. They passed into the hands of the Government on June 11th, 1885. They were valued at $100,000. The list is as follows:

Mexican onyx cabinet, presented to General Grant by the people of Pueblo, Mex.; aerolite, part of which passed over Mexico in 1871; Bronze vases, presented to General Grant by the people of Yokohama, Japan; marble bust and pedestal, presented by the working-men of Philadelphia; large elephant tusks, presented by the King of Siam; small elephant tusks, presented by the Maharajah of Johore; picture of General Scott, by Page, presented by gentlemen of New York; crackle-ware bowls (very old), presented by prince Koon, of China; cloisonne (old), presented by Li Hung Chang; Chinese porcelain jars (old), presented by Prince Koon, of China; Aroleian Bible; Coptic Bible, presented by Lord Napier, who captured it with King Theodore, of Abyssinia; sporting rifle; sword of Donelson, presented to General Grant after the fall of Fort Donelson, by officers of the army, and used by him to the end of the

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war; New York sword, voted to General Grant at a New York fair; sword of Chattanooga, presented by citizens of Jo-Daviess County Ill. (Galena), after the battle of Chattanooga; Roman mug and pitcher; silver menu and card, farewell dinner of San Francisco, Cal.; Silver menu of Paris dinner; horn and silver snuff box; Silver match box, used by General Grant; gold table, model after the table in Mr. McLean's house, on which General R. E. Lee signed the articles of surrender, and presented to General Grant by ex-Confederate soldiers: gold cigar cases, from the Celestial and second Kings of Siam; gold-handled knife, presented by miners of Idaho Territory; silver trowel, used by General Grant in laying the corner-stone of the Museum of Natural History, New York; knife made at Sheffield for General Grant; General Grant's gold pen; embroidered picture (cock and hen), presented by citizens of Japan; field-glasses, used by General Grant during the war; iron-headed cane, made from the rebel ram Merrimac; silver-headed cane, from wood used in defense of Fort Sumpter; gold-headed cane, made out of wood from old Fort Duquesne, Pa.; gold-headed cane, presented in token of General Grant's humanity during the war; gold-headed cane, used by Lafayette, and presented by the ladies of Baltimore; carved wood cane, from estate of Sir Walter Scott; uniform as general of the United States army; fifteen buttons, cut from his coats during the war by Mrs. Grant, after various battles; shoulder-straps (brigadier general), worn by General Grant at Belmont, Fort Donelson and Shiloh, and straps of lieutenant general, cut from the coat used by General Grant in the campaigns against Richmond, Petersburg and Lee's army; medal (gold), from the American Congress for opening the Mississippi; gold medal from Philadelphia; forty-five medals in gold, silver and bronze; collection of Japanese coin, the only complete set except one in the Japanese Treasury. Seven of these pieces cost $5,000. Presented by the government of Japan; warrant as cadet at West

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Point, and army commissions from brevet second lieutenant to that of General of the United States Army.

The list concludes with sixty-seven papers and mementoes, comprising addresses, honorary society commissions and resolutions of respect, as well as the freedom of cities presented abroad.

GEORGE W. CHILDS' REMINISCENCES.—"The last time I saw General Grant was in March, 1885, at his home in New York. While we were chatting I observed that it was half-past eleven o'clock, and the General said: 'I suppose the Senate is adjourning now.' Just then I received a telegram from Mr. Drexel, stating that General Grant had been placed on the retired list. 'There, General,' said I, 'read that.' A smile of pleasure illuminated his countenance, and for a moment he appeared unable to speak. Mrs. Grant entered the room, and I told her the news. With a beaming face she cried out: 'They have brought us back our old commander.' The scene was very affecting. The General could hardly express the delight he felt at the compliment which had been paid to him. He bore not the slightest ill-will toward those who had opposed the bill, for he is the most magnanimous man I ever knew.

"The greatest soldier that ever lived, he is as kind and gentle as a woman. He frequently told me how much it pained him to be accused of butchery. He said he was always overcome by a feeling of sadness before a battle at the thought that many a poor fellow would never return from the field. He is generous to a fault, and has given away a fortune in charities. In this, like in everything else, he was modest. The same modesty that prevented him from asking for an appointment or a promotion caused him to maintain silence concerning his gifts to the needy.

"I remember that when he was on one of his visits to me during his Presidency a great many people called here to ask

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favors of him. Not caring to have him worried, I refused admittance to all whom I suspected of being on an errand of that kind. One day a lady who lived in the same block—in fact, only a few doors from my house—called and asked to see him. 'You may see her, General,' I said, laughing; 'I guess she is not after an appointment.' He came back in a little while and said, 'You were wrong; she was after an appointment.' I looked at him in astonishment, and he explained that the lady wanted him to transfer the sister-in-law of Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, from the Mint, where she was then employed, and where the work was too hard for her, to the Treasury Department. He requested me to see the Assistant United States Treasurer in this city and ask him to give her a position. I did so, and the Assistant Treasurer told me he had no vacancy. 'General Grant's request is law, however,' said he, 'and I can make room for the lady by removing another who has no need for a position here.' This was done, and some time afterward I met a son of Mrs. Stanton (the latter was dead at the time), who thanked me for getting his aunt the appointment. 'General Grant appointed her,' said I. 'Oh, no,' said he, 'General Grant himself told me that you had gotten the appointment for her.' This is characteristic of the General, who is continually doing good and giving others the credit.

"He loves Philadelphia, and has a great many friends here. As an example of his esteem for Philadelphians, I will tell you of something that is not known to any one but the General, the interested parties, and myself. Mr. A. E. Borie was not the only Philadelphian who was offered a Cabinet position by General Grant. Four other gentlemen in this city were requested to become members of his Cabinet. They declined, and the matter was never made public. They are still living in this city, and one of them has held a very high position.

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"It was at my recommendation that General Grant took the cottage at Long Branch. It adjoins mine, and there is no fence between the two properties. There the General has spent some of the happiest days of his life. He usually got up about seven o'clock in the morning, ate his breakfast, and then took a drive of about twenty miles. He went alone in his buggy. On his return, he would look over his mail and read the newspapers. He dined at two o'clock generally, although for some years his dinner hour was seven, with a lunch at two.

"After the meal at two o'clock he took another drive, and in the evening he sat on the porch and chatted with friends, many of whom visited him. We called on each other every day, and he sometimes strolled over to my cottage and talked with me while he enjoyed his cigar.

"While the General is fond of a fast horse, he never visited the race course at Long Branch, and never entered a gambling house. He told of a laughable incident that occurred to him while taking one of his twenty-mile drives. On the road, a short distance ahead of him, he saw a countryman driving a mean-looking horse with a shabby buggy. Determined not to take the dust from such a sorry turnout, he gave his horse the head and tried to pass. But the countryman also loosed the lines and held his position. After quite an exciting race, the General saw he was beaten, and pulled up his horse. The countryman turned in his seat, and, waving his hand, said, with a laugh, 'I made you take my dust, General,' and drove off. The General enjoyed the joke on himself very much, and said he would like to meet that man again, but he never did.

"The last time General Grant appeared in public was at Ocean Grove. Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, was with him, and the Governor told me that when the cheers of ten thousand people rang out at the sight of the old hero, he turned around and saw the tears coursing slowly down the General's cheeks.

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"I thought it would be very hard for him to stop smoking when his physicians prohibited it. His indomitable will made the matter easy to him, however. 'Did you find it difficult to give up the weed?' I asked him. 'It was hard during the first two days,' he replied, 'but after that I did not mind it. I have no desire to smoke again.'

"It has been said that Hamilton Fish wrote the speech the General made at the opening of the Centennial Exhibition. General Grant wrote that speech in this house, and I have the original manuscript."

BEECHER'S PORTRAIT.—This tribute was paid to General Grant at prayer-meeting in Plymouth church, when his death was expected in April, 1885. "General Grant is at death's door. It may be weeks, it may be months, it may be hours. I cannot help praying for him. I pray for him as I go along the street. I do not pray that he may be saved—that is as the Lord wills. Going or staying is the same for him or for me, except that the part for him will be glory, for I trust that General Grant in the essential elements of his character is Christian. There are some remarkable things about him. No man ever heard Grant speak an irreverent word. No man ever heard General Grant, even in the narration of a story, use profane language. Never on the battle-field, never in those exigencies where men are provoked, did any man ever hear General Grant speak a word that was not in moderation and good faith. I believe that the essential elements of his character are based upon religion, and he is altogether a church-going man; he has always believed in it. See what a wonderful career he has had in the latter part of his life. His has been a hard life all the way through. His early life was not a pleasant one—I mean after he left West Point. I need not say anything about that great civil war, where he was the Atlas upon whose shoulders the nation rested. What toil! If he had not had an iron constitution it would have broken

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him down. When he came out of it and went to the Presidency, for which he had never had any training, and where his mistakes lay in fidelity to friends, he showed a great magnanimity of character. He does not doubt friends easily. If he takes hold of one he sticks to him, and he is in that regard credulous. And so his credulity was abused. The mistakes of his administration lay at the door of the good qualities of the man. I have been with him a good deal and I have never heard him say a bad word about any human being. I have never heard him utter a sentiment that might not become a judge sitting coolly and calmly on the bench. He came out from his public relations and entered into business, and then storm came upon him. It struck him just where it was hardest to bear. It made him, as it were, the derision of men for the time. And, as in the war and in the Presidential chair, he opened not his mouth in detraction, not even in answer, but stood and bore whatever was laid upon him. In all his financial troubles, never a murmuring word! And then came disease, fateful disease, slowly undermining—going steadily down, down, and not a murmur! Sublime instance of fortitude and patience! I cannot help praying for him in my thoughts. My thoughts rise up round about the throne in his behalf."

To this vivid portrait Mr. Beecher added the concluding touches, on the announcement of General Grant's death, thus:—"The judgment we pass upon the commander should be based not alone on his success; we should consider, in General Grant's case, what he had to manage and what he had to overcome, the nature of his conflict and its enormous scope, the wide stretching field of his operations, the volume and the vastness of his armies, and the potent factor shown in the fire and devotion and courage of the Southern men, and the relative apathy and slowness—not to say torpidity—of the North. The conditions I name have to be taken into account in trying to arrive at a fair estimate of Grant's greatness and

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the grandeur of his military conceptions and combinations. He came to power through a series of wonderful successes at Donelson, at Vicksburg, at Missionary Ridge. But still, when called to the supreme generalship it was not to find a concentrated, centralized military force at command. It was his work to carry into effect the grand policy of centralization, and under him all the operations in the West, in the Middle States, in the East, became parts of one great plan, powerful and harmonious. Grant's was the genius, the very highest genius, of common sense developed in military affairs. With all due credit to his subordinate generals, and after all the detractions that mean and unjust criticisms have made or can make, still Grant must be regarded as the greatest general who has appeared on our shores or that in this age has appeared in any land. It is very difficult, I take it, to give now any detailed estimate of General Grant as a man separate from his profession. He was an anomaly among American men, in that he had simplicity and modesty almost ununderstandable among the people and the age in which he lived. The character of his mind was such as to leave his perceptions almost untouched by emotion, by imagination, by political feeling, or by any sensitiveness to praise or blame. He possessed the pure crystalline vision of a practical intellect. He saw things as they were in the world, unswerved by the mobile conceptions of the human soul. He was not daunted by fear; he was not excited by hope. Imagination did not magnify his vision. He was cool, calm, clear-sighted, correct. Neither, I think, have we ever had in history a mind more generous, disinterested and magnanimous. Grant had the power of hating bad men. But even that hatred he never exhibited in an offensive way. He had not the knack of petulance or anger. One cannot even perceive any undue impatience or anger when overruled by the jealousy of Halleck or in other trying times. The success of any subordinate pleased him;

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the advancement of other men never provoked him to jealousy. When the names of Thomas, McPherson, Sherman, Sheridan and the rest of the list of his fellow-heroes were mentioned in his presence it always brought beams of pleasure to his eyes, and an unlimited number of instances might be recorded of his generous thoughts of all his compeers. And in this disposition of their chief I think existed largely the influence which led to harmony among the leading Union generals, a harmony that led to results great and magnificent. If it had ever been possible for any man to have excited the jealousy of Grant it would most likely have been that brilliant soldier, Sherman. But two devoted brothers could not have got along together better or more harmoniously than did these great captains, bound by mutual love and confidence. In the soldier's last sickness and death has been consummated, I believe, what his sword made pathway for. North and South clasping hands above the bier of the hero—not the North's but the Nation's hero—testify that the end is come to strife of section, and that fraternity and union are here at last. Grant has not died in vain. The United States have just occasion for pride in his fame. In the midst of great successes and boundless praises, maintaining his modest demeanor and great simplicity and singular honesty and manliness, he was a man to be loved by those who were near, and admired by those afar off—his a name to be celebrated as the greatest on the horizon of American history."

REMINISCENCES BY GENERAL BEALE.—"Yes, I have been a very intimate friend of General Grant for the past fifteen years. My first acquaintance with him was not a personal one, however. It was through the news of his victories at Donelson. We were then in California, where everything was cast in gloom. We had no railroads, nor telegraph, and all the previous news we had was that everything was going against us. We felt as if we were sitting on a powder maga-

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zine which was apt to explode at any moment. When we heard of Grant's victories we felt that a man had arrived at last who could save his country.

"Later, my acquaintance with General Grant ripened into the warmest friendship. To say that I considered him a great man does not express it. He was the greatest man I know of. He fought and won battles the like of which have never occurred in modern or ancient history. Everybody is familiar with his military and other public achievements; but in his private life, his personal characteristics shone with equal brilliancy.

"His three most prominent and admirable traits were guilelessness of character, even temperament and great magnanimity. As I said, and as you know, my friendship with General Grant was of the most intimate nature. In all my daily companionship with him, at home or abroad, I never heard General Grant make a remark which could not be repeated with propriety before a room full of ladies. His character was wholly pure and free from guile.

"I ought not to refer to the reports that he drank to excess, for they are too senseless and untrue, but I will say that during the whole period that I have known him, in riding to and from my farm near this city two or three times a week, in dining at the same table, in walking the streets of Paris until 2 o'clock in the morning for amusement, I have never seen him when he wasn't as clear-headed as you and I are now.

"His even disposition was something wonderful to me, and I have seen him tried almost beyond endurance. He never cursed and swore at people, and he never lost control of himself. He was always able to do what he considered right.

"I saw him once, while at a white heat of vexation in the library at the White House, put personal prejudices and wishes aside and do his duty without question. He had been

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abused and slandered by a certain person to such an extent that he could only recognize him as a personal and bitter enemy. The question arose whether that person should be nominated to the Senate or not for a position. I knew all the circumstances and said to General Grant:

"'What are you going to do about it?'

"'Do about it?' he repeated. 'I will send his name to the Senate. He has deserved his appointment by his services to his country, and no personal ill feeling on my part shall prevent his obtaining what he deserves.

"He sat down and signed the nomination and it was sent to the Senate at once. He was generous in the extreme. It was always difficult for him to refuse requests made of him. I could tell you instances of his great kindness of heart which you would scarcely believe, but little things will show this trait as well as great ones.

"When General Grant has been a visitor at my house children would overwhelm him with requests for his autograph. Often when we would return home late at night from some reception, tired and sleepy, on his table would be a pile of autograph albums a foot or two high. Mrs. Beale would say: 'Come, General, it is time to retire. You are tired and need rest. Don't stop to write in those books to-night, but wait till morning.' 'No,' General Grant would reply, 'I'll do it to-night. These books belong to little children and they will stop for them on their way to school in the morning and I don't want to disappoint them,' and he would write in every one.

"He had a wonderful faculty as a writer. His mind grasped the whole subject, and he wrote without hesitation. I have seen him write for hours without stopping for a word. He made fewer corrections in his writing than any one I ever knew.

"During his military experiences he had learned that it was his duty to do the engineering and planning and to leave the

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details to his lieutenants. In this way he became accustomed to placing the most implicit confidence in those near him, for he supposed they would do their duty as he would do his. So that to confidence in others alone can his terrible misfortunes in New York be attributed. I can understand why some people should criticize and disagree with General Grant, particularly military men, but I can't understand how a man could deliberately plot to ruin him.

"General Grant was very fond of Washington, and always looked forward to returning here. Indeed, he was drawn to New York only that he might not be separated from his sons, who were in business there. That the people of Washington were fond of General Grant there is no doubt. A walk down the avenue any day showed that. Nothing but kindly greetings and friendly bows on every side. Washington City should claim his remains. His reputation is national. You and I have just as much individual ownership in it as we have in the public buildings. This is the national centre, and everything of national character belongs here. What more fitting resting place for his remains could be found than the centre of the large circle south of the White House, beneath the shadows of the Washington Monument?"

PORTER'S REMINISCENCES.—The following by General Horace Porter, who was on Grant's staff during the war and his intimate friend ever after, is full of historic value: "He was cast in a different mould from any of the historical generals. I think he was the most ready man I have ever known. Persons have come to him while busy and asked for letters upon some subject, and, instead of putting it off, General Grant would most always immediately write what was requested, and it would be as clear and compact as though done by some literary man who had studied it out and revised it twice. I recall an instance of General Grant's readiness in emergency. On the night of the second day of the Wilderness fight, when

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Sedgwick's corps had been broken and Shaler and Seymour captured, General Grant staid in his headquarters and listened to fast coming reports of perplexity and trouble, but he turned to one and another, and talked off his orders with as much precision and display of judgment as though he had been studying that unexpected situation for two months, and all who saw him watched and listened and wondered.

"And again, General Grant was called upon to give a hearing unexpectedly in a case he had not before heard of. The case involved a quantity of cotton, and in its decision it also involved questions of international and maritime law, and also of contraband laws and cotton in foreign bottoms. Well, the lawyers came before the General and argued at length, and when they had done he turned and rendered a decision that left no room for further argument, so clear and cogent were its points. Afterward one of the lawyers came to me and asked me where that man, meaning the General, had studied law; but I told him General Grant had never studied law, and his comprehensive grasp and information were facts that I could tell nothing about. I never saw him angry but once, and that was when he saw a brutal fellow clubbing a horse over the head. The General seized the man, told him he was a brute and punished him for impudence, of which he was guilty to the General, but I never heard him utter an oath nor any approach to it, and I was with him nine years without ever being away from him more than two weeks. General Grant was a splendid rider, and a fine whip as well. He could ride forty or fifty miles and come in perfectly fresh, and tire out younger men. He was much attached to a little horse that was called Jeff Davis, because he was secured on Jeff Davis' plantation. He was an easy animal to ride, and was easily guided through ins and outs, but when fording streams, 'Jeff' was at a disadvantage. There was besides a noble, big, bay-colored fellow named Cincinnati, which General

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Grant used to ride. That horse would ford a stream magnificently.

"It was on little Jeff that General Grant, accompanied by myself and an orderly, rode out to the front on the morning when there was that hour of delay in the explosion of our mine at Petersburg. The General wore a little blue blouse that morning, and many of the men as we passed to the front did not know that its wearer was General Grant. The firing was getting very heavy, and I suggested that we dismount, because we could get about much easier. I did not say that the firing was terrific, for that would have been to him no argument for dismounting. So we dismounted, the orderly holding little Jeff by the bridle, and then General Grant made his way through the lines and works clear out to the front, where the firing was heavy, indeed; but he was a man who never winked in the face of missles, and the only one of two men I ever saw who would not involuntarily do so. The other was a bugler. General Grant was a free, easy-going, accessible sort of a man —a man of the people. He enjoyed being among his men during the war, and in private life, when riding in a special car perhaps, he would go forward and take half a seat with some passenger in the front car when he wanted to smoke. It is sad, sad, that, with ten ripe years naturally before him, such a man should needs be taken, and I think the loss will be more appreciated by the people as time goes on."

CRESWELL'S PORTRAIT.—Hon. J. A. J. Creswell, a member of Grant's cabinet, thus pictures his old friend:

"I had more admiration for General Grant than for any man I ever saw, and it grieves me to the soul that he should be ending his days in suffering. I knew Lincoln and I knew Stanton, and these two, with Grant, make the distinguished trio—Grant the great soldier, Stanton the executive officer and Lincoln the great arbiter.

"Grant's qualities of true manliness were more pronounced

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than those of any man I ever knew. In all my close relations with him while I was a member of his Cabinet, I never heard him say a harsh or petty thing, never heard him speak impulsively or use a profane word. His relations with his family were most delightful and charming. There never was a kinder or more indulgent father, and I never saw a more devoted couple than General and Mrs. Grant. Of course, everybody knows how he loved his daughter. The meeting between them the other day was very touching, and the emotion shown by the old warrior exhibited the depth of his affection.

"General Grant's great characteristic, however, was his sublime and unflinching courage. It was of that kind that no impression could be made upon it by opposition. He discharged his duties always without selfishness, never stopping to consider how an action would affect him personally. All he wanted to know was, 'What is just? What is right?' I remember an instance of this kind at the time we had a postal treaty with Japan, which gave us almost entire control of the Japanese postal service. When their relations grew more intimate with us and with other nations, they desired to have charge of their own service, and took steps in that direction.

"After the Japanese Minister had talked with me about a treaty to that effect, I went to Grant and laid the matter before him. I found that he had but one idea, to do what was right and just toward Japan. I pointed out to him that if he should sign such a treaty, we would be surrendering our control of the Japanese service, and would be subjected to severe criticism, especially on the Pacific coast. 'But isn't it right?' was his reply, 'Can there be any doubt about it?' I told him I only wanted to advise him of the consequences. He was satisfied that the treaty was just and he signed it.

"Grant never lost his head. When we came so near being engaged in a war with Spain on account of the Virginius affair, there was a good deal of excitement at the Cabinet meeting,

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and a war with Spain was imminent. Grant knew what was meant, and by his coolness and sound judgment prevented it. He was assisted in this by the Spanish representative in this country, who was a naval officer. He, too, knew what fighting meant, and these two really prevented a war.

"In circumstances when most men would be apt to lose their heads, on the field of battle, for instance, Grant's mind seemed all the more stronger and clearer. Rawlins told me once that in the confusion of the battle-field, Grant's orders were more explicit and clearer than when everything was quiet. He seemed never to get confused. I asked Grant once if, when giving orders for an engagement, he was not appalled by the great loss of life which would ensue. He replied, 'No, it was war, but I realized what it meant. I never gave an order until I was satisfied that it was the best course to pursue, and then I was willing to shoulder the responsibility.' He added that many men failed as commanders simply because of an unwillingness to assume this responsibility.

"He wrote with great facility. His style, like his character, was the embodiment of directness. He used few metaphors, and little ornamentation, and never two words where one would do, preferring Saxon words to Latin or French. He never hesitated for a word, and always went right to the point. He wrote all his own papers—notwithstanding the reports to the contrary—and all his messages were framed and written by him.

"He had a very quick eye, and it was surprising to me how he could take in the whole topography at a glance. I remember once when he was visiting me at my farm, I took him a long drive around the country. I took a by-road, intending to strike the main road, but missed my way. Finally I laughingly confessed it. 'Where did you want to go?' he asked. 'I wanted to strike a road which would take me to the village which lies in that direction.' He stood up in the buggy, and, looking

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over the surrounding country, said, 'If you will let down the fence here, drive over this field and then through that gate up yonder, I think you'll strike the road you want on that ridge.' 'Why do you think so?' I asked. 'Well, you say the village is in that direction' (pointing); 'Up there I see quite a settlement. The people who live there will have a way to reach the village, and they couldn't find a better way than along that ridge.'

"I did as he advised, and found the road just where he said I would. I expressed surprise at his accuracy, and he replied: 'It is part of my business to find roads. A good soldier should be able, by seeing a portion of the country, to form a good judgment of what the rest is.'

"Now, about Grant's third term project, he didn't desire to be President a third term for any glory or reputation, but his sole object was to reconcile the North and South, and I think he would have done it thoroughly. The solid South would have been a thing of the past.

"I think his body should be buried at the Soldiers' Home. Nothing could be more appropriate than that the grave of the greatest soldier of the age should be in the Soldiers' Home.

A SICK-ROOM SKETCH.—The following sketch of the sick-room situation was drawn by a particular friend just before the removal to Mt. McGregor: "His physical sufferings began with his fall a year ago last December. Since then he has suffered terribly—no one knows how much, for he never complains. After that fall, when he injured his hip, pleurisy set in. It was a severe attack. Then he began to suffer from neuralgia, with intense pains in the head. His system had been shocked by the fall. The neuralgia helped to reduce it. As a means of relieving the neuralgia, he had several teeth drawn. He refused to take an anæsthetic, and had them drawn at one sitting. That exercise of his wonder-

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ful will, in his then debilitated condition, gave the system another shock, from which it could not rally. Then this terrible disease of the tongue appeared. It has been a steady drain upon him, reducing his flesh rapidly and weakening him beyond any former experience. But he has stood it all without a murmur, just as he has taken all the reverses and trials of his life. To see him wasting and sinking in this way is more touching, and excites deeper sympathy among his friends, than if he made some sign of his sufferings, as ordinary men do, by grumbling and complaint.

"The thing from which he has suffered most of late is insomnia. I said it seemed strange that he should suffer from that, as he had always been a remarkably good sleeper. I reminded him that on the field, no matter what the weather or how heavily charged he might be with responsibilities, sometimes with a battle on his hands for the next day, I had seen him drop down in the mud and rain and be sound asleep in two minutes. He meant always to get eight hours' sleep. He said it was a strange thing to him that he could not sleep, and that he regretted nothing so much. During my calls I have seen him more often in his sleeping-room than elsewhere. He usually sits in an easy chair. Another is rolled up close to it, facing it. On the second chair he stretches his legs. As the neuralgic pains still trouble him, he wears a knit cap nearly all the time. When the pains are specially severe, very hot cloths are applied to the head. They bring relief quicker than anything else. In talking, he tries to speak without moving the tongue. This interferes with enunciation, but it saves him pain. He could enunciate well enough if it were not for this effort to keep the tongue motionless. Of course, talking is tiresome. He tries to do a good deal of it, but is discouraged by his family and the physicians."

WALT WHITMAN'S PICTURE.—"I too, am willing and anxious to bear testimony to the departed General. Now

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that Grant is dead it seems to me that I may consider him as one of those examples or models for the people and character-formation of the future, age after age—always to me the most potent influence of a really distinguished character—greater than any personal deeds or life, however important they may have been. I think General Grant will stand the test perfectly through coming generations. True, he had no artistic or poetical element; but he furnished the concrete of those elements for imaginative use, perhaps beyond any man of the age. He was not the finely painted portrait itself, but the original of the portrait. What we most need in America are grand individual types, consistent with our own genius. The West has supplied two superb native illustrations in Lincoln and Grant. Incalculable as their deeds were for the practical good of the nation for all time, I think their absorption into the future as elements and standards will be the best part of them.

"Washington and all those noble early Virginians were, strictly speaking, English gentlemen of the royal era of Hampden, Pym and Milton, and such it was best that they were for their day and purposes. No breath of mine shall ever tarnish the bright, eternal gold of their fame. But Grant and Lincoln are entirely native on our own model, current and Western. The best of both is their practical, irrefragable proof of radical Democratic institutions—that it is possible for any good average American farmer or mechanic to be taken out of the ranks of the common millions and put in the position of severest military or civic responsibility and fully justify it all for years, through thick and thin. I think this the greatest lesson of our national existence so far.

"Then, the incredible romance of Grant's actual career and life! In all Homer and Shakspeare there is no fortune or personality really more picturesque or rapidly changing, more full of heroism, pathos, contrast."

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ANECDOTES.

These are many, illustrating the different phases of his character. A few only can be given, as samples of the whole.

"*EBERY TING GOING RIGHT, SAH*".—On one of the hottest days in August, 1864, Lieutenant-General Grant

QUESTIONING GENERAL GRANT.

rode up to the City Point Hospital and asked for a drink of water. A cup of lemonade sweetened with brown sugar was handed him with the remark, "We have no water, General.

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This is the lemonade we give the men in the hospitals." The General drank it, declared it could not be better, and then shook hands with the delegates who crowded around him. Asking for his accustomed light and turning to mount, a negro employee pushed his way through the crowd, and extending his enormous hand, said:

"How dedo Gin-ral Grant?"

The words were spoken with deference, and the man's appearance showed he was not attracted by idle curiosity. The General shook the hand warmly.

"How am tings going, Gin-ral?"

It was just after the fatal mine explosion at Petersburg, and there was great depression and anxiety among the colored people. The General quieted his fears by,

"O, everything is going right, sir."

The negro bowed politely, his eyes beaming with gratitude. Backing out of the circle and returning cheerfully to work, he was asked where he had been.

"Been to see Gin-ral Grant, sah."

"What did he have to say?"

"Said eberyting was going right, sah."

In a short time the General's sentence was on the lips of the entire colored population of City Point, and it was astonishing how in a few hours it revived the spirits of the disheartened race.

HIS CONSIDERATION.—The first time General Grant left Culpeper for Washington a special train was made up to accommodate the sick and those on leave of absence. One passenger car in the train was reserved for the General and the two or three officers with him. All the cars except this one were soon crowded, and many soldiers were standing on the platform. Grant and his officers, all plainly dressed, entered their car without attracting attention. The General was sitting alone on the side of the car next to the platform

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and near the door, when a soldier came to the door and was told by the guard that he could not come into that car. General Grant asked the guard what the man wanted, and was told that he wanted to go to Washington. The General then asked why he was not permitted to come into the car, and was answered that "This car is a special car for General Grant and his staff." The General replied quickly, "Let him come in. I only occupy one seat in this car." This was the first intimation the guard had that General Grant and his staff were in the car. The General then asked what the other men were doing who were standing out on the platform, and being told that they wanted to go to Washington, he said, "Let all who can crowd in get in." The car was soon filled, one private soldier taking a seat beside the General and engaging him in conversation nearly all the way to Alexandria, not knowing with whom he was talking.

HIS GENEROSITY.—When General Grant was President one of his nearest friends, who is now dead, went to ex-Congressman Paige to ask a loan of $3000. This friend said he had an affair in the War Department that would net him $50,000, which would certainly go through if Grant would approve it. This gentleman counted upon Grant's approval as absolute. Paige told him: "I will let you have the money, but you may be sure that he will not approve it unless it is right." Time passed on. The note given for the loan was promptly met. Paige, meeting the borrower upon the street soon after, said to him: "I see your War Department matter got through all right, as the note was very promptly met." The debtor shook his head. "How did you pay, then?" was asked. "I will tell you in confidence," was the reply. "After I obtained the money from you I went directly to the President. I said to him: 'You know I am poor. With a stroke of your pen you can make me rich. I am related to you by the closest ties of blood and association. You cannot refuse

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me.' I then explained the matter. Grant said he could not do it. It would not be right. Seeing me very much cast down, he asked me if I was in debt. I explained that I was in debt $3000—your note, and could not meet it. He at once wrote me his check for that amount without a word. It was that check which took up your note." Mr. Paige afterward investigated his story carefully, and, having confidential relations with the cashier of the bank where the note was paid, was able to verify its truth.

BEATING STANTON.—Washington circles were very uneasy when Lee detached Early for the Valley campaign, and Grant had great trouble with his telegraphic orders, which the Secretary of War took the liberty of modifying to suit the desperate situation. Grant came up to look into the matter. Finding what the trouble was, and knowing that Stanton was a very determined man, he called on Mr. Lincoln and took him along to the War Department. Arriving there he made a plain statement of the case and asked the Secretary if he was correct. Stanton admitted that he was, but plead that he was doing what he thought was best for the safety of Washington. Grant turned to Mr. Lincoln and said, "Well, Mr. President, all I have to say is that there cannot be two commanders of the army. I guess I shall have to resign." Mr. Lincoln sat for a moment nursing his knees, and then looking up, in a good-natured but firm voice, said, " Mr. Secretary, I guess we'd better let Grant run the machine." The General had no complaint to make of Stanton from that hour.

THE GENERAL SURRENDERS.—It was early in the war, and in November, just after Grant had gotten his commission as brigadier. A young soldier was on guard at headquarters. It was a cold, quiet duty, and the young guard, a mere boy of sixteen, fell asleep. The General came down the stairway, and, seeing the sleeping sentinel, asked, " What are you doing there ? "

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"I'm the guard," answered the frightened boy.

"An excellent guard, indeed! Do you know where you are?"

"At General Grant's headquarters, sir."

"Stand up, then! Stand up straight! Bring your gun to a shoulder!" The General staid with him for fully ten minutes, showing him how to perform. Then he asked how long he had been in the army. The boy said only a few days. "Well," said the General, "you have been guilty of a very serious offence. I am General Grant, and I have power to punish you. I will let you off this time, but remember that all orders and all discipline must be strictly obeyed here."

A few days after, the boy was put on guard on a steamboat loaded with provisions and ammunition, with orders to allow no one with lighted pipe or cigar to come near. Grant came rushing on to the gang-plank with his cigar in his mouth.

"Halt!" cried the guard, bringing his gun to his shoulder.

The General, not thinking of his cigar, was surprised, and, being in a hurry, was annoyed. But the boy remained firm. On being remonstrated with, he said, "I have had a lesson from General Grant himself, who says all orders must be obeyed to the letter. No one can approach this boat with a lighted cigar."

The General smiled, threw his cigar in the river, and crossed the gang-plank.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

THE DYING HERO.

IN the winter of 1883–84 General Grant had the misfortune to slip on an icy pavement near his home in New York and to badly sprain, if not dislocate, his hip joint. This was the beginning of a series of physical troubles.

Up to that time he had been of robust constitution. This accident confined him to the house for a long time, and, as may well be supposed, with a man of his activity and energy, the confinement grew to be exceedingly irksome.

The summer brought only partial relief. True, he could make out to get back and forth from the city to his cottage at Long Branch, but he was forced to use crutches all the time, and walked, even then, only with great difficulty and amid much pain. It was plain to those who knew him intimately that his system had received a shock from which recovery was exceedingly slow.

He was past sixty years of age. The recuperative powers of youth were gone. The hardships and exposures of two wars, which a good constitution had hitherto withstood, were now coming in on the first moment of weakness, to tantalize him with their cruel remembrance of aches and pains. But he was fighting a plucky battle against his years and the results of his accident—fighting grimly, quietly, uncomplainingly, as he had been wont to do when the fate of armies was in his hands.

That he would have come around all right in time none doubted. His will was unimpaired, and it was helping the

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body at all its weak points. But now it was to receive a blow —a sudden, fearful, shattering blow.

The year 1884 brought the Grant-Ward failure, with its train of blights and woes. To General Grant it was by far the hardest blow of his life. He had intended to settle down in Washington—which city he loved—after his return from his "Tour Around the World," but he went to New York City, that he might be near his sons, who were in business there. The fatherly instinct weighed against all his previous plans for a quiet, retired life. He was a model family man in all his acts and prepossessions.

Once in New York, and amid its business hurly burly, possessed of means supposed to be ample for every personal want, with something over for investment should opportunity offer, endowed with a name and credit which would prove a tower of strength to any legitimate enterprise, and which amid financial sharpers would naturally be sought to bolster up failing or doubtful enterprises, it would have been something wonderful if he had escaped fleecing and disaster.

At an untoward and unsuspecting moment he loaned his name and credit to the banking-house which proved the maelstrom in which his fortune perished, and which literally drowned his peace of mind, turned his hopes into despair, impaired his invincible will, threw him up on the hostile shore of years a princely man, but, as to property in his own name, a beggar. The world hath it that he was the victim of his own generosity, his unsuspecting nature, his wonderfully child-like faith in those to whom he was attached by blood, or was attracted toward by the relations of friendship, politics or business. Let the world's verdict stand. It does him ample justice. Hard and cold are the laws and sentiments of trade. They may exclaim, "Where was his tact, his shrewdness, his ability to turn a sharp corner, his power to squeeze himself out

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from among falling financial timbers, or that acumen which ought, in the first place, to have protected him from misuse of his name and credit?" But humanity is broader far than these narrow, hard and cold laws. And its judgment is higher and quite as unerring. It is nobler to have erred on the side of faith in one's fellow-man, even at the cost of fortune, than to have succeeded at the sacrifice of every manly trait, every god-like gift of character.

Grant's business failure was not his own. It was arrant, inexcusable abuse of his confidence and credit by men who knew their value, and who were without a conscience to check their use of them. Yet the consequences were much the same to him—worse, if anything. He came in for his share of criticism and denunciation at a time when his true relationship to the exploded firm was not understood. This galled him beyond precedent. It was no time for him to speak—quite too early for the vindication which time and a better understanding of the situation alone could bring. He was physically weak, almost a helpless cripple. Despite his natural heroism, and consciousness of strict business rectitude on his part, the great fear seized him that a cloud was about to gather over his last days which would obscure the lustre of his setting sun. He was no longer the Grant of the olden time, but a quieter, more retired, more seriously thoughtful Grant—a Grant weighed down by a crushing inward thought which, however much it may have been temporarily lifted in public, pursued and ground him in private.

Could that Herculean will which had for a long time been fighting against physical infirmity stand this new and unexpected strain? Alas, no! Yet this flood was not all. Tumultuous and dire came the announcement that he had been made personally liable for great amounts—as an active partner in a concern toward which he had all along supposed he only bore the relationship of special or silent partner. He

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was in the direct line of wreck, and responsible for far more than he was worth, though supposably responsible for only the amount originally placed to the credit of the firm. Financial destruction lay directly across his path unless forsooth at the expense of long legal proceedings and the assertion of technical law points. For these he had no mind. He would neither quibble nor question the fate that had overtaken him. He stood in the breach with his all, and all was swept away—houses, lands, personal investments of every kind.

This crisis in General Grant's life has been purposely distorted and very much misrepresented. It is a fatality due to ignorance and a keen love of the morbid that the great are made to suffer amid disaster out of all proportion to their greatness. Perhaps the exact relation of Grant to the firm of Grant & Ward will ever be misunderstood. There may ever be some who will refuse to hold him innocent for purely selfish or speculative reasons. It is a matter which history can do but little with, for history deals only with facts, not with opinions and prejudices.

The best embodiment of facts connected with the affair is found in General Grant's own sworn testimony, taken in his sick room, in order that it might be used in the courts in case he should die. Its substance is as follows:

"He supposed he was legally a member of the firm of Grant & Ward, though up to the time of the failure he regarded himself as only a special partner. In May, 1884, he thought himself as worth well on to a million dollars, but his income from it was small. He went into the firm because he regarded his partners as reputable brokers, and with a view to increasing his income. He was seldom consulted about the management of affairs and trusted implicitly to his partners. Once when consulted about government contracts he opposed taking them, and they were never taken with his knowledge. The profits he had been led to expect from the firm were never

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realized and all was lost. Everything he had in the world went. He never knew of the firm's great indebtedness and supposed it sound. Every representation made to him was in glowing colors, and he never suspected the business worth of Ferdinand Ward; on the contrary, he thought him a man of excellent qualities and one to be implicitly trusted. He was the victim of misplaced confidence, and in nothing so much as in finding himself fully involved with the general partners, when he supposed he was only a silent, or special, partner."

When the fury of this financial storm had spent itself, and it was seen how disastrous it had been to him, friendship and gratitude came to his rescue, and kindly offered to relieve him from present embarrassment. This generosity was respectfully declined. The law must have its way, the sacrifice must be made and borne. A leading creditor enforced his legal rights not, as it turned out, to harry and oppress, but to save, as best he could and what he could.

This creditor was Mr. Vanderbilt who, to his honor be it said, pushed his execution in order to keep others out of the way. He knew that General Grant owned many rare and costly things gathered in all parts of the world, given him by admiring citizens at home and by crowned heads abroad. The intrinsic value of these could have been computed, but they had an associative and historic value far beyond estimate. Why scatter them? Why sacrifice them?

It was known too that the General's ultimate intention was to give them to the Government as a cabinet of trophies and mementoes. Why should this honorable intention be frustrated by the intervention of merciless creditors?

So, while the Vanderbilt execution hung over all, they were rescued. They were granted in permissive trust to the Government, and so passed beyond danger and to their final destination. Then the execution went on obliterating the other accumulations of a lifetime, bringing its ruin, yet clari-

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fying the situation. Friends were urgent with their aid, but the General, and in this he was seconded by his noble-hearted wife, would hear to nothing but an end reached without parley and further obligation.

WM. H. VANDERBILT.

When the end came, and the law had been satisfied so far as the General's property was concerned, the bounty of his friends could assert itself. The amount of Mr. Vanderbilt's claim, some $150,000, was turned back in trust to Mrs. Grant, or otherwise secured to the use of the family. Whether this was Mr. Vanderbilt's personal gratuity, or the indirect way

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General Grant's friends finally took to show their appreciation of his integrity and service, matters not. It is equally an evidence of the high place he occupied in the affections of those who commanded wealth and occupied high station, and who, of all others, were most indebted to him for the timely exercise of those powers which brought peace out of internecine war and perpetuated a glorious Union of States.

Despite this generosity, notwithstanding these evidences of confidence and kindness and the general hush of adverse criticism, General Grant's spirits did not return. Already there were signs of that malady which in the end was to prove fatal. It first appeared in the fall of 1884, but not so as to be fully understood till November, or even later. Perhaps physicians knew, but not till orders were issued in that month that he should stop smoking did the family and the people begin to take alarm.

Then it began to be given out that the malady was cancer of the tongue, which is regarded as necessarily fatal in from three months to two years. It was now plain that the great chieftain had an enemy to deal with far more subtle and persevering than any he had ever met before. The progress of the disease was watched by skillful doctors, and the condition of the distinguished patient became a source of daily anxiety and news among the people.

Since cancer is a constitutional rather than a local disease, the doctors relied more on the system to support their treatment than on the local treatment itself. And since the system had long been harried, directly by the accident to his hip joint and indirectly by the terrible mental strain of the preceding months, it may well be understood how much the odds were against him.

In order to relieve his mind of worry about means on which to live and at the same time attest afresh its appreciation of his military services, the Congress (March 3d, 1885) restored

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him to the rank of General of the Army, and placed him on the retired list, at a salary of $13,500. But even this unusual mark of favor, though more to his liking than any civic demonstration however disinterested and kind, did not serve to make him stronger against the disease which had laid its deadly grip on his throat.

Day by day he fought his losing battle with the dread monster, now better, then worse, now hopeful, then despondent. Day by day the ominous bulletins went out to the world telling of the gains of one hour which were to be more than lost the next. He was, and had been, at work on his reminiscences of the war, one volume of which was complete. He had the second volume well in hand, and was most anxious to complete it. Amid failing strength he wrote or dictated for this, his last work. The doctors forbade it not till compelled to, for it was, in a certain sense, relaxation. It drew him away from thoughts of self, and especially from that anxious, consuming thought that his financial misfortune would prove a blot on an hitherto unstained and brilliant career.

Could he have seen the heart of the people and heard the warm expressions of sympathy which the daily announcements of his condition drew from the great masses, he would have had no occasion to fear the everlasting preservation of a fame as untarnished, a character as unsullied, a name as dear, as ever hero won, or patriot left to posterity.

By April 1st, 1885, a crisis in his malady was reached. A choking spell aroused his family. The doctors were summoned in haste. They gave temporary relief, but feared that the death agony was on. The minister came. Prayers were held. "He fully realizes," said the minister, Rev. Dr. Newman, "the fact that each hour is but a prolongation of his sufferings, but the strength of his intellect and the calmness and serenity of his mind are wonderful." The inexorable enemy seemed to be knocking at his door.

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SICK IN HIS CHAIR.

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April 2d, 1885, was a day of anxiety and gloom throughout the United States, and even the civilized world. The General's death was fully expected. The paroxysms in the throat had followed one another so quickly that strength was gone and it was justly thought that the "God bless you, wife and children!" which promptly followed the "Amen" of the prayer of the night before were his last words on earth.

But during the day he rallied somewhat, and more assuring bulletins came toward evening. The patient made an effort to rise from his chair and to walk. The physician remonstrated saying:

"You must fight for us now, General, not against us."

"Well, I am doing the best I can," replied the patient, feebly.

"Yes, and you must do as well as you once did," added the doctor.

"What do you mean?" asked the General.

"When you had the army back of you," was the reply.

"But I haven't the army back of me now," came the measured response, as he closed his eyes and rested his head on the back of his chair.

All day long a dense crowd of people, numbering thousands of young and old, rich and poor, gathered about the residence to catch words of hope. Old friends, officers of Army and State, dignitaries of every nation, called to pay respect and tender sympathy, and learn joyfully of the favorable change in his condition which became more manifest as the evening approached.

"The General is picking up wonderfully," was the news given out at 5 P. M. by Ex-Senator Chaffee.

"He is a man of wonderful vitality. Despite his low condition, he is now able to walk across the room," was the glad announcement made by Mr. Field at 9.15 P. M., and the surging masses, breathing sighs of relief, melted away and dis-

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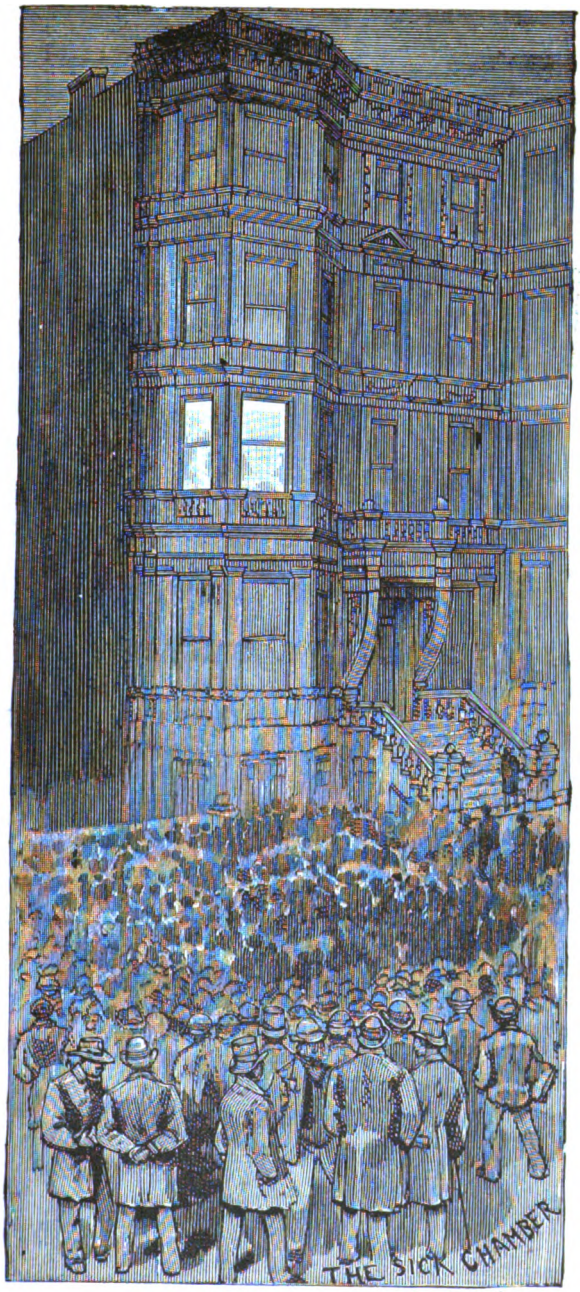

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appeared in the night. A day had been gained for the sufferer. The beloved and admired of the nation had not yet fallen.

Meanwhile, the religious bodies throughout the land, wherever they were in convention, sent forth their resolutions of prayer for the great man's recovery, of regret at his intense suffering, yet of resignation to the ordering of Him who doeth all things well. Leaders and members of every faith felt that this struggle was as much an exemplification of true Christian fortitude as of old Roman heroism. Legislatures, wherever in session, passed their resolutions of regret and respect and sent their prayers for recovery. North and South, East and West, without regard to politics or opinions, the expressions of sympathy and sorrow, and the petitions of hope, came spontaneously up out of the hearts of those who hung in suspense over the eagerly sought and swiftly passing news. It was clear that Grant belonged to the nation, the people, as no other man ever did.

On April 3d, Good Friday, he rallied sufficiently to answer a special request for his autograph, and when the doctor left him at 10 P. M., it was with the assurance that he would survive until another day and the remark "He is the most marvelous man I ever met." The eve of Good Friday just twenty years before had brought deep sorrow to the nation in the assassination of President Lincoln. In this year of our Lord 1885, it was not a day of tears but, by providential decree, one of thanks for the temporary delivery of our greatest and best from the grasp of death.

Yet what might the hours bring? Would the chimes of Easter Sunday peal gladfully or muffled? In telling of Him that had arisen, would they toll too a requiem for one just passed away? Happily, no. The silent, uncomplaining sufferer was still fighting his unequal battle—not for himself, but for his doctors, his family, all who loved him. The sun of Easter Sunday was bright. The family, the friends, tried to

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lift the old General up out of the shadows of the grave, tried to shake off, momentarily at least, the sad, settled conviction that further waiting by the roadside for the final summons was only a useless lengthening of pain. They recalled only pleasant themes, supported him in his strong moments to the window that he might feel the glow of the bright day, redoubled that deep solicitude which had all along sustained a sinking spirit and soothed a pain-stricken body. Theirs was no easy task. Said General Badeau, on leaving the house: "General Grant does not want to live, suffering as he now does and knowing that he cannot get better. The trouble is not so much with the cancer as with general debility. He is entirely broken down."

Said another equally as intimate, and amid despondency not unmixed with a tinge of resentment: "The man who trapped General Grant into that ruinous financial affair is morally responsible for his condition to-day. But for the shock of failure at his time of life and the discovery when too late that his name and credit had been shamefully abused, he might have withstood the attack of disease for years. He is not demonstrative. Secret grief has broken him down. He told General Fry he had not slept for a month after the failure. I, myself, have seen him sitting in his parlor with his head sunk on his breast, a picture of despondency and despair."

By evening there was some little response to the wishes and efforts of those who had striven to throw around him the sunshine of the Easter Sabbath. "I wish," said Dr. Shrady in his hearing, "he could be induced to say something for us to write which would show his mental condition; our bulletins are getting monotonous."

"Say" said the General, "that I am very comfortable, and that I am grateful for the sympathy that has been expressed for me."

"Well, now," said the doctor, cheerfully, "we ought to have, General, something to wind up with."

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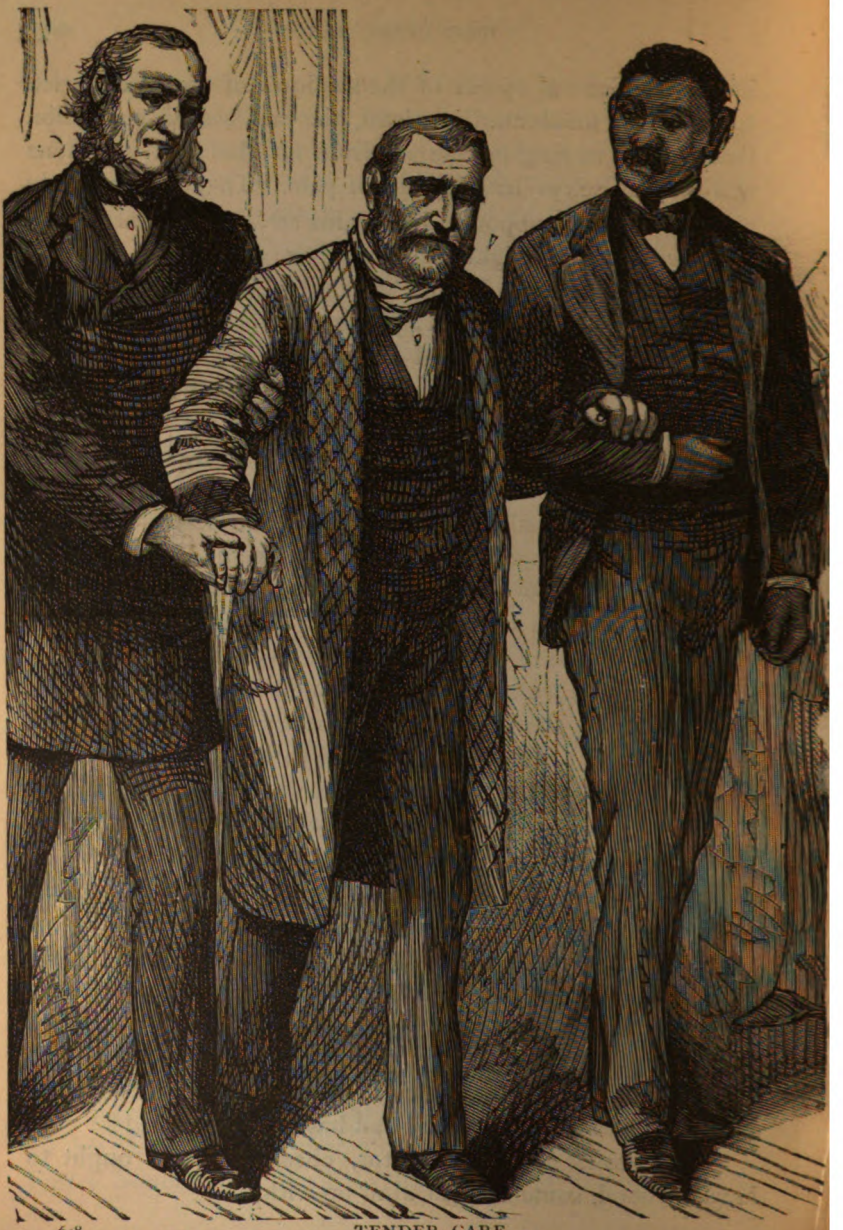

TENDER CARE.

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"Say, then," was the reply, "that I desire the good will of all, whether heretofore friends or not. It is enough."

"Yes," said General Badeau, "it is a good Easter blessing for the people of this country."

There was respite for a few hours, perhaps days. Who could tell the depth and tenacity of that will and the desperation of the struggle?

Monday came with the old General still fighting the grim, unyielding foe. Tuesday came and with it an alarming hemorrhage in the throat. The disease had eaten through a small artery. It was a new but not unexpected complication. Life ebbed to the last under the loss of blood. "All might be over in an hour" ran the bulletins. By midnight of Tuesday, April 7th, the traces of blood disappeared, and anxious hours were passed in coaxing and waiting for a rally from the extreme exhaustion. It came slowly; so slowly as to bring no hope with it. The time for rapid rallies had passed.

During the early evening hours, as he lay in his chair near the window, Dr. Douglas and Rev. Dr. Newman being the only ones present, he turned toward Dr. Douglas and smiled. A cheerful word was ventured about his friends.

"All the people seem to be your friends at present," said Dr. Newman.

"Yes," whispered the General, "and I have many friends on the other side."

"Yes," repeated Newman, "and they are waiting for you, General—they are waiting for you."

"So they are," whispered the General; "I wish they would come."

Then there was a long silence, broken by another whisper, "I wish they may not have long to wait."

When Dr. Newman left the house he said to a friend, "The General is hopeful of the future which to him seems full of

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light. There will be no death-bed scene when he dies, but a peaceful passing away."

Dr. Douglas said, when leaving, "We cannot sustain him with stimulants longer. Beside, he wants to go. All his thoughts now are of the future."

It was well said by the poet—

"I think the April stars have never shot
O'er the dumb city a light of such cold spell
As now at midnight, when all is not well—
When lingering pain is our loved hero's lot!
'Let us have peace,' he said, while hate was hot
Still in the land where he stood sentinel
And guardian of its peace, whate'er befell—
He that now sighs for peace yet wins it not!

"O thou in whom such calm and power agree,
If immortality may ever dawn
On mortals, of thyself it now were true
That the great spirit of Lincoln looks for thee
Where files of shadowy soldiery are drawn,
Waiting their mighty Captain's last review!"

And again :—

"Only waiting, with the shadows
Settling round so dark and grim;
For the utterance of the message
That shall give release to him.
All the anguish to be over—
All the suffering to be past:
After all these weeks of hoping
Blessed rest and peace at last.

"Only waiting, and the battle
Will be over evermore;
Waiting, waiting, and the weary
Days of watching will be o'er.
Calm and bravely, as a soldier
Should face death, so doth he stand—
Soon to meet the great Commander
Of the undiscovered land."

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On Wednesday, the 8th of April, he was holding on to the feeble thread of life amid the quietude of weakness and exhaustion. There was a lull in the violence of his symptoms, but no perceptible rally, no recovery of lost strength. A little more mental brightness, allusion to the battle of Shiloh whose anniversary had just passed (April 7th), and in which battle his physician, Dr. Douglas, had participated, a request at one time for nourishment, were the only things on which hope hung for a continuance of the struggle. After all, the very quietude enforced by sheer weakness and the restfulness of that suspension between life and death might postpone dissolution for other anxious hours—for days, if a nation's prayers could lengthen the time.

The General's home was more than ever the scene and centre of many a touching incident. Sympathetic telegrams were coming from all parts of the country, letters and resolutions from political, religious and social bodies. These were from all classes and grades of men, and without distinction of party, sect, or past differences of opinion. Confederate joined his token with Federal soldier. "I love the old General," said one who had rung the door bell to inquire about his condition, "though I fought against him and surrendered to him at Appomattox. May God spare his life for many days!" He departed with tears in his eyes. One of the richest floral tokens of respect was sent up to the General's room by General Rosser, of the Confederate army, who was wounded at Winchester. The Southern newspapers were profoundly moved by his suffering and expected death, and their sympathy was expressed in columns of tribute to the great and manly qualities of one whom they had learned to love as a friend.

Even foreign majesty was touched with the situation, and Queen Victoria thus expressed the warmth of her interest and feeling:

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"AIX LES BAINES, April 8th, 1885.—To Mrs. General Grant, New York:—The Queen, who feels deeply for you in your anxieties, commands me to inquire after General Grant.

"(Signed) DOWAGER MARCHIONESS OF ELY."

"April 9th, 1885.—To Marchioness of Ely, Aix les Baines:—Mrs. Grant thanks the Queen for her sympathy, and directs me to say General Grant is no better.

"COLONEL GRANT."

The light of April 9th, the anniversary of Appomattox, broke on a people prepared to solemnize with tears a day which twenty years before their chieftain had made joyful and glorious with final victory and surrender. Dying to-day, his death, his final victory and surrender, would hallow an event which had for twenty years stood out in martial and political history as the greatest of all in its results to mankind. Every memory of the old times of war and heroism would have become sweetly and solemnly impressive. The satisfaction of victory would have been mellowed by grief. The lessons of a glorious epoch would have been read o'er in the refined light of national bereavement, when the heart was without resentment and the factional tongue was dumb.

But,

"The Great Commander
Of the undiscovered land,"

did not demand the old hero's sword. He had respite—unexpected, surprising, thankful respite.

Amid this quiet waiting, this constitutional suspense, this hovering between life and death, lasting for many weary, anxious days, there came a compulsory change in the treatment. Use of opiates was relaxed and, whenever possible, remitted. They had partially lost their power of soothing and sustaining, or in his reduced and diseased condition had become a source of aggravation. The rest of apathy and prostration must come to his rescue, or nothing. Gradually

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it came. There was still physical power in reserve, whose presence had not been suspected, and back of it was that wonderful force of will, which in this desperate strait seemed almost super-human. As the days passed the General came back to us—to his family, friends, the nation. By April 15th, the bulletins told cheerful stories. "The General was better, was improving;" "He is feeling better to-day than for weeks,"

REPORTERS ON THE LOOKOUT.

was the grateful announcement of his physician as he left the bedside. "He does not require so much morphia now. Only six grains were injected to-day instead of the customary ten. If he continues to improve I believe he will get out again," was another welcome announcement.

On the 16th, Dr. Newman gave it out that "his condition

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had greatly changed for the better. He is buoyed up by faith. The prayers of the people of the whole country, of Protestants, of Catholics, of Hebrews, have been offered up for him and they are being answered. He believes he will now get well. He feels, and I feel, that the supplications of so many people for such consummation will be answered. To-day as I parted from him he pressed my hand and said: 'Thrice have I been in the valley of the shadow of death, and thrice have I come out again.'" The physicians took advantage of the improvement to make a critical examination of the disease in the tongue and throat, an opportunity which had been denied them for some time. They found it less irritated, the suppuration easier and not so likely to choke the patient, the danger from further hemorrhage reduced. But the diminished intensity of the disease was occasioned by its general spread backward into the throat. This of itself might make it more treatable; at any rate, it would for a time generalize the pain and free the patient from those paroxysms of coughing and choking which had threatened death at any moment.

Each day now added to his general strength and increased the hope of, at least, temporary recovery. By April 27th, his sixty-fourth birthday, he was well enough to take a carriage ride in the park, and to enter into the spirit which pervaded the day, for the country had largely agreed to celebrate his anniversary. Flags were hoisted on private and public buildings in New York and other cities. Grand Army posts sent their resolutions of gratitude that the old hero's life had been spared. Congratulatory telegrams and letters came from all sources. Floral tributes, without number, were sent by admiring friends.

All day there was a surge of carriages around his house on Sixty-sixth street, and the glad visitors left their rich tokens of esteem and warm words of congratulation at the door, or delivered them in person in the reception-room. But it was

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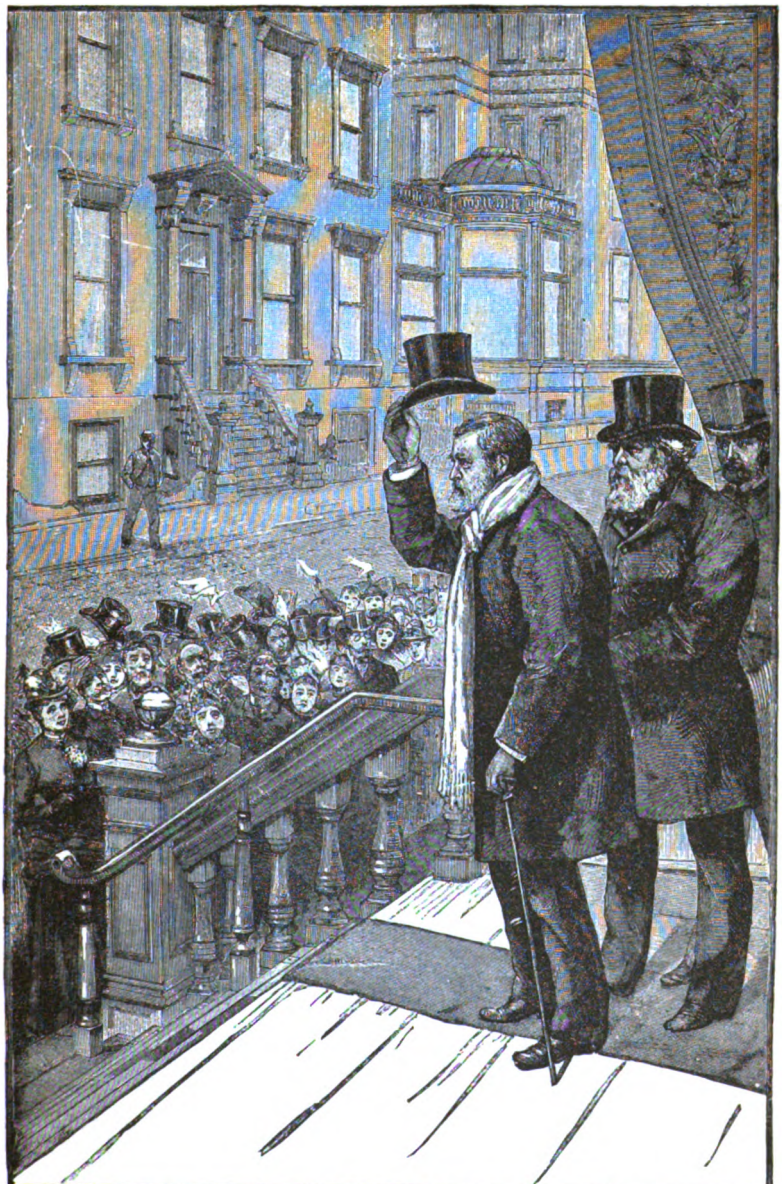

THE AFTERNOON WALK. 655

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not until the afternoon that the scene in the street took the shape of a popular demonstration. The hour in which he had been used to taking an afternoon walk was at hand. It was thought that he might appear. The crowd became dense, and anxious to assure themselves of the invalid's convalescence, as well as to make known their thanks and give fresh evidence of their appreciation. They were not disappointed. The old General appeared, closely wrapped, and in the company of several friends. The crowd broke out in lusty cheers and congratulatory acclaims, which the General, leaning heavily on his cane, returned with raised hat and a cheerful bow. He walked an entire block and returned. Returning life was establishing itself in his veins. That walk, without the hardship of extraordinary fatigue, was immunity from death for many days at least. In his own household the day was one of thankful rejoicing, and the General was bright and happy as any member. Said Rev. Louis C. Tiffany who called in the afternoon: "General Grant came down to the reception-room to see me. I am surprised at the improvement he has made since I saw him two weeks ago. He seems to be perfectly satisfied with the prospect of clinging to life for months to come, though he has no hope of recovery."

In the evening the entire family ate the anniversary dinner, to which many of the General's closest friends were invited. Sixty-three wax candles were placed around the table, and the party did their best to make the occasion agreeable to the sick man. After dinner, devotional exercises were held, and these closed the home celebration of a day, which for nearly a month no member of the family, nor any other person, had expected the General would live to see.

As strength returned the General again found employment for his mind, and consequent forgetfulness of pain, by giving as much time as his strength permitted to the preparation of his memoirs, which he was anxious to complete. His mind

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was clear and memory unimpaired. He dictated with facility for sometimes two and three hours a day, and frequently gave an hour or two to the arrangement of his data. He kept up his terse, perspicuous and direct style, and seldom amended what had been committed to paper. But while this work was permitted by his physicians as a relaxation, disease was not relinquishing its hold, and it was only a question of time as to when it would reassert itself and again prostrate its victim.

The time came with the approach of warm weather. The heat of early June conspired with the disease to undo all that had been gained. Literary work became irksome, fatiguing and dangerous. Appetite failed. Cheerfulness departed. Strength flagged. Weakness, profuse secretion, difficult expectoration, gradually hardening nodules in the neck, almost a total loss of voice, increasing pain, prostration and rapid wasting—all these told a sad story, and admonished doctors and friends that if the patient were to survive the summer or even avoid speedy collapse there must be instant departure for a place where the temperature was lower and the air purer. Delay of even a week might make removal dangerous, if not impossible. Mr. Drexel's cottage on Mt. McGregor, in the northern part of New York State, was selected, and hither the General was moved on June 16th, 1885.

He stood the trip very well considering his weakness and the heat. The immediate effects of the change were not assuring. Dr. Douglas remained in charge. After a rest of a day or two the General tested his strength by a walk in company with his faithful servant Harrison up the steep road to the highest point of the mountain, some three hundred feet away. He reached his cottage thoroughly exhausted, and was for a time despondent over the result of the trip. His condition was his own measure of what he had lost in strength and vitality. He called for paper and wrote some family memoranda, in which he confessed that he found himself losing

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ground again. His voice seemed permanently gone. Yet, said the doctor, "He is as well as any man can be who has such a deadly enemy grasping at his throat. He is steadily following the course marked out for the disease. It is constantly depressing and gradually wearing away the vital powers. His tendency is to grow weaker and weaker every day. To-morrow he will not be as strong as he is to-day, for the disease will have progressed some. Our hope of benefit from this change is to prolong his life."

By June 19th, he had begun to experience some benefit from the cooler, fresher air of the mountain. He got to sleeping, grew more cheerful, and suffered less pain. He found enjoyment with his family on the piazzas, and took great interest in the play of his grandchildren about the cottage. His fondness for children was always a marked characteristic. Hundreds of letters came to him from children from all over the land expressing hope that he might recover, and the perusal of these was always a source of comfort.

Though he could not converse except by making his thoughts and wishes known on paper, he began to turn his attention to his book again, and often devoted as much as an hour or two a day to its revision. On the 23d of June, he announced that he had about completed it, and should not have it on his mind any more. But even this light work had grown taxing, and was followed by painful reaction. His weight had been reduced ten pounds in two weeks—from one hundred and forty to one hundred and thirty pounds.

On June 24th, the doctors had a consultation, and announced that there had been no marked change in the disease, but that his system was in a better general condition than when he left New York. On the 29th, his quietude and disinclination to leave his room alarmed the doctor and the family. In answer to their fears he wrote, "Do as I do; I take it quietly. I give myself not the least concern. If I knew that the end was to

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WITH HIS FAMILY ON THE PIAZZA. *From a Photograph.*

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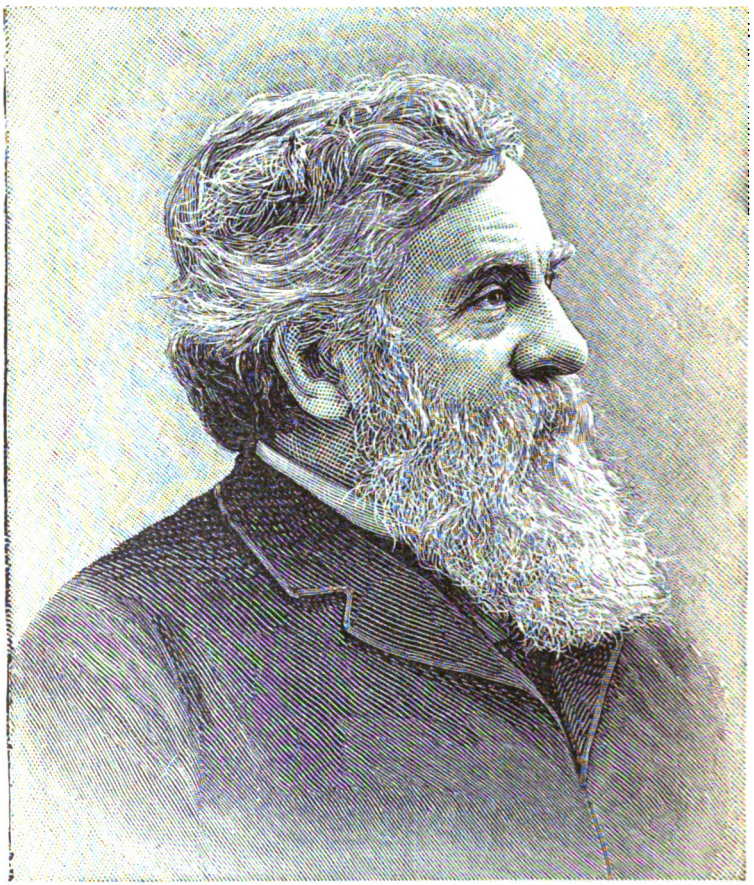
be to-morrow, I would try and get rest in the meantime. As long as there is no progress of the disease there's hope." On the 30th, Dr. Douglas said:



DR. DOUGLAS.

"His life has been prolonged by the invigorating air here instead of the great heat of New York. The disease has pro-

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gressed in the natural way. As I have said before, his condition is one of increasing debility. The General was likely to die at any time in New York, and had he remained there instead of coming here he would in all human probability have expired before this. His present weakness is the natural result of the disease. He is each day less strong, and though the step from day to day is scarcely perceptible, the aggregate of fourteen days becomes noticeable.

"Two weeks ago General Grant left the city, and if he was in New York to-day he could not be moved here. His strength to-day is not equal to such a journey. Now, if you ask me when the end will proably be, I cannot tell. No one can tell. He grows weaker and weaker, and at last the point of exhaustion will be reached. That is all, and nobody can say when that shall be."

The General had by this time thoroughly studied his own condition, and there was no longer any need for the doctors to conceal their opinions. So when the above results of a two weeks' sojourn were made known to him, he replied by handing Dr. Douglas the following note:

"The atmosphere here enables me to live in comparative comfort while I am being treated or while nature is taking its course with my disease. I have no idea that I should have been able to come here now if I remained in the city. It is doubtful, indeed, whether I would have been alive. Now I would be much better able to move back than to come at the time I did. U. S. GRANT, June 30th, 1885."

All the while his quiet mountain home was the centre of incidents calculated to cheer and inspire. Letters flowed in from all parts of the country containing sentiments of affection and prayers for his recovery. Some of them were very touching indeed, such, for instance, as this from Rockbridge Baths, Va.

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"DEAR SIR: I hope you will allow one who, when a boy, laid down his arms at Appomattox and pledged allegiance to the Union, to express his warmest sympathy for you in your suffering. I have watched your movements from the hour you gave me my horse and sword, and told me to 'go home and assist in making a crop.' I have been proud to see the nation do you honor, and now, dear General, in the hour of your pain, I weep that so brave, so magnanimous a soul must suffer as you do. My prayer to God daily is that you may be restored to perfect health, and be assured that I am not the only ex-confederate who sends his prayers daily to the Throne of Grace for the restoration of the grandest, the noblest, the bravest soldier and the purest statesman who ever graced the annals of history. May the God who overlooked you in battle and who has brought you thus far give you grace to meet whatever He has in store for you, and may he restore you to health is the fervent prayer of one who, at fifteen years of age, entered the lists against you and accepted the magnanimous terms you accorded us at Appomattox."

And visitors came up the mountain side, as if on a pilgrimage, to see the old hero, take him by the hand, and speak a cheering word. Among those of July 8th, was Rev. Father Didier, of St. Vincent's, Baltimore. Mounting the steps of the veranda and passing his card he said, "I am a Catholic clergyman, General Grant. We are all praying for you."

The General replied by writing on a pad:

"Yes, I know, and I feel very grateful to the Christian people, of the land for their prayers in my behalf. There is no sect or religion, as shown in the Old or the New Testament, to which this does not apply—Catholics, Protestants and Jews; and all the good people of the nation, of all politics as well as religions, and all nationalities, seem to have united in wishing or

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praying for my improvement. I am a great sufferer all the time, but the facts I have related are compensation for much of it. All that I can do is to pray that the prayers of all those good people may be answered so far as to have us all meet in another and better world. I cannot speak even in a whisper.

"U. S. GRANT, July 8th, 1885."

And on the same day, when twenty editors of the Mexican Associated Press called to pay their respects, he wrote them the following response:

"My great interest in Mexico dates back to the war between the United States and that country. My interest was increased when four European monarchies attempted to set up their institutions on this continent, selecting Mexico, a territory adjoining. It was an outrage on human rights, for a foreign nation to attempt to transfer her institutions and her rulers to the territory of a civilized people without their consent. They were fearfully punished for their crime. I hope Mexico may soon begin an upward and prosperous departure. She has all the conditions; she has the people; she has the soil; she has the climate and she has the minerals. The conquest of Mexico will not be any easy task in the future."

On July 12th, Rev. Dr. Newman held services at the hotel, on the top of the mountain. He preached from Matthew v. 1–8, and in the course of his sermon said: "Oh, illustrious sufferer in yonder cottage! What a lesson thou art teaching to the warriors and statesmen of the world and to the youth of that country thou hast saved, by finding within thyself at this supreme moment those elements of repose and happiness which to-day excite the admiration of mankind and fill the hearts of angels with delight."

That evening there was a partial return of the General's voice, and he asked several questions audibly, to the great

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surprise and delight of his family. The next day his voice was still clearer, his spirits brighter and his whole system stronger. A medical review of his month's residence on the mountain was made public. It contained the following:

"All accidental infiltration has subsided. The swelling on the neck has subsided. No new development of the cancer lumps. The affected parts inside look better. They are not healing, but give off no bloody sputa after treatment. Pain and the mucous secretions have abated. The only discomfort now is in the main sore at the base of the tongue. The patient can now close his lips and breathe through the nasal passages. The patient can now treat his throat himself with a gargle. A desire for food has set in. The voice is clearer and stronger. The patient rests better. The system assimilates food and derives more strength from it. The spirits of the patient assist the treatment more readily."

There were not wanting those who believed that the doctors had been all along mistaken in their diagnosis, or that cancer was a curable disease, after all. Their wishes with respect to General Grant were the parents of their thoughts. Dr. Douglas was not one of them. He regarded the condition as depicted in the above review as only one of those strange phases of temporary improvement that is characteristic of cancerous diseases, for whose continuance no one could vouch.

It was now deemed advisable to secure for the General all the freedom from excitement and all the absolute rest possible, in order to continue the favorable symptoms. He was, as nearly as may be, denied access to the outside world. Resolutions of respect and sympathy passed by political associations, grand army veterans, religious and civic bodies, and all communications calculated to excite or disturb, were withheld from his notice for the time being. And the precaution seemed wise. It gave the General mental rest. It secured him from intrusive visits by the simply curious, and limited interviews to

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those whose presence would prove a pleasure and profit. It would make interesting and valuable history, if it were possible to print the well-studied, clear-cut and ripe sentiments which the old General gave out on his written sheets while conversing with some of those who were favored with audiences during this period of seclusion. They all show the wonderful clearness of his mind, his remarkable memory of men and events and his profound interest in the country and its institutions. Weakened by disease, racked by pain, bowed by misfortune, facing inevitable death, he has forgotten nothing nor lost a particle of that command of situations which made him great in affairs of war and state. As an instance—General Buckner who surrendered Fort Donelson to him, called on him to renew their old acquaintance. He expressed himself as deeply affected with General Grant's warmth of friendship, breadth of views, and earnestness of convictions. The curtain of privacy was, of course, drawn over most of the interview, but one part referring to the war he made public by exhibiting the slip of paper on which Grant had written the following:

"I have witnessed since my sickness just what I wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections. I have always contended that if there had been nobody left but the soldiers we would have had peace in a year. —— and —— are the only two that I know who do not seem to be satisfied on the Southern side. We have some on ours who failed to accomplish as much as they wished, or who did not get warmed up to the fight until it was all over, who have not had quite full satisfaction. The great majority, too, of those who did not go into the war have long since grown tired of the long controversy. We may now well look forward to a perpetual peace at home, and a national strength that will screen us against any foreign complication. I believe, myself, that the war was worth all it cost us, fearful as that was. Since it was over I have visited every state in Europe, and a

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number in the East. I know, as I did not before, the value of our inheritance."

"Thus," said Buckner, "General Grant's noble sentiments show that he has the good of the country at heart in the last moments of his life."

The illustrious patient held his own amid this greater rest till July 20th. On the afternoon of that day, he took an airing in his bath chair, which was pushed about the mountain roads by a servant. The route was rough, and his strength was taxed more than he expected, or rather he had not suspected his real condition before starting, for notwithstanding all the apparently favorable symptoms of the preceding week there had been a gradual sapping of vitality and an undermining of the resistive and recuperative forces. He retired that night and rested seemingly well. But it turned out to be the rest of weakness, not of recuperation. On the 21st, he was still drowsy and restful. It was the quietude of enfeeblement. The pulse lost its volume, and then grew shaky and frequent, as in fever. Lethargy, under the circumstances, was by no means a safe symptom. It was rather a barometer which indicated the degree of prostration. Rallying remedies, as spirits or morphine, would prove of little avail, except momentarily. A spasm of hiccoughing set in, which harassed and weakened him. Then came artificial sleep and rest, but to be followed by a renewal of the spasm. At length the fitful, dreamy, nervous rest of sheer exhaustion set in, with its grave uncertainties, incoherent requests, mental wanderings, sudden starts, pitiable and pleading expression of the deeply rolling eyes. The day was breathless, even on that mountain height, and the thoroughly alarmed family contributed to the comfort of the sufferer by keeping fans in constant motion by his sick chair. Dr. Douglas saw in the patient's condition all the symptoms of a rapidly sinking and dying man. His son, U. S. Grant, Jr., was telegraphed for. Dr. Newman arrived during the evening and, at

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Mrs. Grant's request, family prayers were held. At 10 P.M. the sufferer looked about him and, seeing his daughter Nellie, asked for paper. He wrote some brief instructions, addressing them to different members of the family. By eleven o'clock his pulse was steadier, and his mind clear. He requested Dr. Douglas to say to his family, that they should all retire now since there was no use of their sitting up longer. By midnight the cottage was quiet, and the dying man was left alone with his watchers. At 1 A.M. of the 22d, the rally was maintained, and there was every indication that he would witness the sunrise of another day.

And that 21st of July, 1885, had been a day of anxiety for the whole country, for word had been flashed throughout the land that "Grant was dying." Again eager throngs crowded around the bulletin boards, and this time with sadder hearts than ever, for now the news were ominously impressive in form and utterly without the inspiration of a hope.

What is that sad rumor flying?
Grant, the sturdy soldier, dying?
Grant, the grim, yet glorious Mars,
Saviour of the Stripes and Stars—
Grant, the warrior, dying?

Grant, whose cool, intrepid bearing
Stimulated deeds of daring
In the hottest of the field,
And whose cry was "Never yield!"
Grant, unconquered, dying?

Grant, whose manly faults are hidden
'Neath the cloak that waves unbidden.
Royal robe of purple dye—
In the loom of memory—
Grant, the hero, dying?

Ah! 'tis worth a nation's sighing!
On Truth's wings the rumors flying.
Softly, friends! a hero falls
When the unwelcome angel calls—
Grant, at work, is dying.

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The gray tint of morning began to creep up the horizon shortly after three o'clock. The General had been resting for an hour, but now came a coughing spell, signal for every attendant to make vigilance closer. The doctor was awakened. He cleansed the patient's throat, and checked the spasm. A little liquid food was taken, and at four o'clock the General requested a pad and pencil. He wrote with great difficulty a brief communication for his family, which was passed to his son Fred. He then composed himself, by placing his elbows on the arms of his chair, and supporting his chin on both his hands. The dawn broke into the splendors of a new day. Doctors Sands and Shrady were telegraphed for, not with a thought that aid could now be rendered, but that the responsibilities of the closing stages of the case might be shared by those who had participated in its beginnings. During all that night of suffering and extreme prostration the patient's mind remained firm and unclouded. On inquiring the time, he was told it was one o'clock. Shortly afterward it struck twelve. He called attention to the fact that the clock was wrong an hour. Later on, observing the anxiety of those about him, he wrote, "I do not want anybody to be distressed on my account."

And now the bright sun of July 22d, was fully up. Its rays entered a home utterly devoid of cheer and hope. The end which all had striven so heroically to postpone was evidently at hand, and its approach must now be counted by sad hours. The hypodermic injections have lost all their power. There is no rally, no reaction. Exhaustion is sheer. The pulse flickers and cannot be counted. Respiration is short and quick. Failure is steady and rapid. Recuperation is impossible, for nourishment can no longer be taken. The hours pass in waiting for the last, dread summons. He would speak, but cannot; would write, but the pallid hands refuse to hold or guide the pencil. He has written his last word.

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The absent son, Jesse, arrives. The physicians come. There is a little rally, a last desperate attempt to beat back the grim monster. And then the weakness of death settles upon him again. At 8 P.M., he is asked if he would not exchange his chair for the bed. He starts as if to comply, but volition is thwarted by refusal of the body to move. He is carried tenderly to the bed, and laid therein. It is General Grant's death bed. He is free from pain now. Disease has done its worst. He is resigned. Strength of will can do no more. And that resignation has about it the true composure of the Christian, the happy beam that lights the dark valley, the sweet peace that bridges the grave and opens in advance beatific visions of Paradise.

The night wears away amid watching and the administrations that smooth the pathway to the grave. Once only there is answer to the anxious quests after his welfare. "What will you have, General? "Water," is the feeble, almost inaudible reply. It was his last word. The breath shortens and thickens, and gurgles in his throat. The pulse beat is only a tremble. Morning dawns, and the physicians and family are called by the watchers. Sunrise in nature, sunset with a mortal! The doctors come. The family move mournfully toward the death couch and gather in solemn tearful group about the expiring hero.

Around the patient's mouth gathers the purplish tinge, nature's signal of dissolution. The doctor lifts a hand; it is cold. Respiration quickens still more, and becomes noiseless. Death is painless and serene—an ebbing away of life. Now the eyes close. A peaceful expression deepens in the strong lines of the face. There is a fuller, deeper breath, as if relief had come to long and anxious tension. It is the exhalation of a human soul. The doctor steps a little nearer, stoops to listen, turns away with the announcement that "All is over." Then the sad realization forces itself on the reluctant hearts of

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the assembled mourners that General Grant is dead. It was eight minutes past eight, on the morning of Thursday, July 23d, 1885, that a family stood bereft of its beloved head, and a nation was called upon to mourn the loss of its most illustrious and endeared citizen.

Heroic to the last, he fought his final battle with the same unquailing courage, the same calm, grim fortitude which shed their fadeless lustre on his whole extraordinary career. For months the nation had hung over his bedside and sadly watched his resolute, unmurmuring struggle, and the silent foot-fall of the unseen conqueror came as he and all would have had it, not with poignant shock as when a Lincoln or a Garfield fell, but as a messenger bearing a crown of full glory and beckoning ripened life to a land of light and fruition. As his achievements proved him to be a master of men, so his weary illness and heroic death proved that he was master of himself. The great captain, in all his career, dispatched but one flag of truce to the enemy and that was when he sent his great white soul from the mountain top to the angel of death.

The sad news were flashed throughout the land, and by nine o'clock the bells were tolling everywhere. The one theme of a nation and the world was the passing away of him who had fought a good fight, had finished his course, had kept the faith. Humanity had but one heart for the occasion, and that was now bowed and broken in grief. Tongue and pen had but one word, and that was sympathy over the great loss, and praise of the virtues that had made his life noble and illustrious. For the afflicted family it was the beginning of condolence, unlimited by station, creed, color, nationality, or condition, and as warm as the utmost measure of affection and deepest sense of loss could make it. For the press, the pulpit, the forum, it was the occasion of eulogy, strong, full and beautiful, commensurate with a great love, a towering, fame, and irreparable loss;

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DEATH-BED SCENE.

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fitting for one whose monument was a preserved Union; whose sepulchre, the hearts of his countrymen; whose epitaph, the gratitude of sixty millions of people.

What Tennyson wrote of Wellington, America may read of Grant:

"Mourn, for to us he seems the last,
Remembering all his greatness in the past.
No more in soldier fashion will he greet
With lifted hand the gazer in the street.
O friends, our chief state-oracle is mute;
Mourn for the man of long-enduring blood,
The statesman-warrior, moderate, resolute,
Whole in himself, a common good.
Mourn for the man of amplest influence,
Yet clearest of ambitious crime,
Our greatest yet with least pretence,
Great in council and great in war,
Foremost captain of his time,
Rich in saving common sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime.
* * * * * * *
On God and God-like men we build our trust.
Hush, the Dead March wails in the people's ears:
The dark crowd moves, and there are sobs and tears:
The black earth yawns: the mortal disappears;
Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;
He is gone who seemed so great.
Gone; but nothing can bereave him
Of the force he made his own
Being here, and we believe him
Something far advanced in State,
And that he wears a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave him.
Speak no more of his renown,
Lay your earthly fancies down,
And in the vast cathedral leave him,
God accept him, Christ receive him."

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

IN STATE AND AT THE TOMB.

AFTER the death of General Grant a plaster cast of his face was taken, when the body was given into the hands of the undertaker, who embalmed it. It was then draped in the national flag and placed in repose in the parlor of the cottage in which he died, on Mt. McGregor, under a guard of comrades from one or more of the Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, which was afterward increased by a regular army guard, who patrolled the grounds and protected the cottage till the day of the funeral.

Meanwhile the cities of the country were draped in mourning, and all the flags on buildings and ships hung at half mast. The press, at home and abroad, teemed with expressions of sorrow, with sad obituary, and exalted eulogy. The character and career of the dead patriot was the theme of universal mention and analysis, of the most eloquent prose and touching poetry. Not in all history has fame been dealt with so kindly or memory so tenderly. It was worth death to find a sentiment so unanimous, exuberant, and exquisite respecting the grandeur and solidity of a mortal character. Party, sect, section, country, levelled their lines and voiced the overwhelming regret and general praise. Let a few newspaper extracts answer as samples of all.

"He took upon himself, at the solicitation of the people, the highest civil responsibilities, and bore them with the same plain and unselfish fidelity which had distinguished him in the field."—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*

"Let us speak of our great chieftain only as the soldier whose fame has not a spot to mar its brilliancy. If his civil career seems to invite criticism, let us bury

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it out of sight and honor him as the great captain of the age; as the devoted leader who led the armies of the Union to triumph, striking the fetters from the slave, showing the magnanimity of the hero in the hour of victory as he showed the courage of the hero in the day of battle, and restoring to us the American republic stronger, more honored, and more glorious than it was when handed down to us by our revolutionary sires."—*New York World.*

"No one man of our history so distinctively emphasized his individuality in war and in peace, in the field and in statesmanship, as did General Grant. He had none of the ornate characteristics of Clay; none of the ostentations of Scott; none of the impetuous qualities of Sherman. What he was, he was of himself and by himself; a self-creation whose history puzzles the reckoning of the world and makes romance pale before it. The thoughtless would scan the surface of his record, from the multiplied ill-fortune of early life to the highest stepping in the round of fame, and call it accident; but accidents build no such structures of imperishable renown."—*Philadelphia Times.*

"Thus another great and memorable figure in the later history of the republic—the most memorable, perhaps, excepting only Mr. Lincoln, among all those who performed their parts in the immortal contest for the preservation of the Union—passes away from living men and takes his place on the records of history. What encouragement for patriotism, for fidelity, for fearless defence of the great interests of mankind."—*New York Sun.*

"The name of General Grant will be remembered by Americans as that of the saviour of their country in a crisis more appalling than any it has passed through since the United States became a nation. His fame as a soldier will survive as long as the history of our nation is read. The last of the two greatest Americans of their generation is gone."—*New York Times.*

"Great men, said Burke, are the guide-posts and landmarks of the state; and Grant was the guide-post of a victorious war and a landmark of a magnanimous peace. The American people themselves will judge him now, after the calm evening and the serene repose of retirement, more justly than in the stress and storm of struggle. The asperities of the angry contentions have passed; the flaws have faded and the blemishes are dimmed, while the splendor of his achievements and the simple grandeur of his character have gained a brighter halo as the years have rolled by. The clouds and the smoke of battle have long since lifted; the fragments and the scenes are swallowed in the majestic drama; and to-day we see Grant elevated on his true pedestal of fame through the just perspective of history."—*Philadelphia Press.*

"A splendid sun has set; its light is out and its dark places have followed its bright ones below the trees and hills. It went down lingeringly, as if in pain with parting from the scenes it lighted with more of majesty in its gathering

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gloom than its noon had ever known. Those on whose downfall the temple of his fame was builded will sow no thorns on his grave to prick the violets planted by his people there. Whatever were his faults, his errors and his failures, but yesterday he stood in the eyes of all the world the foremost figure of the Western Continent.

"Looking at the life and character of General Grant from the broadest national standpoint, it is true to say that no man since Washington has better illustrated the genius of American institutions or the temper of Americans as a people."—*Montgomery* (Ala.) *Advertiser.*

"Our special despatches bring the not unexpected news of the death of the greatest and most illustrious man that lived in the world in the year 1885. Washington and Lincoln will divide with Grant the prominent place in the history of this country, but no man since the days of the great Napoleon has attracted so much attention throughout the world or made such a great military and civil reputation as Grant, and, when prejudices pass away and time brings calmness, justice and reason to pass upon General Grant's life, character and achievements, he will hold a very high place in the esteem of the citizens of this country, the citizens of the North, South, East, and West, and all of them will have great admiration for his character, a just pride in his patriotic services, and a profound respect for his memory."—*Vicksburg Post.*

"The silent, modest man, who was unknown twenty-four years ago; who had had a real 'baptism of fire' when, as a subaltern, he did a true soldier's service in Mexico; who retired soon after that war to take part as a worker in civilian life; who gave his service to his country when the secession revolt began; who grew to be a great soldier and the only one, after many better known had failed, who could lead the Union hosts to final victory; who was magnanimous beyond all other victors in his treatment of the defeated armies; who received the highest military and civil rank that was possible in the United States; who won the grateful love of the people even in the section of the country where he was the leader of invading armies—such a man has a unique and distinct place among the great men of the world."—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

"With the clearing of the early mists yesterday morning passed away the soul of General Grant, the most distinguished of living Americans, the general commanding the victorious armies of his country, and twice president of the republic. Washington alone of all men in our history has equalled him in honors. General Grant was a great commander. The operations of war, in which he was the leading figure of the Union armies, were colossal. The comprehension that grasped this tremendous situation and the fortitude that endured its awful disasters was of itself greatness. The clear-sighted sense that moved straightforward amid these bewildering scenes, undeterred and undeviating, was military genius."—*Atlanta Constitution.*

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"As the mortal remains of Ulysses S. Grant lie in their casket, and solemn guns are booming the last salute for the dead commander, we, of the South, forget the stern general who hurled his terrible masses upon the ranks of our fathers and brethren; whose storms of shot and shell mowed down our friends like wheat before the gleaner; remembering only the manly soldier who, in the hour of triumph, displayed the knightly chivalry that robs defeat of its bitterest pang. Vanquished by his arms, in his chivalric kindness we were doubly vanquished at Appomattox."—*New Orleans Times-Democrat.*

"The foremost man of the nation has closed a career second to no other in the history of the republic."—*New York Tribune.*

"He has passed from the home of endearment and sympathy into the pantheon of memory, and must be ranked with the illustrious great, whose genius is consecrated by noble services of patriotism."—*Boston Advertiser.*

"In our opinion not only is his one of the few immortal names that were not born to die, but his is one of the still fewer names that are entitled to immortality upon earth. He is not only one of the immortals but he is one of them by right. He was an Agamemnon, a king of men. He was so pervaded by greatness that he seemed not to be conscious that he was great. He was magnanimous, modest, faithful to his friends, just to all men as far as his surroundings permitted, above simulation or dissimulation, self-poised and equal to every occasion. He was one of the greatest of generals; there was nothing small about General Grant, no punic faith, no perfidious element, no jealousies. His chivalrous spirit would not permit him to ask Lee or his officers for their swords, or Lee's men for their horses. 'Go in peace' was the substance of his treatment of the heroes who surrendered at Appomattox Court House. His fidelity to his not assumed, but presumed or supposed obligations, his loyalty to truth and justice, caused him to forbid that General Lee should be arrested or annoyed by Federal authorities."—*Richmond Dispatch.*

"General Grant was a great soldier. In the opinion of many, he was the greatest soldier developed by the civil war. Reputations are made by success, and he was successful. He started at the bottom of the ladder and climbed to the top steadily, and he remained there. Even if history should not give him the first place among the soldiers of the civil war, it will rank him with the greatest soldiers of the world. No one will say, now that he is dead, that he ever turned away from those who had any claim upon him. There are those who were against him in the war to whom he reached out a helping hand when the war was over, when they sadly needed help. He was popular with the soldiers because he knew how to appreciate soldierly qualities. His magnanimity at the Appomattox surrender showed that he was as generous as brave."—*Savannah News.*

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"The death of General Grant will be honestly felt as a national affliction all over the wide Union, without reference to section or party."—*Columbia* (S. C.) *Register.*

"Although the death of General Grant was long expected, the event is not the less deplored. We can only share with his mourning countrymen in a sense of the loss of one whose career was so notable, so honorable to himself and so useful to his native land."—*London Standard.*

"Yesterday the greatest and most successful soldier that the United States has produced breathed his last. In no portion of the United States have the financial disasters marking the close of General Grant's career been regarded with more sympathy and regret than in England. Beyond all others he was best fitted to cope with the tremendous crisis which made him, and when the grave closes over all that is mortal of Ulysses Simpson Grant it will be felt that he leaves behind him no man cast in a simpler, sincerer or more heroic mold."—*London Daily News.*

"He has filled a large space in the history of his country, and as the dust of current controversy settles down and the mists of contemporary prejudices clear away, he will, we believe, be universally recognized as one of her chief worthies—one who had a great work to do, and who, upon the whole, did it in a manful, honest and honorable fashion."—*Toronto Globe.*

The pulpit drew inspiration from the occasion and turned its texts and sermons into eulogistic lessons. Brighter exemplar of the virtues of modern militant life they had not had, nor character so crowded with the traits that distinguish the age's manhood and assure its triumphs. Organized bodies everywhere were moved to resolutions of sympathy and solemn expressions of respect and admiration. The most marked and tender of these were framed and promulgated by the Grand Army Posts of the country, whose three hundred thousand veterans felt the old General's loss almost as a personal affliction. One set of resolutions that have the significance of history was that of the United States Christian Commission, passed in Philadelphia, July 27th, 1885.

"WHEREAS GOD in his wisdom has removed from this world by the hand of death the Great Commander of the Union Armies, *General Ulysses S. Grant*, we for ourselves, and representing the surviving Mem-

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bers, Delegates and Helpers of the Commission, desiring to place on record our high appreciation of the character and services of the illustrious General, and to express our sympathy with his family in their sad bereavement, do pass the following resolutions:

"*First.* That in the death of General Grant, whose name and fame are imperishable, our nation has lost one who was divinely appointed to perpetuate its freedom and unity by the edge of the sword, but who, when the bloody work was done, returned it to its sheath, and strove to heal the wounds of war by the kind words and actions of peace.

"*Second.* That, passing over his high renown as a military leader, as a statesman, and as a patriot, we desire to bear testimony to the great services which, as head of the army, he rendered the Commission, by helping its delegates in every possible way to reach the wounded on the field of battle, in the camp, and in the hospitals, often overstepping strict military rules in order that they might readily accomplish their benevolent work, proving that great kindness of heart could be associated with the stern demands of war.

"*Third.* That it is a great gratification to us to remember that the last appearance of General Grant upon a public platform was at our 5th Re-Union held at Ocean Grove, N. J., on August 2d, of last year (1884). Those who were present can never forget the boundless enthusiasm of his reception and the tears which he shed as the vast audience cheered him to the echo showing that his great soul which often seemed so unmovable was melted down by the mighty power of love.

"*Fourth.* That while life lasts we will cherish his memory—all the more sacred because of his long and very painful illness—and hold him up to our children and to the whole country as a bright example of manly courage, patient endurance, and marvelous magnanimity."

On the day of his death, July 23d, 1885, the President of the United States called his Cabinet together, and issued the following proclamation:—

"The President of the United States has just received the sad tidings of the death of that illustrious citizen and ex-president of the United States, General Ulysses S. Grant, at Mount McGregor, in the State of New York, to which place he had lately been removed in the endeavor to prolong his life.

"In making this announcement to the people of the United States, the President is impressed with the magnitude of the public loss of a great military leader, who was, in the hour of victory, magnanimous; amid

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disaster, serene and self-sustained; who, in every station, whether as a soldier or as chief magistrate twice called to power by his fellow countrymen, trod unswervingly the pathway of duty, undeterred by doubts, single-minded and straightforward.

"The entire country has witnessed with deep emotion his prolonged and patient struggle with painful disease, and has watched by his couch of suffering with tearful sympathy.

"The destined end has come at last, and his spirit has returned to the Creator who sent it forth. The great heart of the nation that followed him, when living, with love and pride, bows now in sorrow above him dead, tenderly mindful of his virtues, his great patriotic services, and of the loss occasioned by his death.

"In testimony of respect to the memory of General Grant, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and the several departments at Washington be decked in mourning for a period of thirty days, and that all public business shall, on the day of the funeral, be suspended, and the Secretaries of War and of the Navy will cause orders to be issued for appropriate military and naval honors to be rendered on that day.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-third day of July, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and the independence of the United States the one hundred and tenth.

"GROVER CLEVELAND, President."

This first official paper was followed by similar ones issued by the Governors of the States, all expressing the same deep sense of loss, the same sentiments of praise and respect, and designed to give organized direction to the final honors to be paid him. As an historic sample, we give that from the Governor of New York:—

"Ulysses S. Grant, twice President of the United States; the defender of the Union; the victorious leader of our soldiers and General on the retired list of the army, is dead. To the last he was a true soldier, strong in spirit, patient in suffering, brave in death. His warfare is ended.

"After the close of his official life and following that notable journey around the world, when tributes of esteem from nations were paid him, he chose his home among the citizens of our State. He died upon our soil, in the county of Saratoga, overlooking scenes made glorious by

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Revolutionary memories. It is fitting that the State which he chose as his home should especially honor his memory.

"The words of grief and the tokens of sorrow by which we mark his death shall honor, too, the offices which he held and proclaim that praise which shall ever be accorded to those who serve the Republic.

"Therefore it is hereby directed that the flags on the public buildings of the State be placed at half-mast until his burial, and on that day, yet to be appointed, all ordinary business in the Executive Chamber and the departments of the State Government will be suspended.

"The people of the State are called upon to display, until his funeral, emblems of mourning, and it is requested that at that hour they cease from their business and pay respect to the distinguished dead.

"Given under my hand and the privy seal of the State of New York, at the Capitol, in the city of Albany, the twenty-third day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-five."

It was deemed fitting to make the burial a national one, after the private, or home, funeral services were completed. Therefore the public arrangements for the obsequies were given into the hands of Major General Hancock by the President. He supplemented the Grand Army Guards at the cottage by guards of regular troops, and from this moment the body of Grant was in the custody of his country.

The duty of selecting a burial spot was a solemn and painful one for the family. Some considerations pointed to Galena, the General's old home, some to New York, his adopted and last home, others to Washington, the capital of the country. Every national and patriotic consideration seemed to favor "The Soldier's Cemetery" at the capital, as the most suitable resting place for one who so clearly belonged to the entire country. But for reasons into which it would be indelicate to inquire, in so far as they were strictly private, Riverside Park, within the northern limits of New York city, and on the Hudson river, was selected by the family as the burial place.

The park is not a park, but an unimproved, rocky, bluffy part of the island above the built up part of New York city. Art will have to join zealously with nature to make it attrac-

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MT. McGREGOR COTTAGE UNDER GUARD. 681

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tive and give it the beauty and appropriateness of a national shrine.

On Wednesday, July 29th, the burial casket arrived at the cottage, and the remains were laid in it. They were dressed in a suit of plain black clothes. The embalming process had been successful, and the features were perfect. The glass top of the casket afforded a view of the body. For purposes of interment, an outer metallic case was provided.

On Thursday, 30th, President Cleveland, at the request of Mrs. Grant, announced the pall bearers, as follows: General William T. Sherman, U. S. A.; Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan, U. S. A.; Admiral David D. Porter, U. S. N.; Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan, U. S. N.; General Joseph E. Johnston, of Virginia; General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky; Hamilton Fish (A. J. Drexel, of Philadelphia, was substituted on account of the illness of Mr. Fish), of New York; George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; George W. Childs, of Pennsylvania; John A. Logan, of Illinois; George Jones, of New York; Oliver Hoyt, of New York. The selection of such prominent ex-officers of the Confederate army as Generals Johnston and Buckner, resulted from communications exchanged between President Cleveland and Mrs. Grant, he having telegraphed her to know if she had any preference or suggestions to make in the matter. He received a reply, saying, that it was her wish that he should name the pall bearers, and that the only suggestion she would make was that in case any prominent Union officer like General Sherman or Lieutenant-General Sheridan be selected, a leading Confederate officer, like General Johnston or General Buckner, be also included in the list.

Tuesday, August 4th was fixed as the day on which to begin the obsequies. They were to consist, on that day, of a private, or family funeral at the cottage on the mountain top. The remains were then to be taken to Albany, where they

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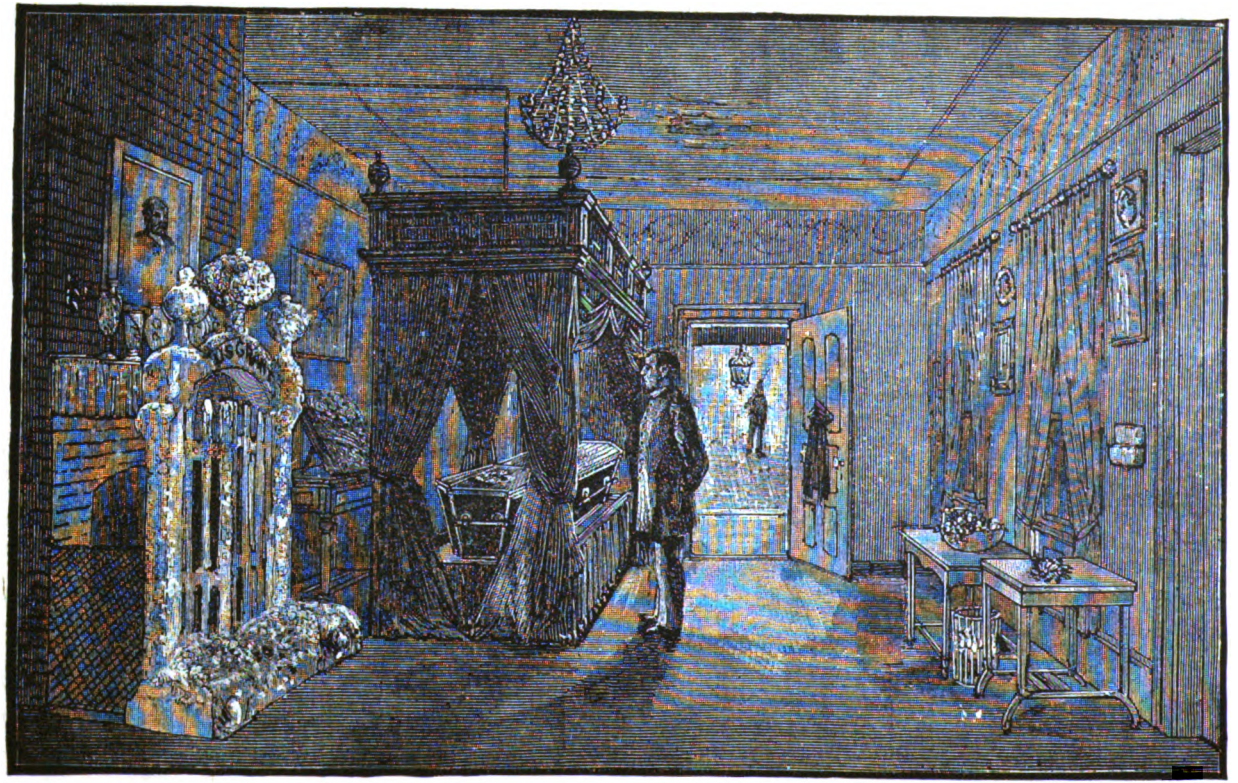

IN THE PARLOR AT McGREGOR.

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would lie in state in the capitol one day. Then they were to be taken by train to New York, where they would lie in state in the City Hall till the hour of interment on Saturday, August 8th, when they would be deposited in Riverside park, in a temporary tomb, erected for their reception. And now, all the energies of those who had the matter in charge were directed to making the obsequies as solemnly imposing as possible, and every way worthy of the illustrious dead. There was to be no unnecessary display; that would not have been in keeping with the plain tastes and unassuming character of the deceased. But there was to be opportunity to pay last respects, to take a final view of the old hero, to drop a regretful tear and sigh a sad farewell, and this for the American million, the people, out of whose ranks he rose, in whose hearts he would find sepulture more royal than in gilded abbey or engraven tomb.

THE FAMILY FUNERAL.

After a night of storm the morning of August 4th, 1885 dawned brightly upon Mount McGregor. Sunrise was announced by the deep booming of cannon, whose sullen roar was heard at intervals of every half hour throughout the day. The little train that winds up the mountain side began to make early and frequent trips, bringing from below those who were to take charge of the remains and escort them to Albany, as well as many who came to participate in the private ceremonies.

By ten o'clock the soldiers had struck their tents and broken camp and the cottage grounds were put in order for the simple services which were to compose the family funeral. Outside was an audience of one thousand people, fringed on the right by Company E of the 12th Infantry, and on the left by Company A of the 5th Artillery, as a guard of honor. In the

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entrance to the cottage stood a flag covered table, near which were seated the officiating clergy. Within the parlor were seated the family and a few intimate friends and chief mourners. In the centre of the parlor stood the casket, covered with purple plush and plainly mounted with silver.

The unostentatious, yet impressive services were opened by the reading of the Psalm No. 90, by Dr. Agnew, of Philadelphia. This was followed by an earnest and eloquent prayer by Rev. Bishop W. Harris of the M. E. Church of New York. The hymn "My Faith looks up to Thee," was then joined in by the assemblage. Next came the sermon by Rev. J. P. Newman D. D., General Grant's spiritual adviser and life-long friend. He arose at ten o'clock and twenty-one minutes, and, for over an hour, delivered an eloquent tribute to the character of the deceased. The services concluded by singing the hymn, "Nearer my God to Thee," and pronouncing the benediction. The family had taken their last look at the departed before the services, and had done those many mournful and kindly things which emphasized so delicately yet firmly the tender relations existing between the great man and them. The grandchildren had laid their chaplet of oak leaves on the casket. Years ago the wife had placed a ring on his finger. It had been a talisman in danger, and in peace a token of undying affection. When long sickness emaciated the finger, the ring was removed. After death the son bent over the rigid body and replaced the mother's gift on the cold finger, that the dead might wear it to the grave. And the dying man wrote a letter to his wife to be delivered when all was over. It was found on his person after death. Dr. Newman has given its contents in his sermon. The wife's answer, "Farewell till in the other world I meet thee," with a lock of her hair, was placed in the pocket of the dead warrior to go with him to his last resting place.

And now but a few moments remained for those present

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to view the remains, for the hour of departure for Albany had arrived. Then the assembly formed for its short pro-

REV. J. P. NEWMAN, D. D.

cession from the cottage to the heavily draped observation car of the mountain railroad. Company "A" led the way, to the music of the "Dead March." The casket was borne

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by twelve members of the U. S. Grant Grand Army Post, of Brooklyn. It was followed by the male members of the General's family, and his most intimate friends. The throng stood with uncovered heads while the remains were placed in the car. The escort entered, and those who designed to go along to Albany took other cars. At one o'clock P. M., the train started, ending the private and beginning the national funeral of him who had come upon the mountain to die.

THE FUNERAL ORATION.

Matthew, chapter xxv., part of verse 21:—"*Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*"

WHAT A MAN IS.—"Such, my brethren, is the eulogy that God shall pronounce upon human goodness and fidelity wherever found among the sons of men. The accidental distinctions between prince and peasant, millionaire and pauper, commanding general and private soldier, are but as the dust in the balance in His estimation of personal worth; He regards not the person of any man; He looks upon the heart. If a renowned philosopher searched an ancient city for a man, God is ever in search for a character, which in His sight outweighs the transitory distinctions of earth and time, and out of which are the issues of life. Tell me not what a man possesses—the beauty of Absalom, the glory of Solomon, the wealth of Dives, the eloquence of Apollos, the learning of Paul—but rather tell me what he is in his modes of thought, in his emotional being, in the trend of his passions, in the temper of his mind, in the tenor of his life, out of which come the totality of his existence and the finality of his destiny. This is the man as he is, and by it let him be judged. In the intensity of this divine light let us to-day recall the character of the illustrious man whose death a nation so tenderly mourns.

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HOW WE HAVE SEEN HIM:—"Some comrade in arms shall speak of the splendor of his martial genius; some statesman shall review the majesty of his civil administration; some historian shall place him on the pedestal of his renown; but let me, as the minister of religion, dwell upon that great character which will ever be his crown of glory and the imperishable heritage of the country he loved so well.

"You have seen him in the fury of battle, in the glory of victory, in the chair of state; you have seen him the guest of the world, honored by crowned heads and sceptred hands, by renowned warriors and eminent statesmen, by foremost scholars and adoring peoples; you have seen him in the quiet of private life, undistinguished from his fellow men other than by those virtues which made him conspicuous and by that fame which came from honorable deeds; you have seen him in the sorrow of misfortune, such as has often come to the best and wisest financiers in the world; you have seen him in the suffering of the sick room through nine weary months, enduring the indescribable tortures of a malignant disease, and that without a murmur; and to-day you see him in the repose of death, in the undisturbed sleep of the just. And could you rend the veil that obscures our mortal vision you would see him in his better form of immortality, with all his mighty faculties in full play, unchanged in his individuality, the same calm, earnest, sincere soul, purified and exalted and intent on the realities of his better life.

WHO IS DEAD?—"Shall we pause to inquire the meaning of these emblems of national sorrow and universal grief—the flag at half mast, the minute gun, the muffled drum, the tolling bell, the solemn march, the reign of silence in schools of learning, in courts of justice and in halls of legislation; the suspension of business, public and private buildings draped in black, streets thronged with mourners marching with measured step to strains of saddest music? Shall we inquire why sweet

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childhood has forgotten its innocent joys, why womanhood is clad in sackcloth, why manhood is bowed with grief, and why all mourn as for a father, husband, brother, friend?

"Shall we inquire why the land is filled with lamentation from the savannas of the South to the snow-capped hills of the North, and from where the Atlantic moans along its rugged coast to where the Pacific sobs on its golden shore; why poets lament, orators deplore, editors deprecate and ministers turn to the unseen for consolation; why kingdoms and empires and republics stand with our great nation as chief mourners around this bier?

"Who is dead? Oh! ye sobbing winds of Mount McGregor that fanned his brow, tell it not. Whisper it not ye mountain pines that shaded his form. And keep ye silent, Oh! ye summer skies of love and beauty that smiled upon him.

"Do you tell me, my friends, that a great man is dead—greatest among warriors, foremost among statesmen, noblest among patriots? Do you tell me that he led our armies to victory. That he administered our government in wisdom? That he best illustrated the essential principles of our national life? Do you tell me that he was the truest of husbands, the kindest of fathers, the firmest of friends, the purest of philanthropists, the humblest of Christians? True, thrice happily true! Are these the reasons why we will not be comforted; because those calm eyes cannot respond lovingly to our gaze, and those pure lips cannot greet us as of yore, and those ears cannot hear a nation's cry, 'To arms! to arms! for the foe is near'?

LOFTINESS OF CHARACTER.—"But whence the secret of the power of this one life on the thought of the world and the love of mankind?

"Others have insured for themselves imperishable renown for their martial prowess, for their profound statesmanship, for the display of their marvelous intellects; but where in all the

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annals of the earth and time shall we find another who more than he stamped all that he said and all that he did with such purity and loftiness of character? His individuality was most intense. This was the source of his strength, the power of his action, the glory of his achievements. He was never other than himself. He acted with a spontaneity all his own.

"And what were the elements of that character, so unique, symmetrical and now immortal? God had endowed him with an extraordinary intellect. For forty years he was hidden in comparative obscurity, giving no indications of his wondrous capacity; but in those four decades he was maturing, and at the appointed time God lifted the veil of obscurity, called upon him to save a nation and give a new direction to the civilization of the world. How calm his judgment, how clean and quick and accurate his imagination, how vast and tenacious his memory! Reason was his dominant faculty. He was a natural logician. He could descend to the smallest details and rise to the highest generalizations. His wonderful understanding was like the tent in story—fold it, and it was a toy in the hand of a child; spread it, and the mighty armies of a republic could repose in its shade. He could comprehend a continent with greater ease than others could master an island. Under his vast and comprehensive plans a continent shook with the tramp of advancing armies. As out of some immense mental reservoir there came a fertility of resources displayed in a hundred battles, in the greatest emergencies and in a threefold campaign, carried forward at the same time without confusion, and each the part of one stupendous whole.

GENIUS OF COMMON SENSE.—"His was the genius of common sense, enabling him to contemplate all things in their true relations, judging what is true, useful, proper, expedient, and to adopt the best means to accomplish the largest ends. From this came his seriousness, thoughtfulness, penetration, discernment, firmness, enthusiasm, triumph. Wherein

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others dreamed of success, he saw defeat; when others expected despair, he discovered ground of hope. What were contrasts to others were comparisons to him. He often stood alone in his judgment and plans, and it is the enduring compliment to his practical sense that the blunders committed by others on military and political questions were the result of plans which never had his approval. In war and in peace he was the wisest and the safest guide this nation has had since the Father of His Country ascended to his reward.

ACTION AND INTELLECT.—"For his clear and certain imagination the future loomed before him clothed with the actuality of the present. Read his military orders, and they prophesy the history of the battles he fought. He foresaw the enemy's plans as though he had assisted at their councils of war. He was one of those extraordinary men who, by the supremacy of their wills, force all obstacles to do their bidding. By the promptitude of his action he left no time for its contravention. Times, places and persons he comprehended with mathematical accuracy. Nothing escaped his penetration. Such was the perpetual calmness of his intellect that he could transact the most important affairs when the storm of battles was raging at its height.

WHEN GREATEST.—"His soul was the home of hope, sustained and cheered by the certainties of his mind and the power of his faith. His was the mathematical genius of a great general rather than of a great soldier. By this endowment he proved himself equal to the unexpected, and that with the precision of a seer. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," because the unexpected happens to every man. The grandest campaigns are often defeats, the most brilliant plans are unconsummated, the most wished for opportunities are unrealized, because baffled by the unexpected at the very moment of expected fulfillment. But he appeared greatest in the presence of the unforeseen. Then came an in-

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spiration as resistless as the march of a whirlwind, as when, on the second night of the battle of the Wilderness, when he changed the entire front of the line of battle, and quietly said in response to a messenger. 'If Lee is in my rear I am in his.'

"In the history of a great general there come supreme moments, when long maturing plans are to be consummated and long deferred hopes are to be realized. Some men can work up to that point and excite the admiration of mankind by the care and push wherewith they move toward the objective, but fail in the crucial moment. The preparations of this wonderful man rarely excited the applause of the people, because the workings of his masterful mind were hidden beneath the silence of his lips; but when the supreme moment came there came also an intellectual elevation, an uplifting of the whole being, a transformation of the silent, thoughtful general, which surprised his foes and astonished his friends. He culminated at the crisis. He was at his best when most needed. He responded in an emergency.

LATENT RESOURCES.—"He is one of the few men in history who did more than was expected. Some men excite great expectation by the brilliancy of their preparations; but this quiet, meditative, undemonstrative man exceeded all expectations by doing more than he had promised, and by doing what all others had failed to do. Others had done their best with a conscientiousness worthy of all praise; they had worked up to their maximum strength and accomplished much; they had contributed largely to the final victory, and shall deserve well of their country. It was no fault of theirs if nature had not endowed them for the ultimate achievement. But this man, pre-eminent by the happy combination of both nature and Providence, rose superior in the supreme moment, forced all things to do his bidding, and, like another Joshua, could have commanded the sun and moon of surrounding circumstances to stand still to illuminate his final path to victory.

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His latent resources seemed inexhaustible. Was Fort Donelson esteemed impregnable? It yielded to his command for an immediate and 'unconditional surrender.' Did Vicksburg defy his sixth plan of capture? His seventh plan was a success. Did Richmond hurl defiance at all previous attempts? His final effort was a triumph, and over the doomed capital of the Confederacy triumphantly floated the flag of the Union.

"Such were his untold hidden resources of adaptation, ever unfolding to meet the demand of new situations, that he would have proved himself equal to any position of trust and to any emergency that might arise.

THE NATION'S NEED.—"When he rose to supreme command the nation demanded one dominant spirit, mighty to grasp, strong to execute, powerful to inspire. The country was one, the rebellion was one, and the armies of the Union should be one; and the general who could mould, control, inspire an army a million strong and make them think, feel and fight as one man was the desire of the Republic. Such a one was he around whose bier a nation weeps to-day. To be everywhere present at once by his spirit and orders was in him a realized fact. His laconic order was, 'All strike together.' He imparted to all his own spirit and all things became possible to his faith. The nation felt her mighty change, and the rebellion went down beneath the power of one master mind. He was the logician of war. He conquered by logic. He reasoned out his victories. In all the annals of war there is no such splendid reasoning on the certainty of results. Others have conquered by the superiority of material force, but he by the superiority of mind over mind. Alas! Alas! that he can no longer think for us!

A BENIGN CONQUEROR.—"To-day you are filled with the glory of his military triumphs. You are recalling Belmont and Henry and Donelson and Shiloh and Vicksburg and Chattanooga and Richmond. You are calling him the greatest

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of soldiers, and you do well. But do not degrade him to the level of those famous heroes who fought for empire and for glory. Lift him up to a higher pedestal, around which shall forever stand Justice and Liberty and Peace and Law and Order and Civilization and Religion, with chaplets in their hands wherewith to crown him. He fought for the right—to end the war; he conquered a peace. He hated war. He looked upon it as a ghastly monster whose march is to the music of the widows' sigh and the orphans' cry. He loved peace and pursued it. 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God,' was his beatitude. In his London speech, in 1877, he said: 'Although a soldier by education and profession, I have never felt any sort of fondness for war, and I have never advocated it except as a means of peace.' This was the energy of his courage.

"He would not waste life and treasure to gain advantages while the means were left to the enemy to regain them. He understood the necessity of sacrifice to achieve a greater advantage. He surrendered the lesser to obtain the greater. He was not indifferent to the preciousness of human life. Did he expose his troops? He protected them by shortening the time of the war and by the greater vigor of his attacks. His was the arithmetic of blood. Some Quintius Fabius Maximus would have sacrificed a hundred thousand more men and $350,000,000 more treasure by the slowness of his movements and the feebleness of his efforts. 'How can I save my country and prevent the greater effusion of blood?' was his supreme question; and his supreme answer was, 'By an energy that knows no defeat.' Thus he reasoned, and to-day the people bless him.

"Such is the character of the true conqueror. Only such live in the grateful recollections of mankind. Away with heroes without humanity! They may force our respect and seduce our admiration, but they can never win our love.

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God planted goodness in man as the image of Himself. Greatness should spring from goodness. This is the price of hearts. Away with your Alexanders and Cæsars and Tamerlanes! Let them be to our Christian civilization what the gigantic monsters of a departed period are in zoological history—types of an inferior age. In the oncoming centuries mankind will honor only those who drew the sword in defence of human rights and in support of the constitutional authority. Then, All hail, Mount Vernon! Then, All hail, Mount McGregor!

GOODNESS OF HEART.—"From this better nature and higher mission as a warrior sprang his conduct toward the vanquished. He had no hatred in his heart. His heart was as tender as a woman's. He was not vindictive. His holy evangel to the nation was, 'Let us have peace.' Hence toward the close of the war, those who had fought against him saw that there was no safety but in the arms of their conqueror. In his dying chamber he grasped the hand of him whose sword was the first he had won and said: 'I have witnessed since my sickness just what I wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections.' On holy Easter he sent forth this tender message: 'I desire the good-will of all, whether hitherto my friends or not.' His was the song of the angels—'On earth peace, good will toward men.'

"This has been the softening ministry of his sufferings to his countrymen. God permitted him to see this glorious consummation. Our sorrow is national in the broadest sense. And to-day, where the magnolia blooms and the palmetto grows, the 'men in gray' weep over the death of their best friend. And had he lived to see a foreign foe invade our shores, North and South would have chosen him to lead us to defend our liberty.

ADMINISTRATIVE FORCE.—"Doubtless he will be best known in coming ages as the foremost soldier of the Republic. Unknown generations will read his battles with wonder and

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admiration. In every hamlet, in every metropolis, his martial form will be cast in bronze and sculptured in marble. Historians will vie with each other in paying homage to his genius; but the time will come when men everywhere will recognize the greatness and beneficence of his administration as President of the United States. It were a crime against history and an injustice to his memory were we to lose sight of the statesman amid the glory of the warrior. Such was the magnitude of those great measures of state, of domestic and foreign policy; so far reaching their influence, so comprehensive their mission, that generations may pass from the vision of the world ere the true and full estimate of his political worth shall be determined. Then his administration of eight years will receive the calm consideration and just approval of his countrymen. When the memories of party strife shall have been forgotten, when the disappointed aspirations for office shall have ceased to fester, when the rivals for place and power are no more—then, as comes the sun from the mist of the morning, so shall his administration appear in greatest splendor. Then the historian of that calmer age will wonder how a soldier by endowment and education, accustomed only to camp and field, unlearned in statecraft, unfamiliar with political science, unacquainted with the methods of civil administration, could have displayed such breadth of statesmanship in the measures which he originated and approved.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.—"Great and beneficent as were his measures of reconstruction, amendments to the constitution, of finance, of the improvement of the laboring classes, of the just treatment of the Indians, of the elevation of the freedmen, of the promotion of education, and of the concessions he compelled foreign Powers to make, yet, in the interests of universal peace, in the ultimate recognition of the brotherhood of nations, in the advancement of Christian civilization in all the earth, the Treaty of Washington will be

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esteemed of immeasurable grandeur and beneficence, not to be estimated by millions of dollars, but by the possibility and prophecy that all international disputes may be adjusted by peaceful arbitration, when 'nations shall learn war no more.' Such was his dream of the future, expressed to the International Arbitration Union in Birmingham, England, when he said, 'Nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know, as I believe will be the case, that at some future day the nations of the earth will agree upon some sort of congress which shall take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decision of our Supreme Court is binding upon us.'

PURE MORAL CHARACTER.—"And whether in camp or Cabinet, in private or public, at home or abroad, how pure and commendable his moral character! Life in the camp has proved ruinous to the morals of the greatest of warriors. The excitement of a life devoted to arms, the scenes of excess and plunder to which a soldier is exposed, the absence of the restraints of home and church, tend to the worst of passions and to the corruption of the best morals. But here, in the presence of the dead, whose ears are forever deaf to our praise or censure, let it be our grateful duty to record that, after five years in camp and field, he returned to his home without a stain upon his character. Among ancient or modern warriors where shall we find his superior in moral elevation? Given to no excess himself, he sternly rebuked it in others. He could speak to every one according to his station—to generals of their battles, to statesmen of their measures, to travelers of their discoveries, to artisans of their inventions, to Christians of their hopes; and he could be the delightful companion of kings and queens, of courtiers and chosen friends. He never took the name of his Creator in vain, and an impure story never polluted his lips. He assured me, as his pastor that, were he disposed to swear, he would be compelled to pause to phrase

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the sentence. Such was the purity of his thought life that he has been seen to blush and withdraw from the companionship of those who had presumed to relate a salacious story in his presence.

SENSE OF JUSTICE.—"His sense of justice was equalled only by his love of truth. He preferred honor to wealth and poverty to riches not his own. Oh, Americans, think of the pride of your nation, the glory of your age and the object of the world's admiration having nothing to bequeath to those he loved save his good name, and that Heaven admitted to probate without the whisper of contention!

GRATITUDE.—"Gentle, true and kind gratitude was one of the noblest emotions of his soul. His words were few, but pregnant with grateful recognition. To one who had been a friend in need he declared, 'I am glad to say, that, while there is much unblushing wickedness in the world, yet there is a compensating grandeur of soul. In my case I have not found that republics are ungrateful, nor are the people.' And so he had expressed himself in his speech in New York in 1880, 'I am not one of those who cry out against the Republic and charge it with being ungrateful. I am sure that, as regards the American people, as a nation and as individuals, I have every reason under the sun, if any person really has, to be satisfied with their treatment of me.' When restored to the army as general and retired on full pay he was deeply touched, and, taking the wife of his youth by the hand, he read the telegram which announced the fact, while, more eloquent than words, tears of gratitude to the nation he loved moistened those cheeks which never blanched with fear.

HUMILITY.—"He followed the divine maxim, 'Before honor is humility.' It is difficult to be victorious and not be proud. Military success leaves in the mind an exquisite pleasure, which fills and absorbs the thoughts. The conqueror ascribes to himself superiority of capacity and force. He

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crowns himself with his own hands; he decrees to himself a secret triumph; he regards as his own the laurels others helped to gather; and when he renders to God public thanks he mingles his vanity with his devotions. But, read his orders; read the reports of his victories; read the memoirs of his life, and he praises his great subordinates and the army and navy that did the fighting. Behold the contrast in the general orders and reports of battles by the First Napoleon and those by this unpretentious conqueror! What pride and boldness in the one, what humility and modesty in the other! And who, in all these four *lustra* since the strife was over, in the decade since he retired from the chair of State with a name great in both hemispheres, has ever heard him speak of his deeds of valor or the success of his administration? 'Let another praise thee, and not thine own lips;' and to-day the people crown him with their grateful benedictions.

UNSELFISHNESS.—"'In honor preferring one another' was the inspired maxim of his life. How evident his delight in announcing the triumph of those great generals who fought under him. And here in the presence of the illustrious dead, let us recall the tender and constant friendship of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan. They were as one man. They acted without anxiety. There was in them a concurrence of thought, motive and aim, born of mutual confidence. They were at once the supplement and converse of each other. He was profound in reflection; they acted by sudden illumination. He was cool without languor; they ardent without precipitation. He was more ready to act than to speak, and most resolute and determined when silent; they most eloquent in words and deeds when executing the plans of their chief. He created in them the expectation of something extraordinary; they sought to reach those distinctions which crowned his life as the most consummate general. He, by his rapid and constant efforts, won the admiration of the world; they rejoiced to shine in the

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association of his glory. He, by the depth of his genius and his incredible resources, rose superior to the greatest dangers; they, by an admirable instinct, seemed to learn to draw fortune into their plans and force destiny itself. What a privilege to study these men and learn from each the esteem the other merited. But, alas! the trinity is broken. Grant is dead!

NOT STOICAL.—"Yet he was not a stoic, insensible alike to pain and pleasure; indifferent to public opinion or careless about his honor or his rights. He loved the praise of men when the reward of honorable action. He was a sensitive, high spirited, manly man, who had the will and the courage to contend to the last for what was his due. If he reviled not when reviled, he accepted the divine philosophy that a 'soft answer turneth away wrath.' If he was patient under misrepresentation, he trusted Him who said: 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' Was he silent under reproach? He preferred the greater satisfaction of the reversion of public opinion. Only those permitted to hear the whispers of his sensitive heart knew of the grief and anguish he experienced when maligned by ignorance, prejudice and disappointed aspirants. He had meekness, but it was not the base surrender of self-respect. His indignation could burn like a mountain on fire, but he never permitted himself to become consumed by its volcanic eruptions. He knew his enemies and treated them with a withering silence that has passed into a proverb. He knew his friends, and true to his knightly soul, supported them in 'good report and evil.' But he was never the companion of bad men; and when he discovered in a pretended friend deception, or dishonesty, or immorality, he shook him off as Christ rejected Judas. His was the language of the Psalmist, 'In whose eyes a vile person is contemned.' His private friendships were refined, and he found his chief delight in the society of the true, the pure and the elevated. He discerned character with the precision of a seer. His great

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subordinates are in proof. His chief associates in the affairs of state are illustrations. And the marvel of the ages will be that through a long and responsible public career he was so seldom deceived, when on the highest authority it is said, 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light' to deceive the very elect. It has been the ill-fortune of the best and wisest of men from Moses to David, from David to Paul, from Paul to Luther, to be deceived by pretended friends. Cæsar had his Brutus, Washington had his Arnold, Christ had his Judas.

SELF-APPRECIATIVE.—"And the world mistakes the character of our illustrious countryman in supposing that he was without self-appreciation. He knew his power and realized his strength. His humility was not born of self-ignorance. His self-abnegation was not inspired by contempt for the reward of noble deeds. He was not indifferent to the approbation of his fellow-men, nor was his ear deaf to the voice of praise. He loved fame, but he did not seek it; he loved power, but he did not aspire to it; he loved wealth, but he did not covet it. He was a man with all the passions and appetites of human nature, and to make him other than a well-poised, self-mastered man, would be an injustice to his memory. But he was wiser than his celebrated contemporaries, in that he would not suffer himself to be unmanned by popular applause, or the exercise of power, or the possession of wealth, or crushed by misfortune, or disheartened by suffering. In this he was greater than the great of his own age.

MENTAL TRAITS.—"He loved life and enjoyed it; he loved children and caressed them; he loved his family and found therein his chief delight. He had not taste for music, but he had melody in his heart. He despised pretence and show, but admired the real and beautiful. He was not fond of books, yet by carefulness of observation, by thoroughness of reflection, by attentiveness to the conversation of the well

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informed, by extensive travels in many lands, by the daily study of current events, he was the most intelligent citizen in our Republic. He was the most diligent newspapers reader in the land. He was a living encyclopædia of facts, figures and men, and often astounded his hearers with his accurate estimate of persons, the keenness of his observations and the vastness of his information.

PATIENCE UNDER ATTACK.—"Out of his great character came the purest motives, as effect follows cause. He abandoned himself to his life mission with the hope of no other reward than the consciousness of duty done. Duty to his conscience, his country and his God was his standard of successful manhood. With him true greatness was that in great actions our only care should be to perform well our part and let glory follow virtue. He placed his fame in the service of the State. He was never tempted by false glory. He never acted for effect. He acted because he could not help it. His action was spontaneous. Ambition could not corrupt his patriotism; calumnies could not lessen it; discouragements could not subdue it. It was not a sudden outburst of the imagination, but an intelligent conviction. He committed all to the great struggle to save his country. There was a time when he preferred that his military genius should suffer momentary depreciation rather than hazard the cause of the Union by revealing the vastness of his plans, which required time to unfold. Who does not recall the time when an ardent, patriotic people became impatient, exacting, clamorous for immediate results? But he had the energy of silence. His self-control was equal to the self-control of the nation. How calm and unruffled was he. He knew that time was an essential element in a war so vast and complicated. He could wait. He did wait. And a grateful people bless his memory. And here, to-day, in the presence of the dead, with a nation redeemed, peaceful and prosperous, who does not regret the

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cloud cast over him at Pittsburg Landing, at Vicksburg and in the Wilderness? He made no reply. He spoke no word of complaint. He offered no self-vindication. He knew his plans and felt assured of success. Oh! great soul, forgive our impatience; forget our lack of confidence; blot from thy memory our cruel censures. Thou wert wiser and kindlier and better than we. We did it in the ardor of our patriotism and in our love of liberty. And from the serene heavens into which thou hast gone join our song as we praise that God who gave thee the victory and thus a redeemed nation.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN.—"The martyrs of one age are the prophets of the next. Fame succeeds defamation. Time changes all things. Washington endured a like ordeal. His neutrality proclamation touching the war between France and England and his treaty with England gave mortal offence. His action was denounced in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. His mock funeral was enacted at Philadelphia. The treaty was burned in the public squares. His character was aspersed. He was declared destitute of merit as a statesman. He was charged with having violated the constitution, with having drawn from the public Treasury for his private use, and his impeachment was publicly suggested. Thus has changed the verdict of the people. He is now enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, and so shall his illustrious successor forever dwell in the grateful affection of the American people.

"If to-day we lay upon the altar of his memory, as our votive offering, our liberties, our wealth and our homes, let us learn to be cautious in our decisions on the acts of our public servants, and slow in our censures upon those whom time may prove our greatest benefactors.

"And where, in all the annals of our national life, shall we find another, save the sage of Mount Vernon, who was so truly a typical American? Is it true that his personal qualities were not brilliant; that his salient points were not conspic-

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uous; that in running parallels between him and other men of fame a feeling of disappointment is experienced because there is not on the surface some prodigious element of power and greatness? Yet he had this double advantage over all this world's heroes—he possessed the solid virtues of true greatness in a larger degree than other men of renown, and possessed them in greater harmony of proportions. Some heroes have been men of singular virtue in particular lines of conduct. Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, was distinguished for his moderation and courage. Aristides the Just scorned the bribes offered by Mardonius. The patriotism of Leonidas was proof against the temptation of uncounted gold. Regulus was the soul of Roman honor, and accepted exile and death to infamy. Marcus Aurelius Antonius gave his royal fortune to relieve the poor of his empire. Peter the Great was illustrious for his pride of country and laid the foundation of Russia's present greatness. Frederick of Prussia was a soldier prince, the renown of whom, history has preserved as a memorial. But this foremost American possessed all these and other virtues in happy combination—not like single gems, brilliant by isolation, but like jewels in a crown of glory, united by the golden band of a completer character. What humility amid such admiration; what meekness amid such provocation; what fidelity amid such temptations; what contentment amid such adversity; what sincerity amid such deception; what 'faith, hope and charity' amid such suffering! Temperate without austerity; cautious without fear; brave without rashness; serious without melancholy; he was cheerful without frivolity. His constancy was not obstinacy; his adaptation was not fickleness; his hopefulness was not Utopian.

SOLID VIRTUES.—"His love of justice was equalled only by his delight in compassion, and neither was sacrificed to the other. His self-advancement was subordinated to the public good. His integrity was never questioned; his

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honesty was above suspicion; his private life and public career were at once reputable to himself and honorable to his country.

"Do you remind me that these are plain, homely, solid virtues? Yet they are the essential elements in public usefulness and permanent renown. Is it true that mankind are attracted by shining qualities and are led captive by brilliancy rather than by solidity? Are the masses charmed by the tears of the Macedonian; by the Roman crossing the Rubicon; by the Frenchman dispersing the National Directory? But he was too great to be brilliant as men count brilliancy. The sword of Orion, the clustered glories of the Pleiades, the uplifted falchion of Perseus are more attractive than the polar star; but of all the stellar hosts, which is more important than that calm and steady planet to gladden the mariner on the trackless deep? Dew-drops sparkle in the morning sun, and the summer cloud emits its fructifying shower, and in turn is decked with the celestial bow; but what are these compared to the wealth and highway of the ocean? In sheets of light and in bars of fire the lightning dazzles the eye and terrifies the mind of the beholder, but what is the glow of the one or the sheen of the other to the daily sun spreading warmth and plenty and beauty over the habitations of man? He was the sun of our plenty, the ocean of our wealth, and the polar star shining calmly and steadily in the heavens of our Republic.

"Such a solid, sturdy character becomes our geography and institutions, and our destiny. Self-government calls upon the judgment to control the imagination; to ambition to submit to queenly modesty; to adventure to bow to prudence; to justice to hold in subjection political wrong; to virtue to dominate every vice. It seems to be with us a national tradition that only men of solid virtues shall be raised to supreme positions in our Republic.

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'Our greatest yet with least pretence,
Great in council and great in war,
Foremost captain of his time,
Rich in saving common sense,
And as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime.'

HOME LIFE.—"As he was the typical American, should we be surprised to find that his was the typical American home? May we lift the curtain and look upon the holy privacy of that once unbroken household? O! the mutual and reciprocal love of wedded life within those sacred precincts. Husband and wife the happy supplement of each other, their characters blending in sweetest harmony like the blended colors in the bow of promise. He strength, dignity and courage; she gentleness, grace and purity. He the Doric column to sustain; she the Corinthian column to beautify. He the oak to support; she ivy to entwine. In their life of deathless love their happiness lay like an ocean of pearls and diamonds in the embrace of the future. He unhappy without her presence; she desolate without his society. She pure, high minded, discriminating, ardent, loving, intelligent; he confided to her his innermost soul and blessed her with his best and unfailing love. She shared his trials and his triumphs, his sorrows and his joys, his toils and his rewards. How tender was that scene, in the early dawn of that April day, when all thought the long expected end had come, he gave her his watch and tenderly caressed her hand. It was all the great soldier had to give to the wife of his youth. And the dying hero whispered: 'I did not have you wait upon me, because I knew it would distress you; but now the end draws nigh.' And out from the 'swellings of Jordan' he rushed back to the shore of life to write this tender message to his son: 'Wherever I am buried, promise me that your mother shall be buried by my side.' It is all a wife could ask; it is all a husband could wish.

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"'Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they shall not be divided.'

"Side by side they shall sleep in the same tomb, and she shall share with him whatever homage future ages shall pay at his national shrine.

"It was his love for her that lifted his intellect above the ceaseless tortures of a malignant disease and threw oblivion over the sense of excruciating pain, that he might write his 'Personal Memoirs,' that she would not want when he was gone.

"And how tender was his care. He thought not of himself, but of her. To his son he said, 'I hope mother will bear up bravely.' To quiet her anxiety he wrote: 'Do as I do; take it quietly. I give myself not the least concern. If I knew the end was to be to-morrow I would try just as hard to get rest in the meantime.' Would she keep holy vigils through the livelong night? He wrote her: 'Go to sleep and feel happy; that is what I want to do and am going to try for. I am happy when out of pain. Consider how happy you ought to be. Good night!'

"And such was the tenderness of his love and solicitude for her and hers he surprised her by a letter found after his death. It came as a message to her from him after he had gone. When his spirit had returned to the God who gave it there was found secreted in his robe his last letter to her, enveloped, sealed and addressed. He had written it betimes, written it secretly, and carried the sacred missive day after day during fourteen days, knowing that she would find it at last. In it he poured forth his soul in love for her and solicitude for their children:

"'Look after our dear children and direct them in the paths of rectitude. It would distress me far more to think that one of them could depart from an honorable, upright and virtuous life than it would to know that they were prostrated on a bed of sickness from which they were never to arise alive. They have

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never given us any cause for alarm on their account, and I earnestly pray they never will.

"'With these few injunctions and the knowledge I have of your love and affection, and of the dutiful affection of all our children, I bid you a final farewell, until we meet in another, and I trust a better world. You will find this on my person after my demise.

"'MOUNT MCGREGOR, July 9, 1885.'

FILIAL AFFECTION.—"And who should marvel in a home of such parentage that parental love and filial affection should reign supreme!

"'Honor thy father and thy mother' was in perpetual obedience there. Oh, what reverence for that honored father shown by those devoted sons and that precious daughter! Oh, what blissful love they manifest for that dear mother, to-day a widow! What pure delight in each other's company; what mutual pride in each other's future welfare! And while all honor is due to each child of the departed for love, devotion and anxiety, and now for grief, yet the American people will never forget the sleepless nights, the ceaseless vigils by day, the profound deference, the tender caresses, the deathless love of his first-born son, whose manly heart was crushed when his father died. Such a home is worthy to be called an American home. Give us such homes of purity, love and joy, and our Republic shall live forever.

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS.—"If such was his character, such his life, such his home, what were the consolations which sustained him in sickness and cheered him in death? Was life to him a 'walking shadow' and death an endless dream? Was his calmness in suffering born of stoical philosophy or inspired by Christian fortitude? Were his love and hope limited by earth and time or destined to live forever? Reared in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and baptized in his last illness by one of her ministers, his religious nature was sincere, calm and steadfast. The principles of Christianity were deeply engrafted upon his spirit. Firm, but never de-

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monstrative, he was not a man of religious pretence. His life was his profession. He knew that Christianity had nothing to gain from him beyond the influence of a 'well ordered life and a godly conversation,' but that he had everything to gain from the power and promises of our Lord. More than in all things else he was taciturn touching his religious faith and experience; not, however, from doubt and fear, but from mental characteristics. The keenest, closest, broadest of all observers, he was the most silent of men. He lived within himself. His thought life was most intense. His memory and imagination were picture galleries of the world and libraries of treasured thought. He was a world to himself. His most intimate friends knew him only in part. He was fully and best known only to the wife of his bosom and the children of his loins. To them, the man of iron will and nerve of steel, was gentle, tender and confiding, and to them he unfolded his beautiful religious life.

"On the 18th of April he said to me: 'I believe in the Holy Scriptures, and whoso lives by them will be benefited thereby. Men may differ as to the interpretation, which is human, but the Scriptures are man's best guide.' He revered their source, recognized their influence, responded to their requisitions, trusted in their promises and found consolation in their hopes. His faith in God as the sovereign ruler and the Father Almighty was simple as a child's and mighty as a prophet's. There is an eloquence of pathos in the opening sentence of the preface to his Memoirs. He had proposed for himself other plans of usefulness to occupy his declining years. He would have mingled in the busy scenes of life in the places where men do "most congregate." He would have been identified with the great enterprises of his day, to increase a nation's wealth and power, and the glory of that city in whose enchanting park he shall repose beneath the noblest monument. He would have enjoyed domestic and

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social wealth and well-earned renown. But heaven decreed otherwise. 'Man proposes and God disposes.' There are but few important events in the affairs of men brought about by their own choice. Such was his faith in Providence, which imparted to him absolute power in his great mission; and when burdened by the gravest responsibilities; when conscious that a nation's life had been confided to his care; when the darkness of adversity overshadowed him, he trusted in the Lord who is mightier than the mighty.

"Doing nothing for show, yet he made public recognition of God by his faithful and conscientious attendance upon divine worship. No public man heard more sermons than he, and he was the best of hearers. Whether in the obscurity of Galena, or in the conspicuousness of Washington, or in the private walks of life in New York, he was in his pew on the Lord's Day. And his pastor was always sure of his presence on a stormy Sabbath. His faithful attendance at church was largely inspired by his respect for the Sabbath day. On Monday, April 20th, he said to me: 'I did not go riding yesterday, although invited and permitted by my physicians, because it was the Lord's Day, and because I felt that if a relapse should set in, the people who are praying for me, would feel that I was not helping their faith by riding out on Sunday.' And on a Saturday night, to divert his attention from pain and uneasiness, his eldest son suggested some innocent diversion, but when informed that it was near midnight, the honored father replied: 'It is too near the Sabbath to begin any diversion.'

A MAN OF PRAYER.—"He was a man of prayer. It was on Sabbath evening, March 22d, when alone with Mrs. Grant, that his pastor entered, and the General, with tenderest appreciation and gratitude, referred to the many prayers offered for him and mentioned societies and little children who had promised to pray for him daily; and then, in answer to

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his minister's suggestion that we should join that universal prayer, he replied with emphasis, 'Yes;' and at the conclusion of our supplication the illustrious invalid responded 'Amen!' That Amen by that silent man was more significant than volumes by others. But it was his custom and habit to call to prayers. On March 27th, late in the evening, he requested all to enter his room for devotions, and made a special request for the presence of his 'beloved physician,' and his friend Romero. And on this mount, to be hereafter hallowed ground, and where his monument shall rise in grandeur, he said to an honored priest of another church: 'I know and feel very grateful to the Christian people of the land for their prayers on my behalf. There is no sect or religion, as shown in the Old or New Testament, to which this does not apply. Catholics, Protestants and Jews, and all the good people of all nations, of all politics as well as religions, and all nationalities seem to have united in wishing or praying for my improvement. I am a great sufferer all the time, but the facts you have related are compensation for much of it. All that I can do is to pray that the prayers of all these good people may be answered so far as to have us meet in another and a better world.'

"He was not a bigot. Bigotry was no part of his noble and generous nature. While he demanded religion as the safeguard of a free people, he accorded to all the largest freedom of faith and worship. He was without prejudice; he claimed that public education should be non-sectarian, but not non-religious. His Des Moines public speech on education was not against the Roman Catholic Church, but against ignorance and superstition. The order issued during the war excluding certain Jewish traders from a given military district, did not originate with him, but came from higher authority, and was not against the religion of the Jews.

"His was the beatitude: 'Blessed is he that considereth the

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poor.' Strangers might regard him indifferent to the needy; yet the poor will rise up and call him blessed. Many were the pensioners on his kindly bounty. He gave 'his goods to feed the poor.' While president he heard his pastor on 'Active Christianity,' and in the discourse, mention was made of a soldier's widow, sick and poor, and of a blind man in pressing want. He had just reached the White House, when he sent me back this card with the money: 'Please give ten dollars to the blind man and ten dollars to the soldier's widow.' On a Christmas eve he wrote me thus:

"'EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 24th, 1869.

"'DEAR DOCTOR—Please find enclosed my check for one hundred dollars, for distribution among the poor, and don't forget "The Ragged Schools" on the Island. Yours, truly,

"'U. S. GRANT.'

SPIRIT OF FORGIVENESS.—"In private, unseen life, he bore many of the fruits of the Spirit. He loved his enemies not as he loved his friends, but he loved them as enemies by doing them good as he had opportunity. Of all men known in a pastoral experience of thirty years, he displayed the spirit of forgiveness more than any other man. He caught the spirit of the Saviour's prayer: 'Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.' There is one high in official position in our nation who had traduced him at the point of honor, whereat a great soldier is most sensitive, and the wrong done was made public to the mortification of all. Grieved at what he had done, and confined to his sick room, he who had offended was nigh unto death. But himself a man of proud and sensitive spirit, he sighed for reconciliation. 'Would the President forgive the offense and call on the sick?' anxiously asked interested friends. A suggestion from me that it would be a Christian act to call was sufficient. The call was made; the sick man revived, and old friendship was restored. And rising to a magnanimity worthy a saint, he would not with-

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hold an honor due, even from those who had done him a wrong. Who does not regret the death of such a man? Heaven may be richer, but earth is poorer. On one of those delusive April days when hope revived in all our hearts, I said to him: 'You are a man of Providence; God made you the instrument to save our nation, and He may have a great spiritual mission to accomplish by you and may raise you up.' In the most solemn and impressive manner, with a mind clear and a voice distinct, he replied: 'I do not wish to proclaim it, but should He spare my life it is my intention and resolve to throw all my influence, by my example, in that direction.'

A POWER IN DEATH.—"He is gone, but shall death defeat a purpose so beneficent? Is he not mightier in his death than in his life? What home has not felt the sympathetic chord touched by the invisible hand of his terrible but patient suffering? How the embers of sectional strife have died out on the hearthstone of the nation! How political animosities have skulked away in shame from the peaceful spirit of his last moments! How sectarian prejudices shrank into oblivion when around his couch all bowed in prayer before a universal Saviour! How the young men of the Republic realized that life is worth living when they felt the touch of his great soul. How the little children of the nation united his name with that of father and mother in their purer prayers, and opened the tablets of their young memories to receive the image of his life and character! And wherever he had touched the circuit of the earth, there came from Japan, China and India, from the temples of Jerusalem and the Pyramids of Egypt, from Attic plains and ancient Troy, from the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, from the Danube and the Rhine, from the Seine and the Thames, the voice of love that made all men akin. Oh! who would not even dare to die to do so much for mankind? And this was his consolation. When near his end he sought to cheer that precious woman who loved him as her

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life: 'You ought to feel happy under any circumstances. My expected death called forth expressions of sincere kindness from all the people, of all sections of the country. The Confederate soldier vied with the Union soldier in sounding my praise The Protestant, the Catholic and the Jew appointed days for universal prayer in my behalf. All societies passed resolutions of sympathy for me and petitions that I might recover. It looked as if my sickness had had something to do to bring about harmony between the sections. The attention of the public has been called to your children, and they have been found to pass muster. Apparently I have accomplished more while apparently dying than it falls to the lot of most men to be able to do.'

THE DEATH BED.—"And where in all the annals of the Church shall we find a dying hour so full of divine repose? His calm faith in a future state was undisturbed by anxious doubt. His suffering and wasted body was but the casket for the resplendent jewel of his soul, and when death ruthlessly broke that precious casket an angel carried the jewel to the skies to lay it at the Saviour's feet. In the early light of April 1st, when all thought the end was come, the sufferer said to me: 'Doctor, I am going.'

"'I hope the prospect of the future is clear and bright,' was my response; and the answer came: 'Yes; oh, yes!' Then followed a scene of infinite tenderness. The honored wife, the precious daughter, the devoted sons and their wives, each in turn approached, and he tenderly kissed them. 'Do you know me, darling?' was the loving wife's inquiry, and he whispered back: 'Certainly I do and bless you all in my heart.' Such love melted the marble heart of death and the 'King of Terrors' fled affrighted. The sufferer revived. Heaven added months to a life so dear to us all. When he had recovered sufficiently I asked him: 'What was the supreme thought on your mind when eternity seemed so near?'

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"'The comfort of the consciousness that I had tried to live a good and honorable life,' was the response, which revealed the hidden life of his soul. Again the angel of death cast his shadow over the one a nation loved. Amid the gathering gloom I said: 'You have many awaiting you on the other side.'

"'I wish they would come and not linger long,' was the answer of his Christian faith and hope. They came at last. They came to greet him with the kiss of immortality. They came to escort the conqueror over the 'last enemy' to a coronation never seen on thrones of earthly power and glory. Who came? His martyred friend, Lincoln. His companion in arms, McPherson. His faithful chief-of-staff, Rawlins. His great predecessor in camp and cabinet, Washington. And did not all who had died for liberty come? O, calm, brave, heroic soul, sing thou the song of Christian triumph: 'O death, where is thy sting, O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.'

"And that victory was at hand. From his view on Monday at the Eastern outlook he was to ascend to behold a grander vision. Tuesday came and went. Night drew on apace, and death seemed imminent. Around his chair we knelt in prayer for some divine manifestation of comfort. Our prayer was heard. The sufferer revived. Again he wrote messages of love and wisdom. The night wore away. Wednesday dawned on hill and dale. Hope revived. His intellect was clear and his consciousness was supreme. Again he wrote, and again he whispered the wishes of his heart. As came the eventide, so came his last night. From out of that chair, wherein he had sat and suffered, and wrote and prayed, tenderly he was carried to that couch from which he was never to rise. Around him we gathered and bowed in prayer to commend his departing spirit to the love and mercy of Him who gave it. He

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answered in monosyllables to questions for his comfort. The brain was the last to die. All were watchers on that memorable night. Recognitions were exchanged. A peaceful death and consciousness to the last breath were granted unto him. The last night had passed.

DEAD.—"'Tis morning. The stars have melted into the coming light. The rosy-fingered morn lifts the drapery of the night. The distant mountains stand forth aglow. The soft, pure light of early dawn covers earth and sky. The dew drop sparkles on the grass and in the daisy's cup. The birds, from their sylvan coverts, carol the melody of a thousand songs. The world rejoices, and its many minstrels challenge the harpers of the sky. In an humble cottage, prone upon his couch, lies 'an old commander.' He is dying!

"'Tis morning; and in the light of that day thousands of earnest faces flash with renewed concern. From many a shaded lane and mountain slope; from many a farm house and splendid mansion; eager eyes look toward the mount of suffering, and breathe a prayer to God for the one we loved. Alas! he is dead!

"'Tis morning! It is the promise of a brighter day. The trumpeters of the skies are sounding the reveille. Their notes have reached the earth. Their notes have reached our general's ears. He has gone to join the triumphant hosts. 'Tis morning in heaven!"

ENGLISH MEMORIAL SERVICE.

Concurrently with the family funeral services on Mt. McGregor, the people of England showed their respect for the illustrious American by conducting memorial services in Westminster Abbey. That such services should have been held in an edifice sacred to the memory of English sovereigns

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and their most illustrious subjects, and that they should have been attended by representatives of royalty, the ministry, the bench, the church, the army, the navy and of every branch of the government, was striking proof of their regard for General Grant's character, and of the closeness of English race ties. But very significant indeed was Canon Farrar's memorial address. It was far more American than English. He was an earnest and fervent eulogist of General Grant as the product of political and social freedom. "Such careers," he said, "are the glory of the American Continent. They show that the people have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force." He then referred to the American opportunity and held up the instances of the "rail-splitter," the "tanner" and the "canal boy," who had become Presidents as showing "a noble sense of the dignity of labor, a noble superiority to the vanities of feudalism, a strong conviction that men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accidents of birth."

Grouping Lincoln and Garfield and Grant, he avowed that "every true man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God. Was not the Lord for thirty years a carpenter of Nazareth? The conscientious attention to humble duties fitted these men to become kings of men." Referring to the war for the Union, he said: "God's light has shown for the future destinies of a mighty nation that the war of 1861 was necessary—a blessed work. The cause for which Grant fought —the unity of a great people, the freedom of a whole race— was as great and noble as when at Lexington—

> 'The embattled farmers stood
> And fired the shot heard round the world.'"

Considering the high station and representative character of the speaker, the place and occasion of the address, and the make up of the audience, his words contain a most generous

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and precious tribute to Grant and his country, and serve to show, better than any thing at home, the world-wide influence of his life and regard for his name and memory.

IN STATE AT ALBANY.

The funeral train from Mt. McGregor, consisting of seven cars, arrived at Saratoga at 1.50 P. M. All along the route it had passed through groups of silent people gathered to pay their respects to the dead. Its arrival was heralded by deep-toned cannon. Strong guards of Grand Army comrades lined either side of the track, both to honor the coming and stay the throng. The mountain train ran alongside of the funeral train on the Hudson Road, which was even more heavily and far more artistically draped. Amid the firing of minute guns and a very large concourse of silent spectators, the remains were transferred from one train to the other, at the very spot where, seven weeks before, the enfeebled General had been transferred the other way, on his trip to the mountain.

At 2.20 the Hudson River train, with its nine cars, moved through Saratoga on its way to Albany. Thousands of people, with bowed hearts, looked upon its passage. The houses of this usually gay place bore emblems befitting the occasion—festoons of crape, draped flags, or elaborate insignia of woe. And as here, so everywhere along the route the homes, the stations, the villages, the towns, testified their loss and witnessed their respect by emblems of mourning and solemn clusters at convenient view points. Balston was entered amid the tolling of bells and firing of minute guns. At Round Lake the school children were gathered on the platform, holding black-bordered flags while the train passed. From Cohoes to Albany the train moved through almost continuous lines of people, and everywhere were manifested the

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same signs of general sorrow and the same decorous regard for the solemnity of the occasion.

Albany's preparations for receiving and honoring the remains were complete. It was a forest of draped flags, the sombreness of whose effect was heightened by other evidences of mourning on public buildings, stores and private houses. All work had ceased. The organizations were out in force, and the citizens thronged the streets in solemn masses, or in endless processions. Three grand processional divisions received the remains as they passed into the city at 3.45 P.M. A signal gun made public announcement of the coming. Instantly the bells of every description began tolling, and all the steam-whistles opened their throats. The remains were transferred from the train to a funeral car drawn by six black horses. This car was a wheeled platform, upon which was raised a central dais for the coffin. It was heavily and artistically draped. By 4 P.M. the immense procession—population of an entire city, augmented by that of a wide surrounding—filed slowly and solemnly toward the Capitol, where the remains were laid in state upon an imposing catafalque, erected in the corridor. It is now 6 o'clock. The great public begin to sweep through the building and past the coffin. All night the halls resound with the slow, measured tread of those who would look for the last time on the old hero. It is a solemn, inspiring processional, eloquent in its silence, profound in its respect, honorary beyond precedent in its grand proportions. And so the nation was mourning and burying its beloved.

IN STATE AT NEW YORK.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, August 5th, Albany surrendered the remains in much the same way

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she had received them, by firing of minute guns, tolling of bells, and an immense procession to the cars. By 12.30 P.M. the casket was placed on the funeral car, and the long train of ten steam carriages, all covered with heavy drapery, moved, without clang of bell or sound of whistle, down the Hudson for New York City. At every town, station and rural road crossing were emblems of grief, and groups of sad-faced, uncovered people. At 5 P.M. the train came to a stand in the Grand Central Depot, which was elaborately draped. New York had prepared for an imposing reception of the remains. The casket was borne to a large catafalque, drawn by twelve black horses. The military were out in force, and quickly fell into line. Civilians found their places, and amid the tolling of bells, firing of minute guns, and solemn music of the bands, the remains were escorted to the City Hall, and laid in state upon a platform swathed in black, erected in the centre of the corridor. Though the building is tamer in its proportions than the State Capitol, the surroundings of the platform were richer and more artistic, and the effect more solemn and touching.

By 9 P.M. the body was exposed to public view and from that time till long after midnight an unbroken stream of humanity poured through the corridor to pay their respects and look for the last time on the face of the honored dead. The body was still fairly well preserved. It lay with one hand across the breast, lips slightly separated, eyelids gently curved, and face a picture of peaceful composure and literal rest.

On Thursday and Friday, August 6th and 7th, from six o'clock in the morning till midnight, the corridors reverberated the tread of the masses that flowed through in a stream which divided at the casket. The number that passed while the remains lay in state can only be approximated. At an easy pace, one hundred and twenty could pass in a minute. Therefore, during the forty-two hours in which the public were permitted to file by, over three hundred thousand persons must have

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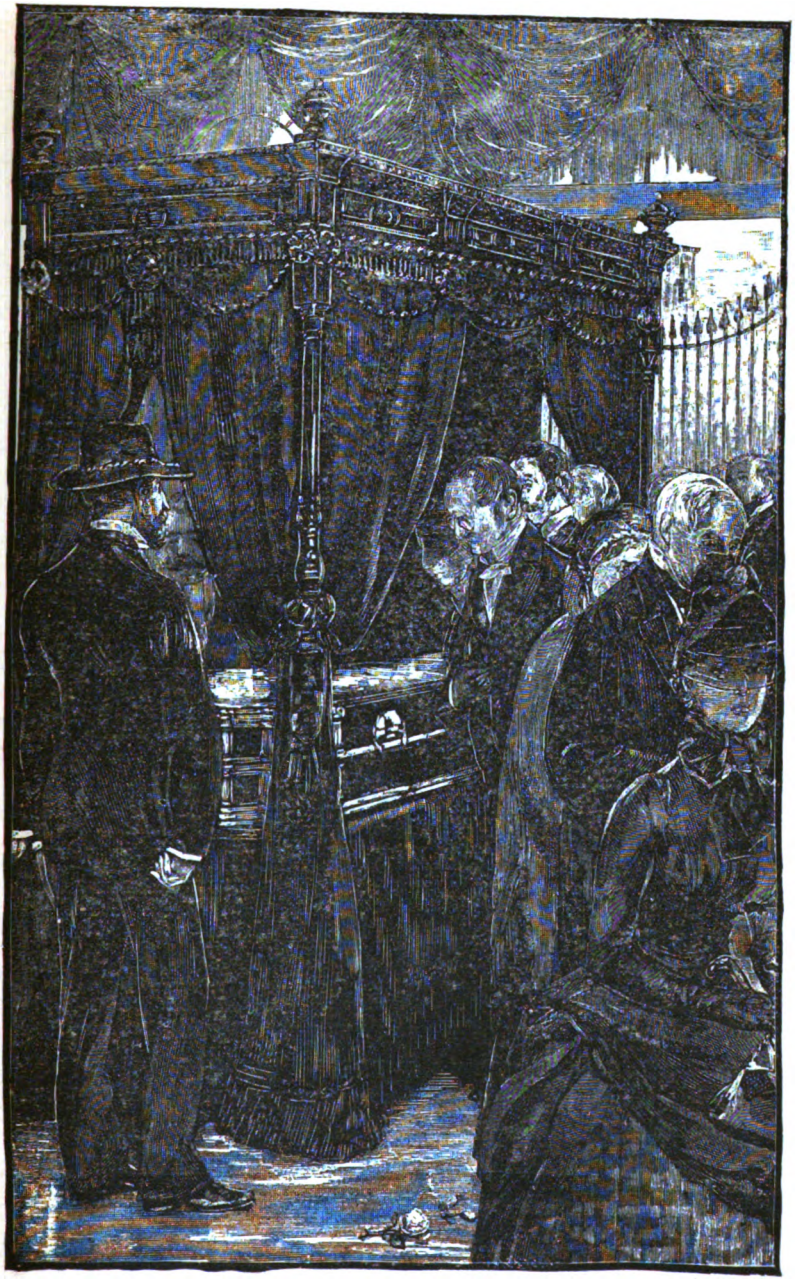

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passed the remains. And these were not alone of New York, nor yet of neighboring cities and states, but pilgrims from far off places of the Union, who had come as if to a sacred shrine, and whose numbers, by Saturday, August 8th, had well nigh doubled the population of the great metropolis.

TO THE TOMB.

The national funeral of General Grant took place in New York City, on Saturday, August 8th, 1885. This was its location and centre, but it took place everywhere in the land, and wherever in the world civilization wept an ornament, humanity an exemplar, and freedom a champion. A metropolis might extend special ceremony, might frame local pageantry, might claim shrunken ashes, but the country and the world were burying, with a regret as deep as their loss, and a reverence as wide as his name, the one they loved and owned. There could be no limitation to the desire to honor the dead chieftain, if not by outward manifestation, at least by inward ceremonial of the heart. And so with the actual cortege that moved in regular line and with step solemnly measured by muffled drum beat or symphonious dirge, through thronged streets and by the deep river to the tomb, there moved throughout the land a sympathetic cortege which kept even step with the more ostentatious processional, and laid away, with as deep a reverence, its imaginary purple casket, burdened with stark ideal remains, in the precious tomb of national affection.

The business spirit of New York was entirely lost in the solemnity of an occasion which mingled so much of profound sadness with the high spirit of patriotism, so much of tender respect with the glow of ceremonial honors. The bier was hers, and the walled up tomb, but not the contents. The funeral was not hers, but the nation's, the world's. She was a

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temporary agent, holding, for the time being, a sublime commission. Right worthily did she perform her trust, aided by every representative force that could magnify homage and solemnize pageantry. The Government lent its presence in the form of President, ex-Presidents, Cabinet, Senators, Congressmen, its Army and Navy. The National Guard was represented by its finest regiments: the Grand Army by delegations of veterans from countless Posts; the Confederate army by numerous detachments of survivors. Civic organizations of all kinds found places in the cortege. Add to these the uncountable hosts that, as citizens, augmented the procession, or fringed the miles of route, on either side, and one can readily realize that popular demonstration of respect for the dead could not have taken more impressive form, nor been more universal.

The day was practically a holiday everywhere. The business pulse was still in the North and South, the East and West, either by solemn official proclamation, or spontaneous consent. Muffled bells spoke in monotones from ambitious city spires and modest village belfries. Minute guns sent their sullen notes reverberatingly through the valleys and up the wooded steeps. In town, in hamlet, in family, the day was a memorial one, dedicated to service of tribute, sacred to the memory of the dead. It was a day, too, commemorative of manly virtues, consecration to duty, and patriotic achievements, without which in mourner, as in mourned, there could be no perpetuity for this "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

It was another day of cool summer splendor after a night of storm. It was a general remark that Providence seemed to be specially ordering the weather for the entire obsequies. At 1 A. M. of August 8th the gateway to the City Hall had been closed to the public, and the casket left alone with the guard, its precious contents shut off forever from mortal

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vision. But, though the silence of death reigned within the sombre corridors, the city's hum did not cease outside, for all the subsequent hours were occupied by the arrival of delegations from other places, and, very soon, by the centreing of the throngs in search of available spots to witness the beginning of the ceremonies. By nine o'clock the route of the procession was a sea of humanity, eager yet decorous, curious yet regretful. The masses alone were making an occasion commensurate with the fame of their dead.

At a quarter of nine the Liederkranz singers massed themselves in front of the coffin and rendered "The Pilgrim Chorus." Even before this the regiments, bands and military detachments were taking their designated places in the street, under the direction of General Hancock, and now, at 9.30, they began to move in the direction of the tomb.

I.

ARMY AND NAVY.

MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK AND STAFF.

Light Battery F, U. S. A.; Band; Engineers U. S. A.; Band; Batteries I, L, M, H, of Fifth Artillery; Band; Battery A, Fifth Artillery; Company E, Twelfth Infantry; U. S. Marines; three battalions of U. S. Sailors.

Estimated number of Federal troops and marines, 1438.

II.

FIRST DIVISION OF NATIONAL GUARD.

MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER SHALER AND STAFF.

First Brigade.—First Battery; Twenty-second, Ninth, Eleventh and Twelfth Regiments, New York State.

Second Brigade.—Second Battery; Seventh, Seventy-ninth, Eighth and Seventy-first Regiments.

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Veteran Guards.—Old Guard; Governor's Foot Guard, Connecticut; One-hundred-and-sixty-fifth New York Volunteers; Zouave Association; Tenth Regiment, Volunteer Veterans, New York; Fifth Regiment Zouaves; Second Company Washington Continentals; Columbo Guard; Italian Rifles; Garibaldi Legion; three companies Veteran Colored Guards.

Estimated number in First Division National Guards, 4850.

III.

SECOND DIVISION OF NATIONAL GUARD.

MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD L. MOLINEUX AND STAFF.

First Brigade.—Third Battery; Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Seventeenth Regiments.

Second Brigade.—Twenth-third, Thirty-second, and Forty-seventh Regiments.

Visiting Organizations.—First Regiment Pennsylvania National Guards; Gray Invincibles; Second Regiment Connecticut National Guards; First Regiment Massachusetts Infantry. Four Companies Virginia troops; Union Veteran Corps, District of Columbia; Capitol City Guards; Company D, First Minnesota; Veteran Zouaves.

Estimated number in Second Division National Guards, 2605.

IV.

FIRST DIVISION NEW JERSEY NATIONAL GUARDS.

MAJOR-GENERAL PLUME AND STAFF.

First Brigade.—First, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Regiments; First and Second Batteries; Gatling Gun Company "A."

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Second Brigade.—Third, Sixth and Seventh Regiments; Gatling Gun Company "B."

Estimated number of outside military, 5027.

PALL BEARERS.

General William T. Sherman, Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan, Admiral David D. Porter, Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan, General Joseph E. Johnston, General Simon B. Buckner, A. J. Drexel, substituted for Hamilton Fish, George S. Boutwell, George W. Childs, Senator John A. Logan, George Jones and Oliver Hoyt.

After the procession had moved thus far, and before the pall bearers took their places, the heavy funeral car was drawn upon the plaza in front of the City Hall by twenty-four black horses. It was an elevated frame work on wheels. Its width was nine feet and its length sixteen. It was heavily draped on all sides, and the folds fell nearly to the ground, covering the wheels. In the centre was erected a canopy, with heavy ostrich plumes at either corner, and in the centre. The central plume towered fully seventeen feet above the ground. Beneath the canopy was a dais on which the casket rested. The car was heavily ballasted to keep it steady. The festooning was of exquisite design, that on the rear of the car representing a sunset. It was unrelieved by any appearance of white or silver, the only break being the draped silk flags at each corner of the canopy.

And now the draped car was to receive its honored burden and take its place in the solemn pageant. The way to the car was lined on either side by regulars, representing the infantry and artillery. Within the Hall was a strong guard of honor. Twelve of these reverently raised the casket and bore it to the car, on which it was placed and fastened. It was now a quarter of ten o'clock. The sombre car moved, preceded by a Grand Army escort and followed by the national pall bearers. Then came the next division of the pageant—

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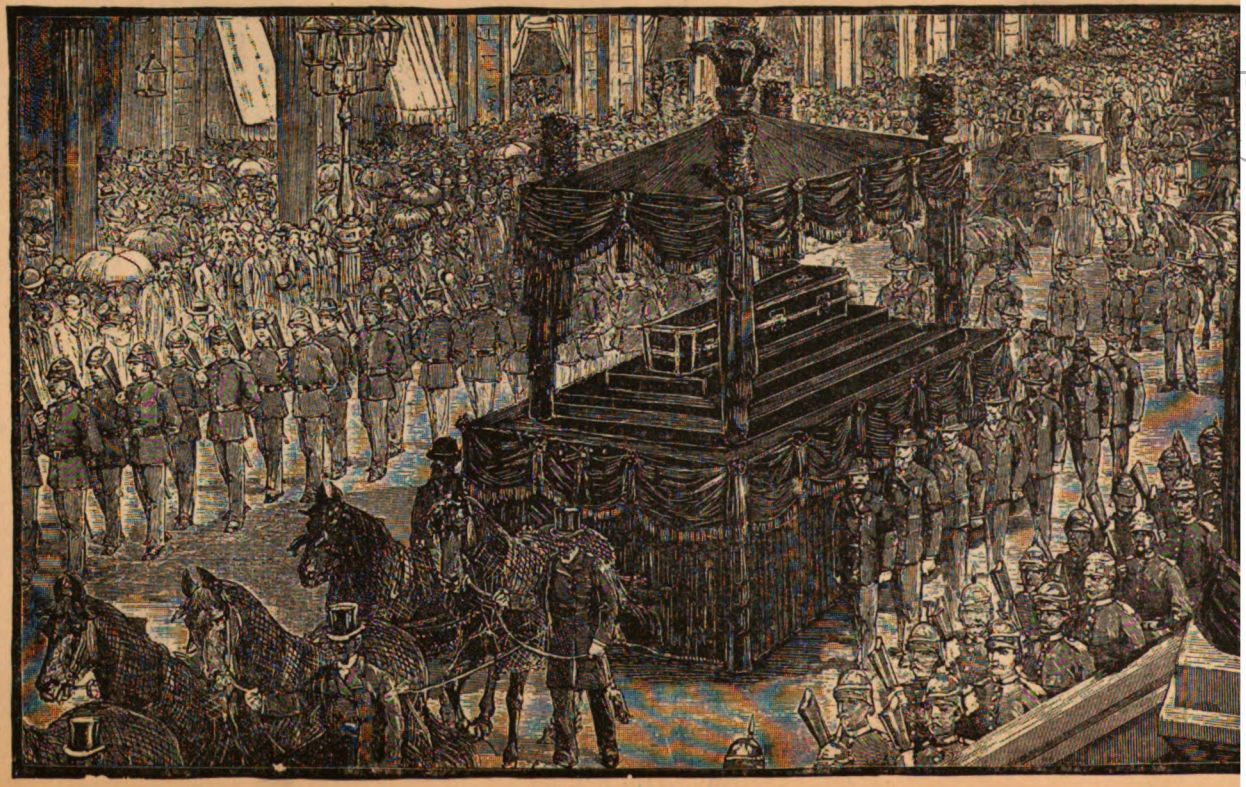

THE FUNERAL CAR.

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V.

OFFICIAL AND OTHER GUESTS IN CARRIAGES.

The family (except Mrs. Grant, who remained at Mt. McGregor) and relatives; Grant's old staff and cabinet; clergy and physicians; President and cabinet; judges, senators and congressmen; Governor of New York and staff; ex-presidents and their cabinets; foreign ministers; diplomatic and consular officers; governors of states; heads of war department bureaus; army officers; navy officers; minor United States officials; mayors of cities.

VI.

VETERAN DIVISION.

MAJOR-GENERAL, DANIEL E. SICKLES AND STAFF.

This division was made up of very many regiments, companies, and organizations of veterans from various States of the Union; but largely of representatives from the Grand Army Posts. It was numerically the strongest division in the pageant, and its numbers were estimated at 18,500.

VII.

CIVIC DIVISION.

GENERAL MARTIN T. MCMAHON AND STAFF.

Various societies, business associations, clubs and citizens. Number in Civic Division and in carriages estimated at 8000.

Thus over 40,000 people were in line of march, making one of the most imposing demonstrations ever witnessed in the city or country. It passed unbroken up to Fifty-ninth street, about half the distance to the tomb. From this point on, it became more essentially military, more measured, but without the inspiration furnished by perhaps half a million of sympathetic lookers on.

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THE PARK AND TOMB.

Riverside Park is merely the bluffy, undeveloped stretch of land which skirts the Hudson above the built-up portion of the city. It is reached by the Riverside drive, which ends beyond the site selected for the tomb, distant fully ten miles from the City Hall. The bluffs are somewhat bold, and the spot picturesque. It overlooks the plains rendered historic by Washington and his army, and the ground where Hamilton and Burr met in deadly duel. The temporary tomb is at the foot of a brow, upon which it is intended to erect a mausoleum. The vault is of brick, trimmed with blue-stone. Inside of it is a steel case, whose sides are half an inch thick, and whose weight is 3800 pounds. This is the receptacle for the casket containing the remains, after it has been first placed in its lead-lined cedar covering. The vault is hung with heavy bronze doors, which, when opened, permit a view of the steel casing within. Around these doors are strong iron railings. The structure was hastily built, is of very modest appearance, and is designed to be only a temporary receptacle.

Hither the procession was now coming. Several men-of-war had anchored in the river opposite. These dipped their colors and blended their salutes with the funereal music of the bands, as the solemn cortege drew near the tomb. Then there was a closing up of the marching ranks, a filing in of mourners, friends and the great army of followers, a new arrangement of cohorts to insure order and solemnity amid the crush of the throng. The veterans of the Grand Army lifted the casket from the car and placed it in the area in front of the tomb. The family, pall bearers, dignitaries, veterans, people—mourners all—gather around, while all the bands make sacred melody,

". . . and ye grim throats
That spoke his iron menace, wake again
To chant a requiem to the answering hills;
Our captain sleeps."

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Then came silence more impressive than the dirge note and the cannon's bass. The multitude uncovered. The delegation from the George G. Meade, Grand Army Post No. 1 of Philadelphia, of which General Grant was a member, to whom had been assigned the honor of conducting the burial services of the organization, took their places about their old comrade. Following the beautiful ritual, the Post Chaplain invoked the divine blessing:

"God of battles! Father of all! amidst this mournful assemblage, we seek Thee with whom there is no death. Open every eye to behold Him who changed the night of death into morning. In the depths of our hearts we would hear the celestial word, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.' As comrade after comrade departs, and we march on with ranks broken, help us to be faithful unto Thee, and to each other. We beseech Thee, look in mercy on the widows and children of deceased comrades, and with Thine own tenderness console and comfort those bereaved by this event, which calls us here. Give them 'the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.'

"Heavenly Father! bless and save our country with the freedom and peace of righteousness, and through Thy great mercy, a Saviour's grace, and Thy Holy Spirit's favor, may we all meet at last in joy before Thy throne in heaven, and to Thy great name shall be praise for ever and ever!"

The Post Commander:

"One by one, as the years roll on, we are called together to fulfill the last sad rites of respect to our comrades of the war. The present, full of the cares and pleasures of civil life, fades away, and we look back to the time when shoulder to shoulder on many battle fields, or around the guns of our men-of war, we fought for our dear old flag. We may indulge the hope

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THE TOMB.

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that the spirit with which on land and sea, hardship, privation and danger were encountered by our dead heroes, may never be blotted out from the history or memories of the generations to come—a spirit uncomplaining, obedient to the behest of duty, whereby to-day our national honor is secure and our loved ones rest in peace under the protection of the dear old flag. May the illustrious life of him whom we lay in the tomb to-day prove a glorious incentive to the youth who, in ages to come, may be called upon to uphold the destinies of our country. As the years roll on, we too shall have fought our battles through and be laid to rest, our souls following the long column to the realms above, as grim death, hour by hour, shall mark its victims. Let us so live then that when that time shall come, those we leave behind may say above our graves, 'Here lies the body of a true-hearted, brave, and earnest defender of the Republic.'"

A wreath of evergreen, symbol of love, a rose, symbol of purity, a laurel wreath, symbol of affection, were laid upon the casket. Then the chaplain:

"The march of another comrade is over, and he lies down after it in the house appointed for all the living. Thus summoned, this open tomb reminds us of the frailty of human life and the tenure by which we hold our own. 'In such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh.'

"It seems well we should leave our comrade to rest where over him will bend the arching sky, as it did in great love when he pitched his tent, or lay down weary by the way, or on the battle-field, for an hour's sleep. As he was then, so he is still,—in the hands of the Heavenly Father. 'God giveth His beloved sleep.'

"As we lay our comrade down here to rest, let us cherish his virtues and strive to emulate his example. Reminded forcibly by the vacant place so lately filled by our deceased brother that our ranks are thinning, let each one be so loyal to every virtue, so true to every friendship, so faithful in our remaining

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march, that we shall be ready to fall out here and to take our places at the great review, not with doubt, but in faith that the merciful Captain of our salvation will call us to that fraternity which, on earth and in heaven, may remain unbroken. Jesus saith, 'Thy brother shall rise again. I am the Resurrection and the Life.' Behold the silver cord having been loosed, the golden bowl broken, we commit the body to the grave, where dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, looking for the resurrection and the life to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

The ritual concluded with the "Bugle Call," signifying "Rest." In the hands of a skillful player the sweet, mellow tones of the instrument drifted away on the breeze until they were heard by the sailors on the decks of the war vessels. Beginning softly, the tone gradually increased until it rose clear as a bell on the high notes, and then gradually diminished, like the sound of an Alpine horn re-echoing among the mountains, until a few notes gently repeated at the finish seemed to come from the clouds. There was a long, silent pause, after the ritual was completed, when the Post withdrew and made way for the clergymen.

It was now five o'clock P. M. Bishop Harris at once began the impressive ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was concluded by Rev. Dr. Newman. Again the bugler blew the call "Lights out" or "taps." Strong men came forward and lifted the casket. It was much heavier than before, now that it was in its cedar casing. They bore it within the tomb and placed it in its steel receptacle. There was a last longing look into the deep cold resting-place by the family, and then the immense masses began to break. The regiments facing the river fired their parting volleys of musketry, and the deeper-mouthed artillery followed with the presidential salute of twenty-one guns. Land and sea joined in their highest tribute and saddest farewell. The great man was at rest.

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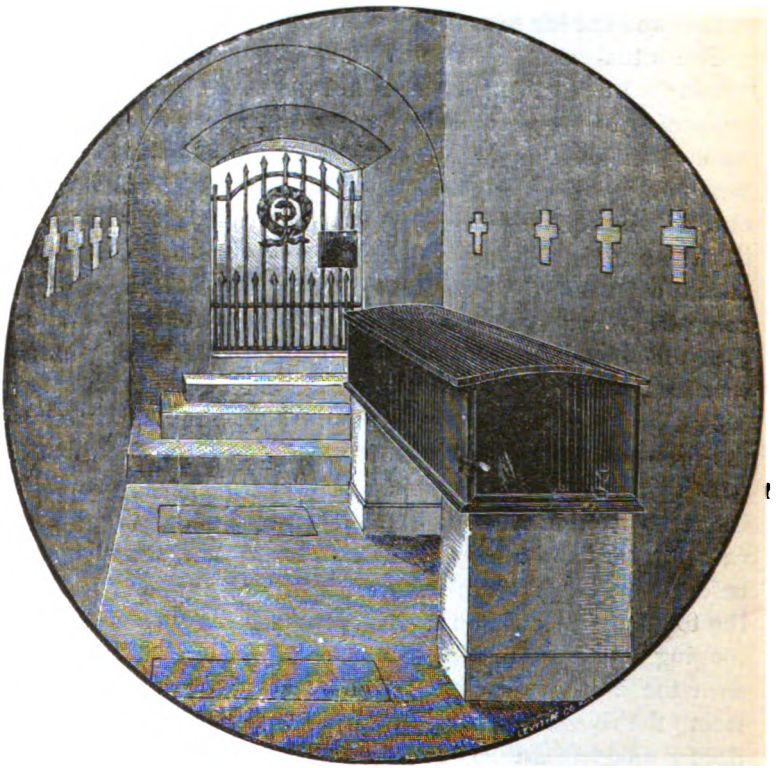
And so the curtain falls on an earthly career. The death, the funeral, of General Grant is an epoch. It closes one chapter and begins another, not less eloquent and important in American history than memorable as a period in the development of mankind. The "discoverer of the Union" was no less an evangel of peace, than the founder of a place for this nation, higher, broader and more enduring than it ever before occupied among the nations of the earth.



INTERIOR OF THE TOMB.

Requiescat in Pace!

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